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GENEVA: DIALOGUE FOR PEACE

To get a true perception of the import of an international event one must see not only its essence but also the place which this event occupies in the unfolding historical process.

When Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, the leaders of the USSR and the USA, met in Geneva, from November 19 to 21, a vigorous attempt was made to put an end to the chill that hampered Soviet-American relations and the world situation as a whole over the recent years. The two great powers went through a difficult period of heightened tension, intensified war threat, and a weakening of the foundations of normal cooperation among states. American imperialism, which channeled the events in this direction, was intent on testing its strength against existing socialism, continuing the arms race, and pushing the world to the fatal brink.

The Soviet Union together with the other socialist countries, while not rejecting the challenge, constantly—in word and deed—offered the prospect of progress along a different path: toward lesser tension, limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons, and prevention of the militarisation of outer space.

The USSR took major unilateral steps aimed at strengthening peace and effecting real disarmament measures. These, above all, are the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the proposal to freeze nuclear arsenals, the introduction of a moratorium on the orbiting of antisatellite systems, the suspension of countermeasures in Europe to the deployment of American missiles, and, later, shortly before the meeting, the removal from combat alert in the European zone of medium-range missiles additionally emplaced there. And, lastly, the Soviet Union's declaration of the moratorium on all nuclear explosions as a weighty measure that was vigorously supported on every continent. A positive response was also generated by the proposals to improve the situation in Europe and the rest of the world, which were jointly advanced in this period by the Warsaw Treaty member states.

The consistently peaceable foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole is a vital factor influencing world developments, which Washington ultimately had to reckon with, all the more so since the dangerous adventurism in US policy had long evoked concern everywhere in the world. Even among US allies confusion had arisen, which greatly intensified after the American Administration declared its plans to prepare for "star wars".

Under these circumstances the American Administration was forced to manoeuvre and make adjustments in their propaganda line, in which irreconcilability began to run parallel with ostensible peaceability.

Such was the situation at the moment when a joint accord was reached in January 1985 which made it possible to start new Soviet-American talks on the whole range of nuclear and space weapons. Strict compliance with this accord would create the prerequisites for palpable progress in preventing the arms race in outer space and halting it on the Earth, strengthen-

ing strategic stability, eliminating the nuclear war threat and, ultimately, doing away with nuclear weapons.

It is on this basis and in development of this accord that the USSR advanced specific and radical proposals to reduce, given a complete ban on attack space armaments, 50 per cent of the USSR's and the USA's nuclear weapons capable of reaching each other's territory. The aggregate number of charges for each of the sides would be limited to a ceiling of 6,000 units, which would mean a reduction of thousands of nuclear charges. The USSR views such a reduction only as the beginning of the road to the complete destruction of nuclear weapons.

Considering the fact that the USA and its allies are not prepared to rid Europe of nuclear weapons completely, as the Soviet Union has proposed, the USSR voiced a readiness to start with at least an intermediate step, and subsequently to work for further reductions.

To break up the vicious circle of the arms race and prevent a new, unpredictably dangerous spurt of the arms race in space—this is the principal motive behind the USSR's constructive approach to relations with the United States. The Soviet Union does not at all view the world through the prism of how relations shape up between the USSR and the USA. The opposite is more likely the case: the priority problems for any state, be it large or small, which are being experienced by the world at this historical stage prompt the two countries and their leaders to display greater responsibility in relations between them.

Guided by this great responsibility to its own people and to the peoples of other countries, the Soviet leadership adopted a decision to consent to a meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan.

Clearly, the behaviour of the American side, both at the talks, where it evaded the elaboration of mutually acceptable accords, and outside their framework, as well as the stepped up across-the-board US military preparations, left no room for illusions. The USSR well understood the class essence of the policy that stands opposed to it, and had precisely weighed the parameters of the objectively existing spheres of concord.

The USSR also took into consideration the fact that the idea of holding a productive summit had from the outset come up against the opposition of influential right-wing conservative circles in the USA, above all of those who draw profit from the arms race and for whom greed overshadows reason in these matters. It is no secret that there are many forces in the USA that are altogether against the development of any contacts with the Soviet Union. It is they who advised the President either to decline a meeting with the Soviet leader, all the more so to speak with him tête-à-tête, or to reduce the entire meeting to diplomatic niceties on the summit level.

Indicatively, on the eve of the meeting the Heritage Foundation, a prominent American conservative organisation, issued a special memorandum to the US President in which he was advised to hold a "tough" meeting and confine himself solely to setting forth American "claims", accusing the USSR of allegedly building up armaments over and above its defence needs, interfering in different regions of the world, oppressing dissidents at home, and so on.

The conservatives directly cautioned the US President against any accord in the arms limitation sphere. Even if an agreement were to be attained only in principle, the memorandum read, this would create a problem, inasmuch as the American public, the Congress and the allies would in this instance pressure the US Administration into finalising such an agreement. And this does not mesh with the political thinking of the US military-industrial complex.

Concern over the possibility that an accord would be reached was likewise manifest in the "revelation" just before the President's plane left

for Geneva of a secret letter of US Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, which he attached to the latest Pentagon report on the so-called "Soviet violation" of arms limitation agreements and on US "countermeasures" for a further arms buildup in this connection.

In the letter, which was supposedly inadvertently leaked to the press, Weinberger directly urged the President at the Geneva meeting, first of all, not to agree to continue observing the principal provisions of SALT-2, and secondly, not to agree, under any circumstances, to limit the American SDI programme. "The Soviets", the letter read, "doubtlessly, will seek assurances that you will continue to be bound to such tight limits [under the ABM Treaty—Ed.] on SDI development and testing that would discourage the Congress from making any but token appropriations."

One could not help being put on one's guard by the fact that the USA's practical line on the threshold of the meeting corresponded more to precisely these recommendations rather than to the Administration's assurances of a readiness to provide the prerequisites for a productive dialogue in Geneva. Unfortunately, the Administration did not respond to any of the USSR's practical unilateral steps. The USA did not follow the good example set by Soviet Union, although it was precisely this that was expected of them by the peoples of the world and the governments of many countries.

Furthermore, at the stage of the preparations for the summit the American Administration attempted to divert attention, from the need to limit the arms race, and to replace it with the problem of regional conflicts. Here the situation in the countries fighting for freedom and independence was crudely distorted. The policy of direct US interference in the affairs of sovereign states and aid to the forces of counter-revolution were portrayed as supposedly "friendly assistance" to the peoples of these countries.

Lastly, on the very eve of the meeting the American counterproposals on arms reduction issues were advanced. What can be said of them? Outwardly, one's impression might be that the USA was willing to meet the Soviet Union halfway in some respects. For example, they also mention a 50-per-cent reduction of nuclear weapons and a ceiling of 6,000 nuclear charges. However, the actual meaning of the American proposal was different.

Let us take strategic armaments. The American side spoke about their reduction. Yet a careful analysis of the essence of the American proposals will show that, were they to be implemented, the USA would bolster its arsenal by 150 per cent over the very level America itself proposed. Several thousand nuclear warheads—long-range sea-based cruise missiles, air bombs and shells—would remain outside the framework of the limitations. Nor did the American proposals include the many hundreds of US forward-based nuclear weapons deployed on aircraft carriers and at the numerous bases around the Soviet Union.

Nor did the US proposals offer a solution to the problem of medium-range weapons in Europe. As in the past, they left the nuclear weapons of Britain and France out of the reckoning. After all, the more than 500 warheads of the British and French missiles targeted at the USSR and its allies form a considerable part of the West's nuclear potential. And the deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe (in keeping with the US proposals) would continue for that matter. By establishing a limit on such a deployment in the number of launchers, the USA arrogates itself the right to replace certain types of these launchers with others. As a result, the overall number of American missiles in Europe and warheads could more than double.

In short, these were partial and to a great extent unfair proposals.

However, the fact that the sides were going to the Geneva talks with clearly different aims and proposals did not shake the USSR's confidence that the meeting was essential after seven years of crisis development. The relations between the two most powerful countries of the world were at too

low a level, and the arms race had spiralled too high. An open, frank discussion at the top level and a profound comparison of the actual stands of the sides had long become imminent. To postpone such a talk would mean risking holding a Soviet-American dialogue when it was already too late.

The Soviet side went to the meeting convinced that the difference in ideologies and socio-economic and political systems is not an insurmountable barrier to a way out of the present situation, and that there are no contradictions fatally dooming the USSR and the USA to confrontation, all the more so to war. To rectify the situation, as was repeatedly stressed by the Soviet side, political will is required, and the Soviet leadership has always had it. It is imperative that the USA in its practical policies harbour no illusions about the possibility of shooting ahead in the arms race and acquiring military superiority, that it not hold to the hypertrophied concept of its "vital interests" on the international scene, but take stock of present-day realities and of the changes that have taken place in the world over the past few decades. In his report at the latest session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev formulated the Soviet Union's stand in an extremely clear-cut manner: "The crucial times we are living through leave the leaders of the USSR and the USA, the peoples of the USSR and USA no other alternative than to learn the great art of living together."

The attitude of the Soviet side to the meeting was determined above all by the principle that in preparing for and holding it both sides' attention should be focused on the problems that determine Soviet-American relations and the state of affairs on the international scene as a whole—questions of security, the centerpiece of which is the problem of nuclear and space weapons in their interconnection.

The Soviet Union had a clear-cut concept of this meeting, which was organically based on the USSR's principled and consistent approach to relations with the USA and which creatively took into account the characteristic features of the moment. The USSR, specifically, took a sober view of the actual situation and did not harbour the slightest illusions about American policy. The Soviet side saw how far the militarisation of the economy and even of political thinking in the USA had gone. Yet Moscow realised full well that the situation in the world is far too dangerous to ignore even the slightest chance to rectify the situation and advance to a more stable and lasting peace.

Having just as vested an interest in the success of the Geneva summit as the USA, the Soviet leadership nevertheless realised far more clearly the two countries' joint responsibility for the future of the world. And when they paved the way and created a favourable climate for it, they were guided by simple logic: the political atmosphere of talks is formed well in advance. "We considered it necessary," Mikhail Gorbachev noted, "to try to break the dangerous course of events by force of argument, by force of example, by force of common sense."

During the meeting a far-reaching exchange of views was held on the main issues of Soviet-American relations and the present-day international situation, in which the Soviet side highlighted the vital problems of security. Of great importance in this connection was the fact that lengthy private talks were held with the US President at the summit. This made it possible to discuss even the most difficult problems in a totally candid and direct manner, and to have a first-hand knowledge of each other's stand.

The keynote of the Soviet stand was the need to drastically change the present course of Soviet-American relations on the basis of the only possible understanding of the fact that there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence between the USSR and the USA. The Soviet side stressed that the cardinal changes that have taken place in the world of late require a new approach, a fresh perception of many foreign policy issues.

At the Geneva summit the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Com-

mittee and the US President discussed in detail aspects of the talks on nuclear and space weapons. It was firmly stated to the President that the main thing in these questions is to prevent the penetration of weapons into outer space, and that on this depends whether it will be possible to reduce the corresponding nuclear weapons of the USSR and the USA first by 50 per cent, as the Soviet side proposes, and then, with the involvement of the other nuclear powers, to eliminate them altogether.

The idea was expressed to the President that if it is difficult for both sides today to initiate a productive dialogue and talks on halting the arms race and on nuclear disarmament, tomorrow this will be even more difficult. Indeed, were the arms race to be spilled into outer space with new types of nuclear weapons being created, it would become uncontrollable and to a certain extent irreversible.

By filling outer space with highly sophisticated types of weaponry, mankind could find itself under the power of computers, when the slightest breakdown in the warning systems or any other accident would pose a real threat of plunging the world into a catastrophe, even contrary to the will of political leaders. One cannot farm out to technology the adoption of vital decisions in the security sphere.

In connection with the fact that during the meeting the US President tried to uphold his favourite brainchild, the "strategic defense initiative" and to give it an all but humane aspect, the Soviet side showed in a well-argued manner that the American programme announced in 1983 is nothing but a departure from the valid ABM Treaty of unlimited duration. The programme is aimed at the development of a new class of armaments—attack space weapons, with which the USA hopes, in combination with its offensive nuclear arms, to acquire the capacity to deliver a first nuclear strike with impunity. Furthermore, the "space shield" created in this fashion could, when necessary, fulfil the functions of offensive weapons and become an inalienable element of an aggression strategy.

Today the propaganda machinery of the US Administration is constantly pushing the idea that if space weapons appear on the American side it will never use them for an attack and will supposedly even be ready to "share" the appropriate technology with the Soviet Union. It is hard to say what is greater here—open cynicism or a desire to boggle the minds of naive simpletons.

Obviously, if there is no intention to use space weapons to the detriment of another side, they should not be made altogether. Besides no one can count on oral assurances in vital issues of security.

It is also well known that the USA is coming forth with a host of speculations around the problems of control, the Soviet stand on this score being purposely distorted. At the press conference in Geneva Mikhail Gorbachev stated in this connection that the truth is that the Soviet Union is open for control. The USA proposes to open laboratories and control how the arms race is proceeding in space, but this is a faulty and unacceptable starting point. If an accord is reached on a ban on the orbiting of weapons in space, the Soviet leader stressed, the Soviet side will be prepared on a mutual basis to open laboratories to monitor such an accord. If the American Administration follows the Soviet example and halts all nuclear tests and if an agreement is concluded to the effect, then again, as far as the Soviet side is concerned, there will be no problems with control, including international control.

Unfortunately, the US President, judging by the results of the discussion, continues to feel tempted to obtain some unilateral advantage through outer space. Nevertheless, it is important that he once again heard—now at the summit level—the clear-cut view of the Soviet side on the situation that will emerge if the USA remains adamant in seeking to create space-based weapons. It was underscored that the USA will not be able to shoot ahead

in this sphere. The Soviet Union is not intent on military superiority itself, but it will not allow such superiority over itself either. To overestimate the possibilities of the USA to dash ahead in the attack space weapons race and to underestimate the USSR's capacity to find a fitting response would be a serious mistake. Such a response—a rather quick and perhaps less expensive one—would be given. However, this would not be of the Soviet Union's choosing.

Yes, we are realists and must state plainly that through the fault of the American side, which literally held tight to its "star wars" plans, no solutions to the central issues of arms limitation and reduction were found at the meeting.

However, the Geneva summit has produced positive results which had largely and unconditionally been promoted by the constructive and consistent policy of the Soviet Union. It is important that in the joint statement the American side confirmed the accord reached in January 1985 between the USSR Foreign Minister and the US Secretary of State on the subject and aims of the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons. Today, at the highest, presidential, level the USA has pledged to hold talks in keeping with this accord to elaborate measures aimed at preventing the arms race in outer space and halting it on the Earth, to limit and reduce nuclear armaments, and strengthen strategic stability.

Politically, this objectively makes the "star wars" plans more vulnerable and obliges their initiators to weigh once again and adjust their approach to nuclear and space weapons talks, which the sides agreed to speed up. The profound differences notwithstanding, the proposals both sides advanced at the talks also have common ground and provide a certain opportunity for exploring mutually acceptable solutions for a radical reduction of nuclear armaments provided there is a ban on the development of attack space weapons.

An important result of principle of the summit in this respect is the fact that the joint document which was drawn up formalised a mutual understanding that nuclear war should never be unleashed and that there can be no victors in it, the commitment of the two countries to structure their relations taking into account this indisputable truth and not seeking military superiority. The USSR proceeds from the conviction that this understanding, stated jointly and at the top level, should be the foundation of the two states' foreign policies.

Another positive fact in terms of further steps in the sphere of strengthening security is that in the final document of the meeting the USA conjointly with the Soviet Union confirmed their obligation to promote an all-round consolidation of the nuclear non-proliferation regime, advocated a general and complete prohibition and non-proliferation of chemical weapons, and progress at the Vienna talks and the Stockholm Conference.

This is definitely a big plus in favour of a positive change in the political and psychological climate in international relations, of their improvement, and of a reduction of the threat of an outbreak of nuclear war, a reduction so imperative for the attainment of practical agreements.

Aside from an in-depth examination of security problems, the meeting featured a discussion of principle on regional problems, during which the Soviet side firmly rejected the American concept of regional conflicts and underscored the necessity to respect the sovereign rights of states and to let them choose their own path and their own friends without interference in their internal affairs.

The matter here is hardly a desire to exert "pressure" on the United States. Simply, the objective reality of the present-day interdependent world is such that there are simultaneously acting in it the interests of a wealth of diverse states, dissimilar in their social nature, historical experience and foreign policy priorities. These interests sometimes collide,

and even lead to military conflicts. These conflicts can be called "regional" only arbitrarily, what with the danger of their spreading in this nuclear age being extremely great.

The Soviet Union is decidedly in favour of a settlement of these conflicts, immediately where this is possible, and gradually in other instances. Only, it should be understood—and the Soviet leader brought this point home to the American side in Geneva—that they will not be "settled" by one state dictating its writ to others. Such a course leads to confrontation. Just as does the line for export of counter-revolution—whether in Central America, in the south of Africa, or in the Middle East.

The firm opposition of the USSR to all manifestations of diktat in international affairs, and its invariable solidarity with the peoples struggling for the right to map out their future independently are also a fundamental reality of present-day Soviet-American relations.

A fruitful exchange of views and new concrete ideas took place at the summit on aspects of bilateral cooperation. In confirmation of a certain progress attained in this sphere of late concrete agreements were signed on contacts and exchanges in science, education and culture, and both leaders spoke in favour of the practical development of international cooperation in peaceful utilisation of thermonuclear synthesis. The development of equitable mutually beneficial businesslike cooperation would lay a good material foundation for greater trust and mutual understanding.

In summing up the results of the top-level dialogue it is essential to single out the following. The Geneva summit was a foremost political event in international affairs. Its staging itself is a stabilising factor in the current situation. It was needed to halt the continued worsening of Soviet-American relations and the dangerous escalation of world tensions.

This evaluation is shared by our allies, the fraternal socialist countries, which is borne out with utmost clarity by a meeting of the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member countries in Prague immediately upon the completion of the Soviet-American summit talks.

It can be stated that the USSR's concept of Soviet-American relations, which combines adherence to lofty principles in formulating and implementing basic goals, realism in assessing the situation, consistency in pursuing the active policy of peaceful coexistence and in searching for solutions to thorny problems proved to be the working concept.

The results of the summit once again convincingly confirmed the veracity of the fundamental foreign policy aims advanced by the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as the specific initiatives and actions of the Soviet state being effected of late and aimed at the solution of the key issues of the current, extremely crucial period in international development, at the elimination of the protracted dangerous tensions plaguing the world.

The long-term import of the Geneva summit will, of course, be revealed in specific, practical actions and will hinge on the sides' readiness to act on the basis of the joint statement taken in Geneva. The Soviet Union, as was noted by the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, which considered and endorsed the work done by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the meeting with the US President, will do everything necessary to improve Soviet-American relations for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries and in the interests of strengthening universal peace and the development of broad cooperation among countries and peoples. One can only hope that the elements of realism in US policy that manifested themselves during the preparations for and actual holding of the meeting will become manifest in the concrete policies of Washington and that the latter will have sufficient political will to work for the start of a new, more constructive and fruitful period in Soviet-American relations.

"Of course," stressed Mikhail Gorbachev "the real significance of all

A PROGRAMME OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Sh. SANAKOYEV,

N. KAPCHENKO

The results of the October 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee are of truly historic importance. The Plenary Meeting considered the drafts of the new edition of the Party Programme, the changes in the CPSU Rules, and the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990, and for the Period Ending in the Year 2000, which, after Party and nationwide discussion, are to be tabled for consideration at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The import of these documents is determined above all by the fact that in them the Party maps out a strategic course for the development of Soviet society both for the immediate future and for the long term and defines the forms and methods of the acceleration of scientific and technological progress and the further perfection of the socialist system, and the building of a communist society in the USSR. Hence their epoch-making importance and their enormous influence on the hearts and minds of people in all parts of the world, and on mankind's advance along the road of peace and social progress. The fact that the destiny of peace and progress on earth, the present and future of the whole of humanity are bound up with the implementation of the creative plans of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community has long become an axiom.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme preserves the continuity of the fundamental theoretical and political principles endemic to Marxist-Leninist parties. As was stressed at the October Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the question of continuity in the development of the theory and policy-making goals of the Party is a question of its adherence to principle and consistency and its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism.

A quarter of a century has elapsed since the third CPSU Programme was adopted. The record has borne out the veracity of its main theoretical and political provisions. During this time the Soviet people led by the Communist Party have scored impressive successes in developing productive forces, economic and social relations, socialist democracy and culture, and in moulding a new man. Soviet society has entered the period of developed socialism, which is a law-governed stage of socio-economic maturity of socialist society within the framework of the first phase of the communist formation. The example of the Soviet Union, a

great world power, and its peaceable Leninist policy are exerting now a decisive influence on the entire course of world events. The Soviet state and the socialist community as a whole are a decisive factor behind the progressive development of mankind.

The overall situation on the planet has changed as well. The continued worsening of the general crisis of capitalism has led to the victory of popular democratic revolutions in a number of Asian and African countries and to the final dissolution of the colonial system of imperialism. Hence the continued changes in the correlation of class and political forces in the world arena in favour of world socialism, the consolidation of its international positions, the growth of its prestige and influence, and the enhancement of the role played by the masses struggling for social progress and peace.

The attainment of military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, and between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO is an epoch-making event. It has helped consolidate the positions of existing socialism and all peace champions in the struggle against the imperialist policy of war and aggression and contributed to a considerable reduction in the possibilities of imperialist reaction, which is hatching plans for "crusades" against world communism, against the forces of peace and social progress. All this has led to the strengthening of the potential of the world that is comprised of the socialist countries, the international working-class and communist movement, the young independent states, and the broad antiwar movements in all parts of the globe.

In its bid to turn back or halt the course of historical development, the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie in the Western countries are embarking upon the path of whipping up international tensions, the nuclear and conventional arms race, and the militarisation of the whole of the socio-political and spiritual life of the Western world, thus posing a serious threat of a nuclear catastrophe. The imperialist circles of the USA and NATO are patently intent on channeling the contest between the two systems—capitalism and socialism—along military lines.

Naturally, all these changes that have taken place in this country and in world affairs over the past 25 years have put on the agenda a number of theoretical and political issues connected with an interpretation of the results of the path that has been traversed and the outlining of the prospects for the further development and improvement of Soviet society. In the draft new edition of the Programme the Party thoroughly analyses and clarifies current and long-term goals, precisely indicates how they can be attained, and at the same time elaborates new approaches to organisational, socio-economic and ideological activity. In short, it not only summarises what has been done but also maps out a clearcut and scientifically substantiated course for the accelerated development and all-round improvement of socialist society, the ways and means of reaching the ultimate aim—communism, and tasks of international policy in the new historical conditions.

"The third Party Programme in its current edition," stressed Mikhail Gorbachev at the October Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, "is a programme for the planned and all-round improvement of socialism and of the further advance of Soviet society toward communism, based on the country's accelerated socio-economic development. It is a programme of struggle for peace and social progress."

A profoundly scientific approach to analysis of the objective processes in the socio-economic development of this country, creative Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present-day world situation, a precise wording of the goals and tasks of the CPSU and the Soviet state for the immediate future and for the long term are characteristic features of the new edition of the CPSU Programme and the other historic documents endorsed at

the October Plenary Meeting. Underlying them are the Leninist methodology and Lenin's instructions on elaborating vital theoretical and political problems and shaping the strategy and tactics of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The new edition of the Party Programme is a vital contribution to the creative elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theory and of Leninist teaching on the building of socialism and communism, on the nature of the present-day age, on war and peace.

As to approach to the elaboration of the Party Programme, Lenin in his time pointed to the need to proceed from the Marxist tenet that the Programme should be built on a scientific foundation. "It must explain to the people how the communist revolution arose, why it is inevitable, what its significance, nature and power are, and what problems it must solve",¹ he pointed out.

A Marxist-Leninist analysis of the nature and basic content of the modern age is of fundamental theoretical and practical importance. Their definition in the draft new edition of the Party Programme has been clarified and supplemented in accordance with the changes that have taken place in the world over the past few decades and with the overall situation now existing in the world arena. It is dictated by the world level of socio-political and economic development achieved and the objective patterns of mankind's advance toward peace and social progress.

In the draft new edition of the Programme our age is defined as "*an age of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, and of historical competition between the two world socio-political systems, an age of socialist and national liberation revolutions and of the disintegration of colonialism, an age of struggle between the main motive forces of social development- world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, the peoples of the emergent states, and the mass democratic movements -against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression, and for democracy and social progress*".

Such an exhaustive and clear-cut definition of the nature and chief content of our age, first of all, makes it possible to give a proper assessment of the world situation and its development outlook for the immediate and the foreseeable future; second, it inspires in the progressive and democratic forces optimism and confidence in the outcome of their struggle against international imperialism for the just cause of social progress and peace on earth.

At the same time such a definition of the modern age knocks the ground from under the falsifiers of the history of existing socialism and the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples. The imperialist ideologists and politicians constantly hold forth on the "crisis of world communism", attempting again and again to prove that the revolutionary changes which took place in the world after the Great October Socialist Revolution were nothing but a historical anomaly, and that the deep-going transformations of human society were supposedly not at all prepared by the entire preceding course of history but were well nigh imposed by the Communists initially in Russia and then in other countries. The absurdity of such an approach to the events of epoch-making importance is obvious. The world-historic turn of mankind to socialism that was inaugurated by the October Revolution, as the facts incontrovertibly show, is a law-governed result of social development. And precisely this accounts for the reaction on the part of the imperialist ideologists and politicians and of all our class enemies. For some seven decades now they cannot reconcile themselves to the objective turn of history, to the

fact that capitalism is the last exploiter society, which is being replaced by a new socio-economic formation—communism.

The deepening general crisis of capitalism, the accelerating revolutionary renewal of the planet and the historical doom of the old world are pushing the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie into desperate attempts to extricate itself from its hopeless situation by means of further escalating the arms race and militarising all aspects of life in capitalist society, vigorously spreading the misanthropic ideology of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. "Imperialism refuses to reckon with the political realities of the present-day world," reads the draft new edition of the Programme. "Ignoring the will of sovereign peoples, it strives to deprive them of their right to choose their road of development themselves, threatens their security. Herein lies the main origin of conflicts in various parts of the world."

As to the main factor that conditions and characterises the behaviour of the ruling elite of the imperialist states, above all the USA, this is, on the one hand, the intensification of fear of world socialism and the revolutionary upheavals that are engulfing all regions of the globe, of fear and confusion which indubitably attest to the loss of a historical perspective, and, on the other, the all-round fomenting by them of anticommunist, anti-Soviet, chauvinistic and racial sentiments among broad strata of the Western population.

Merging together here, too, are politics and propaganda, diplomacy and psychological warfare, promulgation of the arms race and pious posturing about "human rights" in the socialist countries. By all indications, the henchmen of "crusades" are extending wider and wider the framework of the ideology and policy of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, and are candidly setting about imparting a militarist nature to them. Furthermore, the US and NATO ruling quarters are using the ideology and practice of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism not only against the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties but also against all patriotic, progressive and democratic movements.

There is an obvious reluctance to reckon with present-day realities. Indubitably, the Western world still has at its disposal considerable economic and political potential and plays an important role in resolving problems of world politics. However, the old methods of conducting international affairs, when the imperialists relied on military force, cannot be justified in our day. Admittedly, the imperialists and their stooges are frequently able to create hotbeds of crisis and tension in various parts of the world, to support antipopular, fascist and racist regimes in their struggle against their own peoples for a rather long time, and to hamper in every way possible the solution of vital problems of international relations. However, all this hardly bespeaks the strength of the imperialist states and the farsightedness of their political leaders, but is only an indicator of the fact that capitalism cannot handle problems directly bound up with the prospects for its further existence. All the "measures" to which the ruling quarters of the West resort, all their propaganda, politics and diplomacy, which are permeated with demagogical rhetoric, naturally are unable to halt the decline and disintegration of the old system. This is what is most important.

The historical doom of capitalism is conditioned not by any subjective factors or mistakes made by the leaders of Western countries. The worsening crisis of the old world is caused by the ever greater exacerbation of the social contradictions of bourgeois society. Such incurable diseases of capitalism as mass unemployment, crises, inflation, to name but a few, particularly in present-day conditions, in the context of the scientific and technological revolution, are leading to catastrophic consequences, dooming broad strata of the population in the non-socialist part of the world

the latest scientific and technological breakthroughs for the purpose. But is it a matter of the number of words being used to prove an outright slander?

The strength of Soviet propaganda lies not in the fact, as Washington is trying to portray, that the USSR supposedly distorts the stands of other countries and whitewashes its own policies. Its strength lies in truth, in objective analysis of facts, in precise forecasting of developments. The strength of Soviet propaganda lies in the fact that it does not hold forth with demagogical statements to the world but brings to the world public the essence of the constructive businesslike initiatives of the CPSU and Soviet state to improve the international situation.

Western mass media often try to cast doubt on Soviet policies and propaganda, claiming that the USSR does not report everything, that it conceals the goals which it pursues in discussing or tackling a contentious international issue. To put it mildly, such statements do not have the slightest basis in truth. The USSR speaks straightforwardly and candidly on domestic and foreign affairs and openly supports the stand of the political circles in the West, which does not run counter to common sense; at the same time we criticize and expose to the entire world any machinations by governments advocating the arms race and worsened international tensions, though this is not to their liking.

As to the USSR's domestic and foreign policy goals, the whole world knows them. We discuss them openly and extensively, we not only talk about our economic and social achievements, but also criticize negative aspects and uncover mistakes; after a thorough analysis is made, major transformations are carried out to perfect existing socialism. One example of such an approach is precisely the historic documents of the Party which the October Plenary Meeting of the CPSU advanced for Party and nationwide discussion.

The draft new edition of the Programme contains a profound, scientifically substantiated charting of the CPSU's activity in the international arena, in the struggle for peace and social progress. The underpinning in shaping the overriding goals and areas of the Party's policy in international affairs is the Leninist idea of the close interconnection between domestic and foreign policies, the dialectical unity of these two vital spheres of state affairs. The nature of our age has by virtue of many objective factors led to the fact that the interconnection and interaction between domestic and foreign policies have become still more integral, multifaceted and inextricable.

The economic, social, political, cultural and spiritual aspects of Party and state activity are closely bound up with all international activity. The tie between the economy and politics is an objective reflection of the realities of life. Lenin once pointed out: "Our Party programme must not remain solely a programme of the Party. It must become a programme of our economic development, or otherwise it will be valueless even as a programme of the Party. It must be supplemented with a second Party programme, a plan of work aimed at restoring our entire economy and raising it to the level of up-to-date technical development."²

The draft new edition of the Programme precisely unites into a single entity all facets of the diverse activity of the CPSU and Soviet state in domestic and foreign policies. As the draft points out, the CPSU's international policy is "inseparably linked with the basic strategic tasks of

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1974, p. 515.

the Party within the country and expresses the common aspiration of the Soviet people to engage in constructive work and to live in peace with all the peoples".

It is from this fundamental prerequisite that the CPSU proceeds, mapping out and grounding vital tasks in the international sphere. The draft new edition of the Programme visibly reveals the truly epoch-making contribution the CPSU has made to the further elaboration of the Leninist scientific system of views on problems of war and peace in the modern age and to the development of the theory and practice of socialist foreign policy. It exhaustively and scientifically analyses and generalises the historical experience of the Soviet state in international affairs, brings out the chief patterns of the formation and development of international relations over the past decades, and reveals deep-going trends under whose impact present-day world relations are developing. A characteristic feature is the fact that the draft strictly sets forth the vital Marxist-Leninist tenet on unity of theory and practice. Organic synthesis of theory and practice in the multifaceted activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state is endemic to each section of the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme. Theory so to speak points the way to practice, while practice, in testing particular theoretical tenets through the course of development, enriches it with fresh creative content. Both historical experience and modern developments, are increasingly revealing a revolutionary transformative role of socialist foreign policy and its fundamental difference from imperialist foreign policy.

The characterisation of the present-day international situation contained in the draft attests to the fact that the danger hanging over mankind has never been so formidable. Nor have the possibilities for preserving and strengthening peace ever been so real. Basing itself on a sober and objective analysis of the totality of factors influencing world development and prospects for resolving the problems of war and peace, the CPSU proceeds from the belief that *"world war is not fatally inevitable. It is possible to avert war and to save mankind from catastrophe. This is the historical mission of socialism, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world."* This fundamentally important conclusion is a mighty instrument for mobilising all antiwar forces for the struggle against the military danger and for uniting the broadest segments of the population in every country on an antiwar platform.

In its turn, the Soviet Union, firmly and decisively countering the aggressive policy of imperialism, is taking a constructive approach to the solution of international issues through negotiations and is showing a readiness for a dialogue. This is amply shown by the USSR's stand on the most important international problems and its far-reaching initiatives under whose direct impact, strictly speaking, present-day international relations are developing. The consistent and realistic course the Soviet state is steering in the international arena is a stabilising factor in our extremely complicated and tension-filled world.

On the basis of a scientific analysis of today's international situation, and a generalisation of the tremendously significant and rich experience of foreign policy activity of the USSR, and with due account of the experience amassed by the other socialist countries, the national liberation movement and all the planet's peace forces, the draft new edition of the Party Programme maps out the *vital guidelines for the international activity of the CPSU and Soviet state*. They are cooperation with socialist countries, consolidation of relations with the emergent states, relations with the capitalist countries, the struggle for a lasting peace and for disarmament, and the role of the CPSU in the world working-class and communist movement. Capsulised here are principled tenets defining the nature and content of the Party's international policy as a whole and

the totality of specific practical measures the implementation of which is designed to strengthen peace and promote social renewal.

History has assigned a special role in the effort to preserve peace and eliminate the threat of war to the *socialist countries*, which are the most powerful force capable of restraining the aggressive circles of imperialism and preventing them from pushing humanity into the abyss of a nuclear war. It is quite natural that priority in the draft new edition of the Programme is given to cooperation with the socialist countries. It definitively confirms the CPSU's line for the development of solid comradesly relations and multifaceted interaction between the USSR and all the states of the world socialist system. This line is being steadfastly implemented: the political, economic, cultural, scientific and other contacts between the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries are developing dynamically, the mainspring of the comprehensive cooperation among the fraternal peoples being the ruling Communist and Workers' Parties, interaction among which is becoming deeper and more multifarious at all levels.

The development and consolidation of the USSR's interstate ties with the socialist countries enhances the efficacy of their cooperation in the international arena. All this accords with the interests of each of them and with their common interests, serves the cause of peace and leads to the triumph of socialist ideals. The CPSU's course in this issue is set forth in an extremely clear-cut manner: *"The CPSU considers it its internationalist duty to strengthen, along with the other fraternal Parties, the unity and build up the might and influence of the socialist community. The course of competition between socialism and capitalism and the future of world civilisation depend to a great extent on its strength, on the success of each country in its constructive endeavours, and on their purposefulness and concerted actions."*

As opposed to the system of relations that emerged on the basis of bourgeois, or rather exploiter, society, a system of relations among states and peoples with its inequality, exploitation, coercion and diktat, socialism has brought to life a fundamentally new type of international relations that is founded on Marxist-Leninist ideology, class solidarity, friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance in building and safeguarding the new society, equality, and respect for the independence and sovereignty of each state.

The process of the formation of the new type of international relations embraces a period that is not all that lengthy. However, from the standpoint of historic significance and of influence on the destiny of mankind, the new type of relations that have taken shape among the socialist countries is equivalent to a genuine revolution in the entire system of international relations, since "history has not known such a community of countries in which nobody has, nor can have, special rights and privileges, in which international relations have really become relations between nations, in which live, fruitful ties at most diverse levels—from the highest Party and state leadership to work collectives—have taken shape and are developing. The community is multiplying the forces of the fraternal states in socialist construction and helping them ensure reliable security for themselves."

The new type of relations among the socialist countries rests not on some subjective foundation, it arises from the objective development patterns of the socialist system itself. Of course, in its steady advance, the socialist community is encountering certain difficulties that are inevitable in the course of creating a new social system. As is well known, the levels of economic and political development, the historical and cultural traditions of the various socialist countries and the conditions which prevail in them are not identical. For this reason it is quite natural that

the formation of the new type of relations and the development of the socialist community is a complex process. Each major stage in the social development of the community advances fresh involved tasks, the accomplishment of which is bound up with struggle and search, with the surmounting of contradictions and difficulties.

This, in turn requires, as is stressed in the draft new edition of the Programme, "utmost attention and all-round cooperation so that there be no grounds for differences which could harm common interests. Special importance is attached to coordination of actions in matters of principle, comradely interest in each other's success, strict implementation of commitments and a profound awareness of national and common, internationalist interests in their organic relationship."

An inevitable pattern in the historical perspective is not only a further extension of the new type of international relations, but also their qualitative improvement, which is to be mirrored in the ever more harmonious combination of the international and national interests of the socialist countries based on the principle of socialist internationalism, which is the cornerstone of the entire system of relations among the socialist community countries.

The significance and role of socialist internationalism are particularly growing in the context of the fierce contest between the two world systems, when imperialism is resorting to all ways and means of weakening the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries. However, these attempts will inevitably fail, encountering the community of class interests of the socialist countries. "What unites and forges the socialist countries together is paramount and immeasurably greater than what may divide them," reads the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme.

The socialist community countries are countering the intrigues of the aggressive imperialist forces with their consistent line for easing military confrontation. Although advocating simultaneous disbanding of the military blocs, specifically, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, or, as a first step, the elimination of their military organisations, the socialist community countries nevertheless consider it necessary, what with the NATO military buildup, to enhance in every way the activity of the Warsaw Treaty as an instrument of collective defence against the aggressive ambitions of imperialism and of joint struggle for a lasting peace and extended international cooperation.

Viewing the further deepening of socialist economic integration as *the material basis* for the cohesion of the socialist countries, the socialist community states are consistently implementing a series of broad, long-term measures aimed at deepening, extending and intensifying their economic cooperation. This strengthens the technological and economic invulnerability of the community from hostile actions by imperialism and from the influence of economic crises and other negative processes inherent in capitalism.

The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme provides an exhaustive analysis of the key issues of relations with *the newly-free countries*. Following Lenin's teaching, the CPSU and the Soviet state have invariably viewed the national liberation struggle of the peoples as an important component of the world revolutionary process. In accordance with this line the USSR has constantly extended all manner of assistance and support to peoples fighting for their liberation, the consolidation of their political independence and economic self-sufficiency, and for a greater weight of the newly-free states in world politics and economy.

The historic course of events, particularly over the past quarter of a century, has amply proved that the growing influence of the peoples of the emergent countries on world developments promotes the cause of

peace and social progress. And all this bespeaks the fact that this trend will increasingly gain momentum with the passage of time.

The Soviet Union is firmly and consistently steering a course for extended amicable ties with the newly-free states; it structures its relations with them on the basis of equality and strict respect for their independence and supports their struggle against the neocolonialist policy of imperialism, for peace and universal security.

It is only natural that the Soviet Union's relations are not the same with all the emergent countries. However, the centrepiece of the Soviet state's policy is the striving to help the peoples of these countries cast off forever all the shackles of dependence on imperialism, whether in the political, economic, scientific, technological, spiritual or any other sphere. The USSR supports the peace initiatives of the newly-free states and views them as a major force called upon to promote international peace and security. It is on the basis of the struggle for peace and the elimination of the threat of world war that broad vistas are opened up for the development and deepening of cooperation between the socialist countries and the emergent states, as well as in the extension and deepening of economic, scientific and technological cooperation and in the joint effort for a restructuring of international relations on an equitable democratic basis, for the creation of a new international economic order, and for the obliteration of the debt-slavery imposed by the imperialists.

The record of the Soviet Union's ties and cooperation with the socialist-oriented countries has indisputably proven that the USSR has, to the extent possible, furnished and will continue to furnish to peoples who have embarked upon this road assistance in economic and cultural development, training national personnel, boosting their defence capability and in other spheres. This policy of the CPSU and Soviet state is based on the principle of solidarity and genuine internationalism to which the Party and the country have invariably been loyal, which they have been consistently implementing.

Postwar development and especially present-day reality are convincing confirmation of the veracity and profound tenability of the conclusion drawn in the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme: "The interaction of those countries with socialist states is vastly important for strengthening the independence of the peoples, improving international relations and safeguarding peace.

"The alliance of the forces for social progress and national liberation is a guarantee of a better future for mankind."

The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme summarises and scientifically generalises the historical experience of the Soviet state's relations with the *capitalist countries*. As is known, these relations have not at all taken shape unequivocally throughout history, reflecting two different lines in the policy of the capitalist states: on the one hand, the line of the most aggressive imperialist circles intent on destroying by force socialism as a social system; and, on the other, the line of realistically minded bourgeois figures aware of the fruitlessness and danger of such attempts.

As to the Soviet state, it has from the outset advanced the principled tenet that the historical contest between the two social systems can and must be resolved peacefully. It has logically obtained from this tenet that the USSR has always considered as unacceptable in principle the "export" of revolution, the imposition of it on anyone from without, just as it considers as inadmissible any form of "export" of counter-revolu-

tion, which is a most flagrant encroachment on the free will of the peoples, on their right to an independent choice of a road of development.

The objective logic of historical development urgently dictates the need to guide the development of relations between states with different social systems into the channel of peaceful competition and equitable cooperation. The only reasonable and realistic principle on the basis of which these relations should be structured is the principle of peaceful coexistence, which was advanced and scientifically substantiated by Lenin. The draft new edition of the Party Programme states: *"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is firmly and consistently upholding the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems."* The policy of peaceful coexistence, as understood by the CPSU presupposes: renunciation of war and the use or threat of force as a means of settling contentious questions, and their settlement through negotiations; non-intervention in internal affairs and respect for the lawful interests of each other, the right of the peoples to independently decide their destinies; strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and inviolability of their borders; cooperation on a basis of complete equality and mutual benefit; fulfilment in good faith of commitments arising from commonly recognised principles and norms of international law and from international treaties concluded."

The clear-cut, exhaustive exposition of the foundation on which the Soviet Union structures its relations with the capitalist countries is of great importance in terms of international politics. It rules out any speculations and bourgeois falsifications about the essence of peaceful coexistence to which various ideological and political opponents have frequently resorted. Contrary to the facts and to the clear-cut stand of the USSR as regards peaceful coexistence, this Leninist principle has been subjected to all sorts of attacks pursuing the aim of distorting its actual content and discrediting it.

However, these attempts have been and will continue to be futile, for in our day and age there is no intelligent alternative to peaceful coexistence, nor can there be. The record of history over the past few decades has proven that precisely the ruling quarters of the capitalist countries have been forced to reckon with the realities of our times, they have been forced to accept the principle of peaceful coexistence as the foundation of relations between states with different social systems. After all, it is a fact that the principle of peaceful coexistence has been recognised and formalised in numerous bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements concluded between the capitalist and the socialist states.

At present the focus of the problem lies not so much in the formal recognition of peaceful coexistence on the part of the capitalist countries as in their actual observation of the tenets which obtain from this principle. And it is quite natural that the draft new edition of the Party Programme underscores: "The CPSU will be purposefully contributing to the universal assertion in international relations of the principle of peaceful coexistence as a commonly recognised and respected norm of state-to-state relations."

It would be superfluous to call to mind the fact that, as the Soviet Communists understand it, peaceful coexistence is not at all confined to relations between the great powers, specifically, between the USSR and the USA. It is viewed as a universal principle designed to regulate relations between states belonging to different social systems. Attempts to narrow its sphere of action are totally unjustifiable, inasmuch as the whole essence of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems is then emasculated. And at issue is not only the narrowing of the geographical framework of peaceful coexistence, but also the very content and totality of the provisions of principle, embraced by it.

The draft sets forth the fundamental stand of the USSR as regards the Soviet Union's relations with the USA. It boils down to the fact that the Soviet Union is for *normal, stable relations with the USA*, proceeding from the belief that there exist objective prerequisites for establishing fruitful, mutually beneficial Soviet-American cooperation in various spheres. It is assumed that these relations will be based on non-interference in each other's internal affairs and respect for each other's interests, recognition and actual implementation of the principle of equal security, and the establishment of the greatest possible trust on this basis. Socialism proves its advantage not by the force of arms but rather by the force of example in all spheres of social activities—by the dynamic development of the economy, science and culture, by improving living standards of the working people, by greater socialist democracy.

As to the United States, however, the ruling quarters of that country are openly staking in their foreign policy on anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. Today the ideology of anticommunism, the ideology of "crusades" permeates the entire activity of the ruling circles of the USA and NATO on the international scene, and their foreign policy decisions. Their policy and diplomacy are conditioned above all by the tasks and aims of ideological and psychological aggression against the socialist countries and against all the revolutionary and liberation movements. Even the outcome of important bilateral meetings between the leaders of states, paradoxical as it may seem, they openly tie in with the stand of the CPSU and Soviet state in a particular region, with the USSR's solidarity with the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence and against the aggressive policy of the imperialist states.

Clearly, such an approach to international issues, such an "ideologisation" of policy and diplomacy cannot contribute to an improved international situation; on the contrary, they undermine the foundations of the relations that have already taken shape between the states of the two different systems. Furthermore, the nearsighted policy based on them postpones indefinitely the solution of the key problems of the day—the curbing of the arms race first and foremost, and leads to the undermining of the contractual relations existing between countries. Indicatively, the degree to which the ideology of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism is interwoven with Washington's practical foreign policy course is particularly intensified in the most crucial periods, when the world public expects responsible solutions from the leading world powers, aimed at normalising the international situation and eliminating the threat of nuclear war.

Obviously, the bugbear of anticommunism in the hands of imperialist reactionaries is not only a weapon for instigating ideological and political subversion against the socialist countries, but also a tool for destabilising the international situation, and torpedoing talks and decisions on the cardinal problems of war and peace.

Thus, the practice of carrying the ideological contradictions between the two systems over to the sphere of interstate relations is becoming increasingly widespread in the policy of the US ruling quarters. Furthermore, they portray ideological differences as an impediment to the development of relations between states with opposite social systems. Against the background of the turgid statements of American Administration's spokesmen on a striving to reach agreement with the USSR, pronouncements as the one made by US State Secretary George Shultz look strange, to say the least: "So long as the Soviet system is driven by ideology and national ambition to seek to aggrandize its power and undermine the interests of the democracies, true friendship and cooperation will remain out of reach". In other words, some "ideological disarmament" is being demanded of the Soviet Union, and the prospects for the development of

relations between the two countries is being made dependent on this.

The USSR proceeds from the belief that the differences in social systems and ideologies is not the reason for the tense relations between the states of the opposing social systems. The practice of relations between the Soviet Union and the West European countries is indicative in this respect. It is with the development and deepening of relations between them, as is known, that detente began, which the USSR has viewed as a natural and necessary stage in creating an all-embracing and reliable security system. It has been doing all in its power to develop this process. Positively assessing the European experience of development of mutually beneficial cooperation among states, which was manifest, specifically, in the successful Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Soviet state proceeds from the belief that the potential for such cooperation is great and that efforts are needed to bring into play all the positive factors inherent in it. There are sufficient objective possibilities for this; it is important only to use them to the full. The example of Europe can well serve to promote the strengthening of security, trust and peaceful cooperation worldwide.

The prospects for such cooperation are truly limitless: here are problems of strengthening security in various parts of the globe, the development of cultural cooperation, the tackling of the global problems that have arisen before mankind, and much else.

The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme gives priority to the problems connected with the cessation of the arms race and with disarmament, and the ensuring of international peace and security. It reaffirms the stand of the Soviet Union, which views *general and complete disarmament* under strict, all-embracing international control as a vital historic task. The USSR's approach to this problem exhibits profound realism, a genuinely constructive spirit, and concreteness.

The draft sets forth an all-encompassing platform of struggle to curb the arms race, which sums up the principled proposals this country has been advancing in the international arena for many years now. The Soviet Communists will consistently work toward:

a limitation and narrowing of the sphere of military preparations, especially those connected with mass destruction weapons. Above all, outer space should be fully excluded from this sphere so that it might not become an arena of military rivalry and a source of death and destruction. Outer space should be explored and developed only for peaceful purposes, for the advance of science and industry, in accordance with the needs of all peoples. The USSR is in favour of collective efforts to resolve this problem and will take an effective part in such international cooperation. The Soviet Union will also advocate the adoption of measures to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and to create zones free of these weapons and other mass destruction devices;

steps leading to *a complete elimination of nuclear weapons* and including the cessation of tests and the production of all types of them, a commitment on the part of all nuclear powers not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and the freezing, reduction and destruction of all arsenals of them;

the cessation of the production and the elimination of other types of mass destruction weapons, including chemical weapons, and the prohibition of the creation of new types of such weapons;

a reduction of the armed forces of states, above all, of the forces of the Security Council permanent members and states connected with them by military agreements, a limitation on conventional armaments and an end to the creation of new types of them which are approximate to mass destruction weapons in their destructive power, and a reduction in states' military expenditure;

a troop and armament freeze and reduction in the most explosive parts of the globe, dismantling of military bases on foreign territories, and the adoption of measures to build mutual confidence and reduce the risk of an outbreak of armed conflicts, including those resulting from an accident.

The essence of the Soviet stand on disarmament issues is crystal clear in the draft new edition of the Party Programme: *"The CPSU solemnly declares: there are no weapons that the Soviet Union would not be prepared to limit or ban on a reciprocal basis and with effective verification."*

The drafts of the new edition of the CPSU Programme, of the changes in the Party Rules, and of the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990, and for the Period up to 2000, which are being discussed by the Party and the people, are documents of intransigent importance. They not only summarise the path traversed by the Soviet people but also map out the momentous plans for the accelerated socio-economic, political and cultural development of Soviet society and for its perfecting and gradual transition to communism.

It should be stressed first and foremost that their being placed on the agenda became possible as a result of the USSR's successes scored in the building of a new society. Without the mighty economic potential, without the present development level of the country's productive forces and production relations it would be impossible seriously to consider reaching the socio-economic frontiers mapped out in the Party documents.

The economic development plans of the first socialist country have always drawn the attention of the world public at large, and its economic successes have invariably been of great significance internationally. However, the tasks and plans of socio-economic development contained in the documents prepared for the 27th CPSU Congress are literally astounding in their scope. Their implementation will raise the country to a new qualitative level and considerably augment the economic potential of the world socialist community. Suffice it to say that in the next 15 years the country plans to create an economic potential equal in its scope to that amassed over all the previous years of Soviet government, to double the volume of industrial production. All this will greatly enhance the USSR's impact on other countries and peoples and will help strengthen the defence might of the Soviet state, bridle the instigators of nuclear war and enhance the efficacy of the Leninist policy of peace and international cooperation.

If one looks back on the time passed from the publication of the Communist Manifesto, the first programme document of the Communists, to the CPSU Programme (a new edition), the natural onward march of mankind along the road of social progress and the establishment of the noble ideas of socialism and communism on our planet appear in all its magnitude. Paraphrasing Karl Marx' words, one has every reason to say that socialism plays the role of a powerful locomotive of history and that there are no forces in the world which can stop its movement. This conclusion is borne out by every line of the new draft edition of the Programme.

The Soviet socialist state has always carried aloft the banner of peace and friendship among peoples. *"A world without wars, without weapons--is the ideal of socialism"*. In its pre-Congress documents the CPSU reaffirms that it will continue to be faithful to this Leninist banner.

"HUMAN RIGHTS" IN THE US STRATEGY OF SOCIAL REVENGE

V. BOLSHAKOV

Soviet leaders and the resolutions of the Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee repeatedly stated that imperialism, which is to blame for the tense and dangerous international situation, has sharply stepped up its subversive activity against the socialist states in the political, economic, ideological and military fields.

"We can all see that a very dangerous turn has occurred in the policy of the major capitalist powers," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his report to the October 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. "The course of the times, the practical actions of imperialism, especially US imperialism, ever more clearly elucidate the essence of this policy, which is one of social revenge on the basis of achieving military superiority over socialism, one of suppression of the progressive and liberation movements, and maintenance of international tensions at such a level as would justify the creation of ever new types of mass-destruction weapons and militarisation of space."

The ideological struggle of the two systems is an inalienable part of the historic confrontation of socialism and imperialism, which is manifest, to quote Lenin, in the form of either "peaceful" or "non-peaceful struggle".¹

In the ideological field, imperialism, of course, uses peaceful forms of struggle, that is, the competition of ideas and social practices. But as it does not stand to gain in that competition it pins its main hopes on the highly aggressive forms of ideological struggle, such as ideological subversion. The latter is carried out within the framework of "psychological warfare" against the socialist states, which was "legalised" by the US Congress way back in 1948.² Though the US "legalised" "psychological war", it in fact runs counter to the UN Charter, international law, Soviet-American accords, the main principles of the Helsinki Final Act and even laws of the USA itself.³

Directive 68 of the US National Security Council endorsed by President Harry Truman on September 30, 1950, viewed a "psychological war" as an organic part of preparations for an armed conflict with the USSR and other socialist countries. It formulated the aim of building up positive and timely measures to carry out operations through secret means in the sphere of economic, political and psychological war with the aim of causing and supporting disturbances and uprisings in the select strategically important satellite countries.⁴ Analysis of postwar developments in socialist countries (in the German Democratic Republic in 1953, Poland and Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1980-1985)

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 295.

² See *Congressional Record*, Feb. 17, 1972, pp. 2055-2056.

³ See *18 United States Code*, § 958-960.

⁴ See N. Yakovlev, *The CIA vs. the USSR*, Moscow, 1983, pp. 62-63 (in Russian).

demonstrates that the aforementioned directive with slight modifications is in force to this day.

The present US Administration declared through one of its leading ideologists, Frank Shakespeare that an ordinary "psychological war" is no longer enough and that the USA needs a "psychopolitical war", whose aim is to cause constant disturbances and unrest in the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe.⁵ In other words, both the "pre-emptive nuclear strike" concept and that of "destabilising the Communist regimes" have one and the same aim of eliminating the socialist system in the USSR and the other socialist countries and restoring capitalism there.

The interrelationship of "psychological war" of imperialism with its military doctrine became clearly manifest already in the last years of Carter's presidency and found concrete expression in the early 1980s when the current US President proclaimed a "crusade" against communism, sharply enhanced the aggressiveness of US foreign policy and deployed new US first-strike nuclear missiles in some West European countries.

The "crusade" proclaimed by Washington envisages "global opposition" to and confrontation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries rather than competition of ideas and social practices. The strategists of anticommunism are aware that capitalism can hardly count on triumph in this field. For this reason they intend to exhaust the socialist countries by whipping up the arms race, economic, technological and "psychological" wars, political pressure, espionage and patent military blackmail. It is precisely in this context that we should view the acts of "psychological war" waged against the USSR and the other socialist states by imperialist reaction under the disguise of the sacrilegious slogan of "struggle for democracy and human rights".

It is therefore beyond doubt that the "march of freedom and democracy" proclaimed by Washington was nothing but a hopeless attempt by imperialism to snatch the historic initiative away from socialism, to hamper its growing influence and authority in the world, to denigrate and discredit its real accomplishments, including in the field of democracy, and to contrast the bourgeois concept of the rights and freedoms of the individual with the concept of genuine rights and freedoms of citizens evolved by the founders of Marxism-Leninism.

Struggle for democracy, human rights and freedoms is an indispensable part of any socialist revolution, hence the close attention paid to it by the founders of Marxism-Leninism. Analysing the bourgeois concept of human rights and freedoms in "The Holy Family or Critique of Critical Criticism" (1848), Marx and Engels wrote that those "rights" were formulated to suit the propertied classes because they did not free man from property but "procure for him *freedom of property*"; did not free him from the filth of gain, but rather "give him *freedom of gainful occupation*", turning him, with all his independence formally proclaimed by the bourgeois constitutions, into "the *slave* of labour for gain and of his own as well as other men's *selfish* need".⁶

Already at that time Marx and Engels pointed to the limited nature of bourgeois democracy, which is designed above all to ensure the inviolability of the system of exploitation of man by man. If only for this reason bourgeois democracy, even though it "*was* progressive compared with medievalism"⁷, as Lenin wrote, proved "inadequate" in the period of

the industrial revolution and incapable of ensuring genuine equality or fully realising even the docked civil rights and freedoms proclaimed by the bourgeois constitutions.

Without the socialist restructuring of society, Lenin pointed out, "there can be no question of genuine freedom for the individual—and *not for the property-owner*—of real equality, in the social and political sense, between man and man—and *not the humbug of equality between those who possess property and those who do not*, between the well-fed and the hungry, between the exploiters and the exploited".⁸ It is only under socialism that, according to him, the working people "can display their abilities, develop the capacities, and reveal those talents, so abundant among the people whom capitalism crushed, suppressed and strangled in thousands and millions".⁹

The practice of existing socialism in the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries has more than once confirmed Lenin's prophetic words. Nevertheless in the past few years the issue of "human rights" became the pet subject of bourgeois propaganda, which it is trying hard to use hoping to emerge victorious in the competition with socialism.

In full agreement with the rules of black propaganda, which form the cornerstone of a "psychological war", the ideologists of anticommunism seek to discredit existing socialism and socialist democracy by using commonly recognised social and legal terms and concepts though with a quite different meaning. To begin with, they uphold precisely those "rights and freedoms" that are unacceptable for the socialist state due to the causes mentioned by Marx and Engels, as they uphold the "*freedom of property*". Second, they are trying to impose upon us the concept of the individual realising his rights and freedoms even to the detriment of the interests of entire society, which is likewise unacceptable for existing socialism and its idea of civil rights and freedoms that form a dialectic unity with the citizen's duties to society. Third, they conceal the fact that the USA and some other bourgeois-democratic states either take no part whatsoever in the fundamental international covenants and conventions protecting human rights or have not as yet ratified them. They bypass in silence the fact that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have not only ratified them but even introduced the guarantees for implementing them in their legislation and constitutions.

The advocates of "Western democracy" just as carefully conceal their own considerable violations of human rights that are protected by the aforementioned covenants and conventions. For example, according to the official data, the USA had, as of June 1985, 8.5 million jobless, 6.5 million people working short hours and 1.2 million unemployed with expired term of getting unemployment benefits not registered anywhere at all. As is seen, the real figure of fully or partially unemployed in the USA amounted to 16.2 million people. According to the selfsame official data, the number of the Americans living below the "poverty line" in October 1985 exceeded 32 million (40 million, according to other data). The Department of Labor estimated that 80 million Americans live on earnings characterised as "below the sufficient level", with 20 million of them suffering from hunger and malnutrition. More than three million Americans are homeless. Ethnic minorities are in a special plight. From 60 to 70 per cent of the Black youth are unemployed, 40 per cent of the Blacks under 17 are illiterate, 42 per cent of the Black families live below the "poverty line".

Naturally enough, it is precisely this section of the country's population that has the biggest percentage of those who are considered the "rebels" by bourgeois justice and are ruthlessly treated with the help

of the entire state repressive apparatus. Former US representative at the United Nations Andrew Young said in his interview to *Le Matin* in July 1978¹⁰ that among the hundreds and even thousands of political prisoners in the USA the number of Black women and men was seven and eleven times that of white women and men. These "statistics" are just as bad for the Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Indians.

The situation in many other countries of the "free world" is no better. By late 1985, the army of the unemployed in Western Europe exceeded 16.1 million people. In general one out of five citizens of the capitalist world is suffering from growing poverty, malnutrition and remains illiterate. Two thousand million people have no access to clean sources of water, the circumstance which kills about ten million people, primarily children, a year. Two hundred-fifty million live in slums.

Forty per cent of the able-bodied population of the developing countries are either jobless or working short hours. Africa alone has 18 million unemployed and 70 million "partially employed".

The shameful cases brought to court in the past few years on the obviously trumped up charges against the Indian leader L. Peltier, civil rights champion J. Harris and peace champions in the USA, torturing of "suspected" British servicemen in Cyprus and Palestinians in Israel's prisons show the true worth of the rights and freedoms in the West so advertised by bourgeois propaganda.

The entire history of the preparations by the imperialist ruling elite for the propaganda campaign in "protection of human rights" allegedly violated in the socialist countries, the campaign that was officially proclaimed by President James Carter in 1977, proves that it was a matter of large-scale and long-range subversive operations within the framework of "psychological war" against existing socialism.

Already in the period from 1972 to 1976 the opponents of detente sought to block in the US Congress a number of agreements concluded between the USSR and the USA, making their ratification dependent on "the readiness of the USSR to observe human rights". The world press noted at the time that the highly reactionary groupings within the US ruling elite tried to use detente that was gaining strength in relations between the two states in order to step up "psychological war" against the socialist countries and to undermine the socialist community from within.

It is common knowledge that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe that took place in those years saw the sharpest debates and disagreement in evolving its Final Act over the so-called third basket, that is, the section dealing with humanitarian problems. Using the slogan of the "protection of human rights" as a smokescreen, the Western states insisted on their own interpretation of the concept of the rights and freedoms of the individual in a bid to use international cooperation in the humanitarian and other fields to export bourgeois ideology to the socialist countries, to effect uncontrolled emigration and re-enigration, to legalise and stimulate the antisocialist elements inside those countries.

The stake of the rabid US reactionaries on stepping up "psychological war" against the socialist countries in the conditions of detente was explained by certain foreign policy and inner political reasons that attested to the further weakening of the global positions of imperialism, first and foremost US imperialism. After the debacle of the US aggression in Vietnam and the Watergate scandal the US bourgeois ideologists looked for opportunities to restore among the Americans the lost faith in the in-

stitutes of the bourgeois state, its ideology and system of values to launch a counteroffensive against existing socialism as an ideology and social practices and to regain in this way the positions lost in the competition with the forces of peace and social progress. It was with these aims in view that the propaganda campaign "in protection of human rights" was planned to be used.

Its scope was specified in a number of works published in the late 1960s and the early 1970s by Zbigniew Brzezinski and other anticommunist political scientists. In 1969, a collection *Das 198. Jahrzehnt. Eine Team-Prognose für 1970 bis 1980*¹¹ written by a group of American and Western politologists and futurologists was published in Hamburg. The methods of destabilising the socialist system in the USSR and other socialist countries expounded in that collection formed a methodological groundwork of sorts for the future campaign for "human rights protection". The Hudson Institute of the USA, the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission also took part in its preparations.

Three years later an international conference of Sovietologists was convened in Jerusalem, where the main slogans of the "human rights" campaign were formulated. The conferees paid special attention to efforts to see uncontrolled emigration of Jews, Germans, Ukrainians and citizens of the Baltic republics from the USSR. In the early 1970s the Sovietological centres in the leading capitalist countries markedly boosted their studies in the realm of "human rights". In 1975, Amnesty International, an organisation connected with the CIA, published its first report on the problem. Closer coordination was effected in this sort of activity by the propaganda services of the USA and other NATO countries as well as Australia and Israel.

In the period from 1972 to 1976, the US Congress held a series of hearings on the "persecutions of dissidents" and "human rights activists" in the socialist countries. In 1974, Congress adopted the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the trade reform bill of 1973, discriminatory towards the socialist countries. Since the early 1970s under the pretext of "protecting human rights" US secret services intensified their activity to penetrate the socialist countries, to implant their agents there, to mount a "psychological war" in radio broadcasting, to put out massive editions of anti-Soviet and anticommunist literature and to bring it to the socialist countries.

Attempts were made to unite the small dissident groups in the USSR and the other socialist countries under the CIA aegis with the aim of organising opposition to the system existing in these countries, legalising that opposition and encouraging it towards open political struggle within the framework of "the free play of political forces", towards a seizure of power in individual socialist countries, and restoring the capitalist system there. It was at that time that micro quasi-public organisations to "protect human rights" appeared in the USSR and other socialist countries, among them the so-called Moscow Human Rights Committee, which was organised by physicist V. Chalidze, who subsequently emigrated to the West, and which included Solzhenitsin, Sakharov and others. The Evangelist Baptist Council of Relatives and the Soviet branch of Amnesty International were formed later on, etc.

In 1975, the CIA convened a conference of dissidents from the socialist countries in Geneva, recommending that they conduct subversive activity inside their countries under the slogan of "protecting human rights" and monitor compliance with the Helsinki accords. The General "con-

¹¹ Z. Brzezinski, *Alternative to Partition. For a Broader Conception of America's Role in Europe*, New York, 1965; *Das 198. Jahrzehnt. Eine Team-Prognose für 1970 bis 1980*, Hamburg, 1969; *Dissent in the USSR: Policy, Ideology and People*, Ed. by R. Tekes, New York, 1975.

ference" was followed by the foundation of the Moscow, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian and Armenian groups to monitor compliance with the Helsinki accords in the USSR, the "christian committee of the defence of the rights of the believers in the USSR", "the working group to investigate abuses of psychiatry for political purposes", "the association of free trade unions" and the "adventist group of legal struggle".

In 1977 an attempt was made to unite all those and other groups under Sakharov. A. Shcharansky's trial in Moscow in 1978 showed, that Shcharansky, who was Academician Sakharov's secretary and a US secret agent,¹² was among other things, involved in the latter project. During the same year dissident groups from Poland (above all the KOS-KOR groups) and from Czechoslovakia (the Charter-77 group) tried to get into the USSR as tourists and to discuss their joint actions with Sakharov and also the problem of setting up some "coordination group" to guide dissident activity in the socialist countries. All that activity was patently subversive by nature and was directed by Western secret services and the Israeli intelligence.

Underground "groups to monitor compliance with the Helsinki accords" were also formed in other socialist countries, e. g. "the workers' defence committee" in Poland, the Charter-77 group in Czechoslovakia, etc. These and similar groups provided the bulk of slanderous material for all sorts of "hearings" in the US Congress and other bourgeois parliaments on the "suppression of civil rights and freedoms" in the socialist countries. A direct contact between the corresponding Western organisations and Shcharansky's group and Sakharov took place in 1974 when the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the bill on trade with the USSR was in the making.

In 1976 Prof. F. Barghoorn, Department of State adviser on Soviet affairs, published in the USA a book, *Detente and the Democratic Movement in the USSR*, in which he gave recommendations to render support to the dissidents through Western parliaments and political parties and also with the help of organisations of the type of Amnesty International, the International Human Rights League and those groups and associations that have special concern for the emigration of Jews and other ethnic minorities and also other aspects of ethnic and religious rights and freedoms.¹³ To provide the "human rights" campaign with an infrastructure, in accordance with Presidential Directive No. 28 of 1977, the USA effected the reorganisation of the Department of State, the CIA and the apparatus of foreign policy propaganda.

By whipping up hysteria in the USA and the rest of the capitalist world over the imaginary "violations of human rights" in the socialist countries, the US strategists of "psychological war" were preparing Western public opinion for the return of the cold war and another round of the arms race.

As is known, the reactionary groupings of US monopoly capital deemed Democrat James Carter to be insufficiently "strong President" and forced him to give way to a more "reliable" representative of the conservative wing of the US bourgeoisie in the White House. The policy pursued

¹² For information on Shcharansky's trial and the activity of some dissident groups see V. Bolshakov, *Business on Human Rights*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1983, pp. 102-111 (in Russian); S. L. Zivs, *Anatomy of a Lie*, Moscow, 1982 (in Russian); *White Book. Testimonies, Facts, Documents*, Moscow, 1979, pp. 252-255 (in Russian).

¹³ F. K. Barghoorn, *Detente and the Democratic Movement in the USSR*, New York, 1976, p. 176.

by the current President in the field of human rights took shape under the influence of both the liberal and the patently conservative wing of the Republican Party. The liberals and the politicians within the US ruling elite close to them, who shaped Carter's policy, insisted on the further use of the policy of "protecting human rights" for two main purposes, namely, to interfere in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries and to "let off steam" of protest against the reactionary dictatorship in the countries that are US allies by staging a show of their "liberalisation". The conservatives had nothing against the former but radically opposed the latter.

Addressing the subcommittee on human rights and international organisations of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on July 14, 1981, Walter Stoessel Jr., US Deputy Secretary of State, as it were, summed up the consensus eventually reached between the liberals and the conservatives on the issue of human rights policy. He said that the protection and encouragement of human rights was a foreign policy principle of US Administration. That principle determined the fundamental purposes and also shaped the content of US international relations. He also linked human rights policy with the strengthening of the US military might, stressing that the two formed a "tandem".¹⁴

At the same time, he pointed out that the US Administration would be guided by "effective pragmatism" in its approach to the problem of how one state or another guarantees human rights and would not "embarrass" the dictators by openly condemning them, should they overdo it a bit. Nevertheless the USA would continue to use all means to condemn "the human rights violations" in the socialist countries.

The documents adopted by the Republican Administration, in particular Directive No. 75 of the National Security Council of 1983, show that the "psychological war" against the socialist countries and above all the USSR was aimed at destabilising existing communist regimes and that it was declared necessary to support openly the dissident groups and to bring them to power.¹⁵ Let it be recalled in this connection that, addressing British Parliament in June 1982, the US President said that the USA should take steps to assist democracy campaigns [in the socialist countries—V. B.]. In his view the USA and its allies should work within the framework of this campaign to build in the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, an "infrastructure of democracy", which implies the organisation of the "free press", "free trade unions" and political parties of the Western type.¹⁶ This goal of the Administration's policy was also connected with attempts to "maintain the status quo" in the world by suppressing the national liberation movements under the pretext of "fighting terrorism". The second term of office of the present Administration is characterised by an even closer link between the US policy of state terrorism (which is in fact a product of its campaign against "international terrorism") and its "human rights" campaign.

The Administration set forth the slogans of "Peace with Freedom" and "Promotion of Democracy" notorious ever since the time of President Woodrow Wilson. With respect to the socialist countries, that campaign is in fact a repetition of the John Foster Dulles strategy of "rolling communism back" with the aim of restoring capitalism primarily in the countries of Eastern Europe and now also in the countries of socialist orientation. Certain recent publications demonstrate that in relation to the socialist countries hopes are pinned on the "Polish scenario" which was

¹⁴ See *Official Text No. 49*, American Embassy, Moscow, USSR, July 20, 1981.

¹⁵ See *Los Angeles Times*, March 16, 1983.

¹⁶ See *Official Text No. 107*, American Embassy, Moscow, USSR. "Reagan's British Parliament Address", June 9, 1982, p. 8.

recognised by the US secret services the most promising in carrying through subversive activities against them.¹⁷

In his State of the Union Address to Congress made in February 1985 Ronald Reagan unambiguously declared: "We cannot... be passive when freedom is under siege. We must stand by all our democratic allies."¹⁸ It follows from this that Washington and its allies are planning to interfere actively in the socialist countries' affairs and to support openly the antisocialist forces on an even bigger scale.

With this aim in view of late, they undertook to modernise radio transmitters of the subversive radio stations of the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. A programme of direct broadcasting to the socialist countries from American TV satellites has also been worked out. It is planned to extend the mass-scale delivery of subversive literature to those countries, as has been envisioned in particular by the Programme of Democracy and Public Diplomacy. Apart from these "official channels", those of the CIA have also been brought into play. For example, the People's Labour Union (PLU) is carrying out Operation Strela (Arrow) to send anti-Soviet leaflets by post to the USSR. The ideological indoctrination of citizens of the socialist countries going abroad is also envisaged within the framework of this programme.

In the past few years the CIA effects the practical guidance of the anti-socialist forces in the West, adhering to Prof. Barghoorn's methods by giving both political and financial backing to its agents in the socialist countries. Pseudointernational structures have been set up to support the so-called "human rights champions". Among them is the "interparliamentary group for human rights", which ensures support for dissidents at the level of parliaments and political parties. The year of 1984 saw the foundation of the Resistance International with former Soviet citizen Vladimir Bukovsky at its head. Western secret services are assigned special role in maintaining constant contacts with the underground antisocialist forces, coordinating their activities and subsidising them. All the US embassies and some embassies of other NATO countries in the socialist states have special departments staffed with professional intelligence officers to maintain contacts with the dissidents and to monitor the "observance of human rights".

The final aim of similar illegal activities by the Western ruling elite is to *legalise the underground as legal opposition*. Demands to legalise the anti-Soviet underground, to release all sorts of detained lawbreakers, as a rule, referred to as the "prisoners of conscience" and to introduce freedom of emigration are invariably used by Western politicians and statesmen to bring pressure to bear on Soviet representatives in the course of negotiations. Talks with the USSR on the problems of disarmament, trade, tourism, cultural and scientific exchanges are made dependent on the Soviet compliance with these demands.

It looks as if the present US Administration is not going to renounce similar "demands" in the future. This is borne out by its programme documents of both the first and the second term in office. Long-term US policy in the field of human rights up to the year 2000 was characterised in a clear-cut form by the then US Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Elliott Abrams, who said that any poli-

¹⁷ See R. Pipes, *U.S.-Soviet Relations in the Era of Detente*, Boulder, 1981; Z. Brzezinski, "The Future of Yalta", *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1984/85; G.-A. Astre, "Tentations de la croisade, allraits de la coexistence", *Le Monde diplomatique*, June 1984, etc.

¹⁸ *Official Text No. 12*. American Embassy, Moscow, USSR. Feb. 8, 1985. "State of the Union Address, President Ronald Reagan". Feb. 6, 1985 (Washington), pp. 8-9.

cy in the field of human rights cannot be serious unless it is based on anticommunism. In fact it amounts to the "strategy of social revenge", which is referred to as the Reagan doctrine and presupposes active interference in the affairs of the socialist and some developing countries, with the aim of changing the system existing in them.

The guidelines of the Reagan doctrine with respect to ideological struggle and concrete imperialist actions to counter the forces of socialism were formulated in the report *The Future of American Foreign Policy: New Realities and New Ways of Thinking*¹⁹ made by the US Secretary of State George Shultz on January 31, 1985, to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It is clear from this report that:

With respect to the Soviet Union, the USA will pursue the tactics of "eroding the Communist conviction" through ideological subversion, encouragement of the dissident groupings and attempting to unite and legalise them without going as far as direct confrontation with the USSR. *With respect to the East European socialist countries*, it is envisaged actively to put into life the "Polish scenario" with the final aim of recarving the political map of Europe and restoring capitalism in the socialist countries.

With respect to Cuba, the socialist states of Southeast Asia, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and other countries of socialist orientation, the USA is to carry on "psychological war" and the policy of financing and supporting the counter-revolutionary emigre organisations and armed sallies by the counter-revolutionaries with the aim of creating for them internal bases for the onslaught against the lawful governments. Operations according to the "Grenada scenario" are quite possible in particular with respect to Nicaragua and other countries of socialist orientation.

The USA will actively enlist the help of its allies—South Africa and Israel—in opposing the countries of socialist orientation in Africa and Asia and resort to the "collective defence" method in particular through the OAS in Latin America. The USA and its allies intend to camouflage their policy of state terrorism with references to the "moral duty of the USA", its desire to "protect democracy and human rights", to "fight terrorism" and so on. These aims govern not only the actions of the foreign policy propaganda apparatus of the USA, other NATO countries and their allies but also their military-strategic doctrines and military activity on the whole.

Nevertheless, there is no getting away from the facts. And no matter what tricks official bourgeois propaganda and the mass media resort to, they find it ever more difficult to ignore the socialist countries' impressive accomplishments in all realms of life and at the same time to cover up the systematic violation of the basic human rights and freedoms in the leading capitalist countries and also the savage, barbarian suppression of human rights and freedoms in countries such as Haiti, El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, Pakistan, South Korea, Israel and South Africa.

It is therefore clear that when former President Carter advised his successor in a *Newsweek* interview to "carry aloft" the "banner of struggle for human rights" he meant the selfsame threadbare banner of anticommunism with the help of which the USA and its allies want to cloak both their own crimes in the field of basic human rights and freedoms and those perpetrated by their stooges. The hypocrisy of the American "human

¹⁹ *Official Text No. 10*, American Embassy, Moscow, USSR, Feb. 4, 1985. "The Future of American Foreign Policy: New Realities and New Ways of Thinking", by G. Shultz, Jan. 31, 1985 (Washington).

rights champions" is truly amazing. On the one hand, they continue accusing the USSR and other socialist states of violating human rights and in particular of not "complying with the Helsinki accords". And, on the other, they urge that the ideals of democracy American style should be actively instilled wherever possible, including with fire and sword.

The Washington Post wrote that a senior official of the Department of State went so far in justifying that sort of appeals as to claim that the USA had the right to dictate other countries what governments they were to have. The Department of State, according to the newspaper, proceeded from the principle that certain rights are more essential in nature than the right of the countries to the non-interference in their domestic affairs. The propaganda slogan of the White House "Peace with Freedom" in fact calls for an open export of counter-revolution.

In a way this, too, is a recognition of the utter bankruptcy of the leading imperialist power's policy in ensuring the rights and freedoms of both the individual and those of entire nations, including the fundamental right to life. Humankind sees again and again for itself that the bourgeoisie has long discarded the banner of human rights and freedoms. This is the banner of socialism, of the struggle waged by the Communist and Workers' Parties and of the national liberation movement. It is only under this banner that all the people can attain true equality.

TWO APPROACHES TOWARDS AN INFORMATION POLICY

S. L O S E V

In the modern world one can observe two distinct approaches to the important task of daily supplying the public with socially significant information, including facts and events as well as diverse commentary and reports which reflect the demands of propaganda and counter-propaganda.

The mass media in the socialist community see their first task as being, as Lenin pointed out, to preserve and strengthen "the enormous confidence we enjoyed and now enjoy among the masses of the people."¹ On the other hand, Lenin's characterisation of the "bourgeois press in all these free democratic countries and republics",² nine-tenths of which deceive the working people, remains valid to this day.

These class-political criteria enable one better to realise the tendency of recent decades where, through the efforts of imperialist circles, the "information explosion" taking place in the world has been increasingly countered with the "misinformation explosion". Two stages can be schematically shown, through which "information imperialism" has gone carrying out its "explosive" operation. First it decided that the people of the developed capitalist countries should be deprived of objective, truthful information on cardinal questions of war and peace, of peaceful coexistence between the two systems, of the struggle of the peoples for their national liberation and social emancipation and for the strengthening of independence and the right to freely determine their path of social and economic development. And now the reactionary circles of imperialism, led by the USA, have intensified their attempts, with the help of information propaganda, to force their ideas on all the peoples of the world, figuring that in that way they can obtain an ideological smokescreen for their militarist foreign policy course and at the same time discredit the peaceable foreign policy of the USSR and other socialist states.

However, the unseemly aims and methods of "information imperialism" have boomeranged. Instead of tearing down trust in the words and deeds of the socialist countries, the Western mass media, especially American, bogged down in a quagmire of misinformation and blatant lies, are themselves having to deal with a growing credibility crisis, which even the American ideologues have also had to admit. In the last 15 years Washington has undertaken feverish efforts to overcome this credibility crisis in the state- and privately-owned, monopolised mass media. However, all possible restructuring of information policy and machinery, and the numerous manoeuvres and contrivances, testify only to the superficiality of the continued efforts to polish up its strategy of replacing

The author is General Director of TASS, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Journalists' Union, winner of the Vorovsky USSR Journalists' Union Award.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, p. 303.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, 1966, p. 266.

the ideological struggle with "psychological warfare", its plans to obtain superiority in all aspects of dissemination of information and ideas.

In this situation the bosses of the propaganda business in the West, operating both concordantly and separately, openly and secretly, strive to impose a "war of nerves" on the mass media in socialist countries, drawing them into endless polemics on topics they deem "advantageous" and, in that way try to divert world public attention away from the new constructive foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union, away from the momentous constructive plans projected by the USSR, which are reflected in the draft of the new edition of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990, and for the Period up to 2000.

Delivering a decisive rebuff to the "psychological attacks" and the attempts to draw them into the "war of nerves", the mass media of the socialist countries continue with calmness and dignity the cause entrusted to them, contributing to the accomplishment of national and international tasks being tackled by their people.

SERVING PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

In the draft of the new edition of the CPSU Programme, submitted currently for discussion by the whole people, propagandists and workers of the Soviet mass media are drawing new creative inspiration for selflessly serving the noble ideals of socialism and communism. This document specifically states: *"The mass media and propaganda bodies are playing a growing role in society's life. The CPSU will insist that they thoroughly analyse domestic and international affairs, and economic and social phenomena, extend active support to everything that is new and advanced, raise pressing issues of concern to the people and suggest ways of solving them. The press, television and radio networks are to convince the people with a politically cogent, purposeful, profound, prompt, informative, clear and intelligible news coverage and commentary. The Party will continue giving the press and all other news and propaganda bodies ready help and support in their work."*³

The important tasks which the Communist Party sets before the Soviet mass media and propaganda demand from Soviet journalists improvement of all forms and methods of their work—their deeper awareness of the important role of the press, TV and radio in the psychological reshaping of public consciousness in the spirit of life's new demands, of the Party's course to speed up the socio-economic development of the country on the basis of scientific and technological progress, of the major contribution to a correct shaping of public opinion and its impact on practical matters.

The CPSU has always devoted great attention to the mass media, constantly guiding their work. A large contingent of TASS personnel acclaimed the message of greetings from the CPSU Central Committee in connection with the 60th Anniversary of the central information organ of the Soviet state. In it confidence was expressed that "all information and propaganda work of TASS will be geared to the major tasks of our day—the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development, the consolidation of all-round cooperation among the socialist community countries, mobilisation of peace and progressive forces for the struggle against the threat of nuclear war."⁴

During the jubilee days we gratefully recalled predecessors of TASS, which were the Petrograd Telegraph Agency from December 1917 and the Russian Telegraph Agency (ROSTA) from September 1918

The formation of ROSTA took place under the direct guidance of Lenin. He attentively watched over the Agency's work, gave concrete directions on the circulation of materials. Concern for the Agency was combined with high exactingness, with intolerance towards omissions.

In their work, TASS personnel are always guided by Lenin's words, written as early as 1905: "We must make it the constant job of publicists to write the history of the present day, and to try to write it in such a way that our chronicles will give the greatest possible help... to write it in such a way as to promote the spread of the movement, the conscious selection of the means, ways, and methods of struggle that, with the least expenditure of effort, will yield the most substantial and permanent results".⁵

As to the growing participation of TASS in "our chronicles", the following figures could be noted. Whereas five to six years ago TASS processed 1,000 million words of information a year, the figure is now 50 per cent higher; and photo coverage increased by a corresponding amount.

The Agency daily prepares and transmits 300 to 320 home and foreign reports for 4,000 Soviet newspapers and the State Committee for TV and Radio. In addition, there is a large flow of information transmitted abroad over TASS's channels in eight languages. Subscribing to TASS are over 600 foreign information agencies, ministries of information, editorial boards of newspapers and magazines, TV and radio companies, diplomatic and trade missions from 115 countries.

TASS widely covers Soviet domestic affairs. Fine traditions which were established in the prewar years, when information on the economy's industrialisation and collectivisation and on the glorious deeds of the Stakhanovite heroes of the first five-year plan periods were relayed to newspapers, are preserved even now. And they are not only preserved, they are multiplying.

The efforts of Soviet journalists, as of all people in the USSR, are directed towards securing peaceful conditions, which are essential to carrying out the bold plans to speed up the social and economic development of Soviet society.

At the same time, the Soviet mass media are taking into account the growing aggressiveness of imperialist propaganda against the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, expose the attempts to distort the essence of the CPSU's and the Soviet government's foreign and domestic policy; they strive to vividly and convincingly reveal the peaceful, humane essence of the drafts of the new edition of the CPSU's Programme and the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990, and for the Period up to 2000, show the constantly developing democratism of Soviet society, the actual exercising of Soviet citizens' rights enshrined in the Constitution and the unity of the Party and the people.

Soviet journalists carry on this struggle for noble aims in close co-operation with journalists of the fraternal socialist countries.

COOPERATION OF THE FRATERNAL AGENCIES

Amidst the rapid development of public life and the growing role of expeditious information, the close cooperation among journalists from the fraternal socialist countries and their ever stronger ties with workers of the mass media from a number of socialism-oriented developing countries, take on more and more meaning. This was vividly demonstrated by the regular meeting (October 1985, Varna) of chiefs of information agencies and press agencies of these countries. In attendance were: of-

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, 1962, p. 104.

ficials from the agencies of the People's Republic of Angola (ANGOP), the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (Bakhtar), the People's Republic of Bulgaria (BTA and the Solia-Press Agency), the Hungarian People's Republic (MTI, Budapest), the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (VNA), the German Democratic Republic (ADN, Panorama DDR), the People's Republic of Kampuchea (SPK), the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (KSNA), the Republic of Cuba (Prensa Latina, AIN), the Lao People's Democratic Republic (KPL), the People's Republic of Mozambique (AIM), the Mongolian People's Republic (Montsame), the Republic of Nicaragua (ANN), the Polish People's Republic (PAP, CAF, PAI), the Socialist Republic of Romania (Agerpress), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (TASS, APN), and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CTK, Orbis).

The meeting was devoted to coordinating the activities of agencies in the light of currently heightening demands springing from the complicated international situation.

As is emphasised in the final protocol of the meeting, in the face of growing aggressiveness of imperialism it is essential in the future to cover the continuing consolidation of unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Treaty member states' actions and the efforts undertaken by the USSR and the other fraternal countries towards curbing the arms race, preventing the militarisation of outer space and forestalling nuclear war.

Of great importance in this connection are the new Soviet foreign policy initiatives vigorously supported by the Warsaw Treaty states in their statement For Elimination of the Nuclear Threat and a Change for the Better in European and World Affairs, which was adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, held in Sofia on October 22 to 23, 1985. These proposals show reasonably, convincingly and on the basis of facts, the firm, consistent policy of peace and peaceful coexistence pursued by the socialist community, the growing role of Europe in improving the international situation, the importance of the struggle against militarisation of political consciousness, for ensuring East-West political dialogue.

Of particular importance is the upholding of principles of proletarian internationalism, the unveiling of subversive actions of the imperialist forces and international reaction which are unceasing in their attempts to cause a split in the socialist community through the so-called differentiated approach to individual socialist countries.

The vigorous and uncompromising struggle against the champions of "human rights" American-style is one of the main tasks of the information propaganda activities of the fraternal agencies. Now through Washington's efforts the campaign in "defence of human rights", which was begun in the late 1970s by James Carter, is being revived in the West.

As Janusz Roszkowski, Editor-in-Chief of the Polish Press Agency (PAP) noted in his address to the meeting in Varna, the propagandists in the West do not hesitate to raise "arguments" against the socialist system based on fabricated information and lies; insignificant facts are blown up to unprecedented proportions. One of the tasks of such prattle is to divert the attention of people living in capitalist countries away from the monstrous violations of human rights in their own society.

Take for example the strike of the British miners, this major social conflict, against the background of the struggle for the right to work. Last September the British trade unions announced that during the miners' strike 9,000 persons were arrested, 7,000 were injured and 69 people are still in prison for participating in the strikes. All of these people, victims of an exploitive system, for some reason, however, are not called political prisoners.

And then there is the massive violation of fundamental human rights in the United States. In 1984, in the USA 665,000 people were arrested for disturbing public order, and a significant part of them were accused of participating in demonstrations.

Or take the "civilised" barbarism of Philadelphia's authorities, who last summer bombed out an entire city block in a Black residential neighbourhood, where around 200 years ago the much-praised US Constitution was passed. It seems that the current mass terror, spearheaded against the Black population and other national minorities is no better than the rampage of official coercion when opponents of racism were lynched, when the police set their dogs on them, when such abominable murders were committed like the assassination of Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Then there was the physical removal in the 1960s of two Kennedys, President and Senator, which is an indelible disgrace of imperialist America and serves as a symbolic warning to politicians (people without rights and the poor know this all too well), that bloody terror is part and parcel of the arsenal of reactionary monopoly circles of "free and democratic" America.

The imperialist ideologists themselves are aware very well of the hypocrisy characterising both the domestic and international aspects of Washington's "human rights" subversion. They, undoubtedly, are terrified of having the "democratic" mask camouflaging their capitalist arbitrary rule ripped off, exposing human tragedies which are possible only in bourgeois society, and arousing justified anger in the world public over the system devoid of rights. Western propaganda tries to block out information from foreign audiences on the socialist viewpoint on human rights problems, and, especially, try to hide the fact that the "human factor" and a genuine concern for the individual and his or her rights underlie all actions taken by the fraternal parties in their domestic policies.

The enemies of socialism and progress have no aversion to carrying out direct subversive activities against the information agencies, which do not suit them, at the same time hypocritically ranting about "freedom of information", the "free flow of information", and so on.

The staff of the Polish press agency in marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of their organisation, recalled how the fraternal agencies came to their aid when, in the first half of the 1980s, at the height of the brazen attacks by reaction and imperialism on people's Poland, the West attempted to organise an information blockade against that country. At one time correspondents of PAP in the USA and some other capitalist countries were simply "cut off" from the outside world. The power to their teletype machines and telephones was shut off. The TASS press offices came to the rescue. The flow of information from the Polish correspondents travelled to Warsaw via Moscow. Correspondents from other socialist countries also came to their aid. The blockade failed.

Today, the fraternal agencies of the socialist countries continue exposing in detail the US policy of state-sponsored terrorism and the dirty provocations of the CIA and NATO secret services, which unleashed the slanderous campaign of the "Bulgarian connection" in the attempted assassination of the Pope. This flagrant anti-Bulgarian, anti-socialist provocation is an integral part of imperialist subversion against existing socialism.

The fraternal agencies support the striving of the developing countries for the establishment of a new international economic and information order on a just and democratic basis, back their statements criticising "information imperialism", "cultural" and other aspects of neocolonialism. This support helps create information agencies in developing countries, and disseminate their reports to other regions.

THE OPPONENTS OF A NEW INFORMATION POLICY

The tasks of developing and improving information circulation world-wide were the subject of a lengthy and heated discussion in the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems established by UNESCO. Five years have elapsed since the Commission, headed by the International Lenin Prize and Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Sean MacBride, published its final report. Among other things it contained the following recommendations:

"The strengthening of peace, international security and cooperation and the lessening of international tensions—are the common concern of all nations. The mass media can make a substantial contribution towards achieving these goals. The Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament called for increased efforts by the mass media to mobilise public opinion in favour of disarmament and of ending the arms race. This Declaration, together with the UNESCO Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War should be the foundation of a *new information policy devoted to strengthening international mutual understanding* [My italics—S. L.].

"We recommend:

... "the national communication policies should... seek to create a climate of mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence among nations. Countries should... make the fullest contribution towards peace and international cooperation and to refrain from advocating national, racial or religious hatred, and incitement to discrimination, hostility, violence or war."⁶

Both before and after the adoption of these recommendations, the mass media of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries strives, and will continue to strive for the realisation of the above-mentioned aims. The USSR is convinced that the "freedom" of chauvinistic, racist propaganda, which promotes violence and supports aggression, runs counter to the most important human right of all—the right to life. In the USSR war propaganda in any form is prohibited by the Constitution.

Yet the Western powers, especially the USA, in reality ignore the tenets and conclusions of the MacBride Commission report, its call for a new information policy. As far as the USA is concerned, this was clearly evidenced in the decision taken recently by the current Administration, and supported by the biggest monopolies of the press, radio and television, to withdraw from UNESCO. This brazen step, which was dictated by a reluctance to follow the opinion held by the majority of UNESCO members on information issues, was, on the one hand, recognition of the collapse of Washington's imperial claims to domination in the sphere of information, and, on the other, a challenge to the entire world community. But why, one would ask, do the prominent representatives of the Western press who signed the MacBride Commission report remain calm when their colleagues are violating humane principles, and are openly rousing hatred between peoples, and without a twinge of conscience propagate military preparations and deceive the peoples?

Incidentally, these questions are on the same plane of confrontation between the forces of peace and those of war, which prompted Maxim Gorky, in the period between the two world wars, to exclaim: "Whose side are you on, men of culture?!"

Today the voices of a few honest, objective Western media people are

⁶ See *The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, Final Report*, UNESCO, 1980.

drowned out in the anti-communist, militaristic cacophony that fills the pages of magazines and newspapers, radio and television programmes. Nonetheless, Washington is obviously worried over the changes of late in public opinion in the West. So far, just like the initial cracking of ice prior to the ice drifting these changes have not yet taken on a qualitative character and at times even are not apparent from the outside. But these changes are undoubtedly occurring.

The Vienna Conference of the Socialist International endorsed the Appeal that was drawn up by the Socialist International Bureau, which contains a call for immediate action to halt the nuclear arms race and avert the militarisation of outer space. The great significance of the Soviet Union's important initiatives is noted in the Appeal.

The recent Soviet proposals also exerted a palpable impact on the West European governments, which prompt the USA to reach concrete accords with the USSR in order to decrease the danger of a nuclear war. It is significant that even the extraordinary Session of the NATO Council in Brussels indirectly mirrored the West Europeans' dissatisfaction with the US delegation's stand as the Soviet-American meeting in Geneva drew near.

Even a number of Western observers formed the opinion that Washington clearly would like to replace the businesslike attitude preceding the Geneva Conference with the whipping up of "psychological warfare" against the socialist community and stepped up attempts to distort the Soviet Union's position and to instill doubts as to the sincerity of the USSR's proposals and intentions.

On the eve of the Geneva Conference, the US Administration was increasingly refining the manoeuvres of its gigantic propaganda machinery with the aim of using the very preparations for the Conference for diverting public attention away from the danger of a confrontation course, from the acceleration of military preparations by the United States and its allies.

That which was undertaken all this autumn by the US propaganda apparatus, in accordance with the attitude of US and all Western mass media, was an upshot of the general strategic line of the most reactionary circles of US imperialism in the "war for people's hearts and minds". US attitude towards information, candidly states Joseph Sisco, former Under Secretary of State, "was more often than not a complement to our policy... and certainly not an impediment".⁷

The current US Administration has broken all national records for manipulating the mass media. Steven Hess, a senior staffer of the Washington-based Brookings Institution, carried out an interesting experiment. Since September 1981 he worked for a few months in the press departments of the White House, the Department of State, the Pentagon and other federal agencies as an "inside observer". In his words, he listened to press department personnel's telephone calls and attended working meetings, press conferences and briefings. Hess summarised his findings in his book,⁸ in which he states that in almost all official information-propaganda subdivisions "ties" with the "free press" are viewed unequivocally: it is "directed" and "manipulated" in order to gain "control" over it.

It is becoming more and more apparent that the White House is trying to establish strict censorship, close the channels of objective information and subordinate its dissemination. "From the moment it took the office", writes *The New York Times* correspondent Anthony Lewis, "the Reagan Administration has carried on a determined campaign to deny

⁷ *U.S. News & World Report*, Oct. 7, 1985, p. 42.

⁸ S. Hess, *The Government Press Connection*, Washington, 1984.

the public [real] information about the workings of government. Reagan people... want secrecy, and they are ingenious and relentless in working for it."⁹ Presidential Executive Order 12356 significantly expanded the powers and opportunities of federal agencies to keep their information secret. On the pretext of "preventing damage to national security" the Administration can stop or considerably limit discussion in the press on any aspect of its policy, by prohibiting or postponing the publication of critical articles by former high-ranking government officials.

However, the main purpose of the White House propaganda services and of the other sections of the Administration is to give clear-cut thrust to campaigns hostile to socialism. The President himself, the Defense Secretary and other top Administration officials systematically launch anti-Soviet campaigns in a bid to fully take advantage of US television, first and foremost.

One object of special pride for USIA Director Charles Wick is the Worldnet TV satellite system, which possesses subsystems in Western Europe, Asia and Africa, in the Middle and Near East, and in South and Central America. In the summer of 1985 Wick solemnly declared that the use of the new satellites with a reinforced signal system will allow in the near future reception of broadcasts not only by US Embassies, but also by audiences in Western and even Eastern Europe, without the use of complicated aerial equipment. In perspective he also foresees broadcasting to the western regions of the Soviet Union.

The present Secretary of State also has hopes set on direct TV broadcasting from the satellites. How realistic these claims are, time will tell. But it is clear that the Worldnet system will become a great aid in coordinating all anti-socialist propaganda of the West, within the framework of a "crusade". And this is no accident. The structure of the monopolised mass media in the USA today is such that television, thanks to the fact that it is controlled by a handful of concerns, is the most aggressive exponent of the interests of the military-industrial complex. In Washington, television is viewed as the most effective weapon for influencing the masses in the "great war of words", which, as *Time* magazine leads us to understand, makes up the essence of Washington's "public diplomacy".

At a joint press conference given by Mikhail Gorbachev and François Mitterrand in Paris, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed: "We, perhaps, know better than others, or at least no worse than the Americans, what awaits the world if the arms race does not end now.

"World tensions being what they are, if a new stage of the arms race connected with outer space were to begin, I don't know if we could then carry on negotiations. How would we approach them? Everyone must understand this. Incidentally, the press should also rise up to a level of understanding the seriousness of the moment in present-day international affairs. You journalists are serving not only your editors and those who finance your publications. You should serve the people, first and foremost. The general requirement, as we in the Soviet Union understand it, as we feel it, consists of the need to stop and give serious thought to where we are, and begin to act, taking concrete steps."¹⁰

The journalists who are taking part in a "crusade" against communism, veiled in the vague term "public diplomacy" ought to ponder over this appeal to reason, to a sense of responsibility for the fate of civilisation.

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⁹ *The New York Times*, Sept. 12, 1983.

¹⁰ *Pravda*, Oct. 5, 1985.

THE MAIN POTENTIAL OF PEACE

(THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER STATES)

Yu. MIKHAILOV,

Eliminating the threat of world war, attaining universal security and disarmament, steadily extending and deepening cooperation between the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries, and extensively promoting the consolidation and progress of the world socialist system are the paramount foreign policy goals of the CPSU. The organic connection between these areas of the Party's international activities is obvious. The socialist community is today the main potential of peace, the most authoritative force without which not a single issue of world politics can be resolved, the chief impediment to the imperialist policy of aggression and oppression of peoples, and a champion of equitable international cooperation. The prospects for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, the ensuring of a lasting peace on Earth, and the development of multifarious, mutually beneficial cooperation between all countries and peoples depend on the economic and defence might of the fraternal socialist states, on their unity and cohesion first and foremost.

The all-round strengthening of friendship and the development and improvement of the Soviet Union's ties with the other socialist community countries are a subject of particular concern for the CPSU and a priority in its international policy. Amidst the growing war threat and the intensified imperialist pressure, a special role belongs to the Warsaw Treaty as an instrument of collective defence of the fraternal socialist states against the aggressive ambitions of imperialism, and of their joint struggle for a lasting peace and international security.

The 20th meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member States held in Sofia on October 22-23, 1985, was devoted to the crucial tasks of struggle for peace, the elimination of the nuclear threat and a turn for the better in Europe and the rest of the world, the prevention of the militarisation of outer space and the cessation of the arms race, the nuclear arms race above all, the struggle for disarmament, and turning interstate relations back to the course of equitable, mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of peaceful coexistence. The participants in the meeting exchanged views on topical issues of cooperation among the Warsaw Treaty member countries and stressed the importance of joint actions in steering a course for a drastic improvement of international relations, the further consolidation of unity and cohesion among the allied countries and a reliable safeguarding of their security.

The PCC meeting was held in a year when the peoples of the entire world celebrated the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany and militarist Japan. Widely marking this date, the globe's progressive public did more than reflect on the past and pay tribute to the memory of the victims of the most destructive war in history. Recalling the histo-

rical lessons of the past war, the main one of which is that war must be fought against before it has a chance to break out, the peoples celebrated the jubilee amidst the mobilisation and cohesion of all the peace forces for the struggle to prevent a third, this time nuclear, world war, for the cessation of the arms race, and greater vigilance as regards the intrigues of the imperialist circles that are hatching plans to establish world domination.

The record of history also teaches that effective cooperation among states, including those with different social systems, is imperative and possible in the struggle against aggression and war. For this reason the Warsaw Treaty member states have appealed to the governments and peoples of all countries to unite in the fight against the threat of universal annihilation overhanging mankind and to resolve all international controversies and problems, even the thorniest and most complex, at the negotiating table, with due regard for the legitimate interests of the sides. This appeal is backed up by a wide-scale programme of specific, realistic and constructive proposals and initiatives, the implementation of which would spell a dramatic turn for the better in the world situation.

The leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states have proceeded from the fact that international tensions of late have sharply intensified. The arms race, the nuclear arms race included, continues to spiral. Particular alarm is evoked by the US Administration's plans to carry this race to outer space, which would lead to the destabilisation of the entire strategic situation and would create a new source of a mortal threat for mankind.

A perilous situation has taken shape on the European continent as a result of the emplacement of American medium-range missiles there. Plans are being hatched to deploy in Western Europe a new, particularly barbarous type of US chemical weapons, binary weapons. The policy of imperialist interference in the affairs of sovereign states aimed against the striving of peoples for free, independent development, for social progress continues.

Failing to reckon with the lessons of history, the most reactionary circles of imperialism, American imperialism first and foremost, are in effect attempting to launch a frontal assault on socialism. Engaged in wishful thinking, they imagine that a favourable moment has come for taking social revenge on the basis of attaining military superiority over the socialist countries. It is with this aim in view that they are working to dismantle the machinery of detente and cooperation between states with different social systems set up in the 1970s, and international tensions and a war hysteria within the imperialist states are being whipped up.

As a result, today's world has reached the point beyond which developments can get out of control. This barrier can be overcome only by taking the most responsible and urgent decisions to curb the arms race and to prevent a sliding down to a new world war.

Having exhibited a high degree of responsibility for the destinies of their peoples and of humanity as a whole, the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states have stated their readiness to adopt such decisions and have pointed out workable ways of emerging from the vicious circle of the arms race and the policy of confrontation. They believe that there still remains the possibility for a return to detente and to its spread to all spheres of interstate relations, and for a turn to reliable security and cooperation.

To utilise this possibility it is imperative to put an end to power politics and confrontation, demonstrate mutual restraint, strictly observe generally accepted norms of international relations, and, mainly, to work for progress in the central area of the struggle for a lasting peace—to

halt the arms race, and prevent its spread to outer space, and proceed to a decisive reduction in armaments, nuclear above all.

A special role in this sense could be played by success at the Soviet-American space and nuclear arms talks. In this connection the participants in the meeting stated their support for the constructive stand of the USSR at these talks, specifically, its proposal on a complete ban on attack space weapons and a radical—50-per cent—reduction in the nuclear armaments of the USSR and the USA capable of reaching each other's territory.

Today, when the US Administration has done its all to evade a clear-cut definition of its stand as regards the aims and the content of the summit talks with the Soviet Union, the crystal clear exposition by the Warsaw Treaty member states of their approach to the Geneva meeting has been of great importance. According to the participants in the Sofia forum, this meeting should promote an easing of dangerous world tensions, a reduced military threat, and the reaching of mutually acceptable solutions aimed at halting the arms race and effecting real progress towards disarmament.

The participants in the meeting gave priority to the situation in Europe. And it is not only the fact that gathered in Sofia were the leaders of the European socialist states. The barometre of international political life in Europe is largely determined by the state of the political atmosphere in the world as a whole. After all, it is on the continent that the two main military-political groupings—the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO—face each other, it is on European soil that tremendous amounts of weapons, nuclear included, are concentrated. For this reason a lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe would be a vital contribution to the effort to eliminate the nuclear threat. It is with due regard for this fact that the allied socialist states spoke out above all for an end to the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe and for the complete removal of tactical as well as medium-range nuclear weapons from the continent.

Ample proof of the readiness of the fraternal socialist states to resolve in practice the problem of nuclear disarmament in Europe are the unilateral actions taken by the Soviet Union in this sphere, which were supported in Sofia—the moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles in Europe, and also the Soviet side's withdrawal from standby alert of the SS-20 missiles additionally deployed by the USSR in its European zone as a countermeasure to the installation of American medium-range missiles in Europe. Another manifestation of goodwill by the Warsaw Treaty states is their very approach to the solution of this problem, in accordance with which an agreement on a mutual reduction in medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe could be attained separately, not directly bound up with the problem of space and strategic weapons.

All this definitely facilitates the search for an accord; however, the appropriate efforts not only of the Warsaw Treaty states, but of all the NATO countries and all the European countries are necessary if it is to be reached. The leaders of the allied socialist countries again pointed to the responsibility for the future of European and world peace, which rests with the states on whose territory medium-range nuclear missiles are being deployed or are planned to be deployed.

The Sofia meeting supported the initiative to set up nuclear-free zones in various parts of Europe, as well as a nuclear-free corridor along the line dividing the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries in Central Europe.

A better situation in Europe and beyond and a return to detente would be furthered by the conclusion of a treaty between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries on the mutual renunciation of the use of armed force and on the maintenance of relations of peace, the non-increase and reduction of their military expenditure, and the removal of chemical weapons from Europe. Some time ago the Warsaw Treaty states proposed to the NATO countries to hold direct talks on these issues. In Sofia they called to mind the fact that these proposals hold true today.

The attainment of an accord at the Vienna talks on a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and also the elaboration at the Stockholm Conference of substantial complementary political and military confidence- and security-building measures in Europe would be an important contribution to the effort to stabilise interstate relations on the European continent and create an atmosphere of trust.

The participants in the meeting made a point of noting the negative— from the standpoint of the interests of the European peoples, peaceful coexistence and mutual understanding—role which is played by the appeals being heard from time to time for a re-examination of the territorial and political realities in present-day Europe, and the invigoration of revanchist forces in a number of West European countries, the FRG above all. Respect for the present European borders and the socio-political systems of the states on the continent is a prerequisite for a normal situation in Europe. And any attempts to recarve these borders, to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states with the aim of changing their social system constitute a threat to peace and security in Europe and run counter to detente and cooperation on the continent, to the treaties and agreements signed in the 1970s, and to the Helsinki Final Act. In this connection the meeting at Sofia underscored once again the need for the consistent implementation of the basic principles and provisions of the Final Act by all the countries that signed it. This document has stood the test of time and remains a long-term programme for European cooperation.

The cessation of the arms race, above all in nuclear weapons, and the going over to disarmament are a mandatory condition if the nuclear threat is to be removed and a turn made for the better in European and world affairs. For this reason it is only natural that this issue was highlighted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee.

In the opinion of the participants, a major practical contribution to its resolution would be the implementation by the USSR and the USA even before the elaboration of an agreement on the whole gamut of the Geneva agenda concerning nuclear and space weapons, of such measures as the suspension of all operations on the development, testing and deployment of attack space weapons, including antisatellite weapons; a freeze on the already existing nuclear weapons at the current quantitative levels with maximum limitation of their modernisation and with a simultaneous cessation of the development, testing and deployment of new types of such weapons; and a halt to the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe.

The cessation of all nuclear explosions is an effective brake on the nuclear arms race. A fine example in this regard has been set by the Soviet Union, which has unilaterally declared a moratorium on such explosions. It should be followed by the other nuclear powers, the USA first and foremost.

An important role in the removal of the nuclear threat could also be played by such a measure as the adoption by the Soviet Union and the

United States of a mutual pledge not to emplace any nuclear weapons on the territories of states where such weapons do not exist, not to stockpile nuclear weapons and not to replace them with new weapons in countries where they have already been deployed. A refusal by all the nuclear powers to initiate a nuclear exchange would also go far in easing international tensions. The Soviet Union, as is well known, has assumed such a commitment. Lastly, the inadmissibility of the further spread of nuclear weapons in any form is of great importance. It is the belief of the PCC participants that states which do not possess nuclear weapons and do not have them on their territories have every right to reliable international legal guarantees that such weapons will not be used against them.

However, the problem of reducing the war threat is not confined to measures in the sphere of space and nuclear armaments. Technological development in our day makes it possible to create types of conventional weapons which in terms of their destructive capacities are comparable to mass destruction weapons. In this connection the meeting spoke out against the development and production of such weaponry. The Warsaw Treaty states also spoke out in favour of a complete ban on chemical weapons and the elimination of their stockpiles, for the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons both globally and regionally, and for the curbing of the arms race in the seas and oceans. The socialist states represented at the Warsaw Treaty PCC meeting stated anew that there is no type of weapons which they are not prepared to limit, reduce, remove from their arsenals or destroy forever on a mutual basis, with the principle of equality and equal security being observed.

A new important Warsaw Treaty initiative was the proposal to freeze the numerical strength of the armed forces of the USSR and the USA as of January 1, 1986, including personnel stationed outside their national territories. The invariable stand of the socialist community states regarding the need to dismantle foreign military bases and withdraw forces from foreign territories was confirmed as well.

The sides participating in the meeting were of the opinion that a mutual non-increase in the military budgets of the USSR and the USA, beginning with the 1986 fiscal year, would be an effective measure in limiting the arms race.

Advocating effective discussion of those aspects of arms limitation and disarmament which have not been covered at the talks at present, the Warsaw Treaty member states expressed readiness to continue considering all constructive initiatives in this sphere most carefully.

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Alongside the cessation of the arms race and disarmament, the elimination of the existing hotbeds of tension and the prevention of new ones in particular parts of the globe are a prerequisite for detente and an improvement in the world situation.

The leaders of the Warsaw Treaty states came out against the imperialist power politics and interference in the internal affairs of other countries, which spawns conflict situations. They stated their readiness to work with all interested countries for a settlement of existing conflicts and controversies through peaceful means, on the basis of respect for the right of each people to self-determination.

The Warsaw Treaty member states voiced support for the struggle being waged by the Latin American peoples for their independent development and social progress, condemned the aggressive actions of the USA against Nicaragua, and the US threat posed to socialist Cuba. They advocated an all-embracing, just and lasting settlement in the Middle East, the resolution of Lebanon's internal problems, the cessation of the

Iran-Iraq war and the stabilisation of the situation in the Persian Gulf, and the preservation of Cyprus as an independent, united, territorially integral and non-aligned state. The participants in the Sofia forum supported the efforts for a political settlement of the problems being discussed at the talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and also the efforts and initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to strengthen peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and to effect a peaceful, democratic unification of Korea. The allied socialist states attach particular importance to the strengthening of peace and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific, a political settlement of Southeast Asian problems, and the turning of the Indian Ocean area into a zone of peace. They acclaim the efforts being taken by the South Pacific states to create a nuclear-free zone there.

The policy of apartheid and imperialist interference in the affairs of southern Africa were denounced at Sofia, support was also voiced for the struggle of the Namibian people, and the need to grant independence to Namibia without delay was underscored.

The growing role of the non-aligned movement was noted at the meeting and a readiness was expressed to go on actively cooperating with the non-aligned countries in the struggle for peace, against neocolonialism, and for independence and social progress.

The meeting came out for the normalisation of international economic relations, the establishment of a new international economic order, against any impediments and discriminatory measures in this sphere, and for a just settlement of the foreign debt problem.

The continued worsening of such global problems as economic backwardness, hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy over vast parts of the globe, the shortage of energy, raw materials and food resources can become a potential source of a growth in international tensions and fresh conflicts. A considerable contribution to the solution of these problems could be made by the cessation of the arms race and the channeling of the funds thus saved to meet the economic and social needs of the developing countries.

The achievements of modern science and technology open up broad vistas in this respect. An important condition for the effective realisation of these possibilities is the pooling of efforts worldwide to solve global problems. In the current situation it is especially important to subordinate international scientific and technological cooperation exclusively to peaceful purposes and to impart a global character to it. The participants in the meeting stated the readiness of their countries to take an active part in the elaboration and implementation of an integral programme of scientific and technological cooperation geared to accomplishing worldwide tasks.

At the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee there was an exchange of views on topical issues of cooperation among the Warsaw Treaty states during which the participants underscored the particular importance of further consolidating the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries with due account for the current complicated international situation and also the interests and goals of building socialism and communism. Both the meeting itself and its results were convincing proof of the unswerving will of the allied socialist states to strengthen friendship and cooperation and to pursue a coordinated policy in international affairs. The very fact that the Warsaw Treaty was extended last spring is a reflection of this.

The participants in the meeting stated their intention to continue the course for improved cooperation in all spheres based on a harmonious combination of their national and international interests, and to pool efforts even more strongly for the dynamic socio-economic development of

the fraternal countries on the basis of accelerated scientific and technological progress and a further rise in the well-being of their peoples.

Proceeding from the belief that interaction among the socialist countries accords with the interests of each of them and the world socialist system as a whole, the member states of the Warsaw Treaty voiced a desire to develop cooperation with all other socialist countries. In this connection they declared their readiness to work together with the People's Republic of China in the struggle for peace and socialism, and against imperialism.

Faithful to their principled foreign policy course, the fraternal socialist countries again appealed to all states, to all peace forces to work hard to uphold the supreme right of the peoples—the right to a peaceful life and to independent and free development

The results of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states were a source of profound gratification to the world public at large. Having become an international event of signal importance, the meeting confirmed the active role the socialist community is playing in the solution of the most topical problems of the day, the questions of war and peace, first and foremost. Amidst the tense situation in Europe and elsewhere in the world, the Warsaw Treaty states pointed to workable ways of reducing the war threat and normalising international relations. They once again called upon the West to seriously weigh all possible peace-threatening consequences of a continued arms race, and especially the carrying of it into outer space. While demonstrating realism and goodwill, and a readiness for a constructive dialogue, they at the same time voiced firm intention not to allow military superiority to be achieved over them.

The world press reports covering the PCC meeting have been unanimous in expressing the idea that it came as another fresh proof of the unity of the allied socialist states and their common approach to the key problems of European and world politics, and that the most significant result of the meeting was that it proved conducive to the further buildup of the unity of the fraternal countries and their greater and closer cooperation in the world arena.

Of late, the most reactionary circles in the West are attempting more and more openly and cynically to pursue a policy of a "differentiated approach" as regards the socialist countries. Through various political and economic manoeuvres and by intensifying ideological pressure, they are trying to pit some socialist countries against others, to cause friction among them and to hamper their cooperation on the international scene. Aside from everything else, the expensive arms race being imposed upon the socialist countries also pursues the aim of frustrating their economic plans, exacerbating socio-economic problems and, as a result, complicating relations within the socialist community. The results of the PCC meeting spell still another blow to such calculations.

The results of the Sofia meeting and the support of the USSR's allies of its peaceful initiatives, the common stand of the Warsaw Treaty states on cardinal international problems acquired particular significance in the light of the forthcoming Soviet-American summit. Many observers noted that the Soviet leader went to the meeting with the US President with a clearly expressed backing of the USSR's course by all the allied socialist states.

The meeting at Sofia showed once again that the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, which marked its 30th anniversary last year, is an important factor for the preservation of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Its results are a major contribution to the safeguarding of international security and a new important step in the launching of the socialist states' peace offensive. The peace initiatives of the USSR, which were supported in Sofia by its allies, are viewed in many countries as proof of the Soviet Union's persistent search for fresh approaches to problems that are the subject of the disarmament talks being held. They reflect both profound realism in the assessment of the present-day world situation and political boldness in applying decisions truly promoting progress in curbing the arms race and preventing its spread to outer space. Having assertively spoken out on the vital issue of the day—the elimination of the war threat—the socialist countries have placed the West, the USA above all, before the need to give a perspicuous response to their proposal.

"The prime result of the Sofia meeting," the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee stated commenting on the outcome of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty PCC and the Soviet delegation's activities at it "is the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the allied socialist states, the improvement of their cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, and the unswerving resolve of the fraternal countries to continue struggling persistently for a peaceful future for the planet." The USSR and its allies solidly hold the initiative in strengthening international security and halting the arms race. The consistent policy of peace pursued by the member states of the Warsaw Treaty, which was demonstrated anew at Sofia, and its activism and adherence to principle on issues of preventing nuclear war promote the continued growth of the prestige of the socialist countries on the international scene.

TWO APPROACHES TOWARDS AN INFORMATION POLICY

(Continued from page 42)

Complicity in the propaganda of war and hatred can not be justified by any references to the notorious "freedom of the press." There do exist generally recognised norms of international law, the United Nations Charter, the authoritative decisions of the United Nations and UNESCO, which impose clear obligations on media people as well.

Information should serve the cause of peace and mutual understanding among peoples. The slanderous campaigns which distort the situations in individual countries and their policies are inadmissible. Nothing can justify interference in other countries' and peoples' internal affairs, which aids the policy of state-sponsored terrorism. No one can encroach upon the sovereign right of each nation to live and work under the socio-political system, which it freely chooses.

To reach a turnabout for the better in world affairs an end must be put to power politics and confrontation, and a course must be pursued which corresponds to the realities of today's world.

THE CHARTER OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

(25 YEARS OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES)

N. SIMONYA,

D. Sc. (Hist.)

Twenty five years ago at the United Nations the Soviet Union seconded by other socialist countries and many Asian and African states raised the question of complete elimination of the disgraceful system of colonialism. As a result, on December 14, 1960 the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly adopted a historic document—the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The importance of this document lies in the fact that it recognised the elimination of colonialism as a key global problem.

One can get an idea of the scope of the problem by recalling that by the beginning of World War I (i. e. when the world had already been divided among a handful of imperialist states) colonial possessions proper occupied 56 per cent of the world's territory, with 31.5 per cent of the world population. And if one adds semicolonies the figures would respectively grow to 72 and 69 per cent.

Lenin was the first to speak about the "awakening of Asia" and to see that the rising tide of national liberation movements constituted a new element in the world revolutionary process. At that time, however, the liberation struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples was not yet a factor of global significance. With imperialism holding unlimited sway, they could not achieve decisive success in breaking the colonial shackles. It is no accident that during the course of a discussion on the right of nations to self-determination Lenin wrote: "We cannot say whether Asia will have had time to develop into a system of independent national states, like Europe, before the collapse of capitalism, but it remains an undisputed fact that capitalism, having awakened Asia, has called forth national movements everywhere in that continent, too; that the tendency of these movements is towards the creation of national states in Asia..."¹

Recent history has provided an unambiguous answer to Lenin's question: not only Asian but all the other colonial and semi-colonial countries are now experiencing the process of emergent nationhood. Although the final collapse of capitalism hasn't happened yet, the appearance of the world's first socialist state has brought about a drastic change in the conditions of the liberation movements and revolutions making it possible first to stop further enslavement of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies and later raise the liberation struggle to a higher level eventually leading to the liquidation of vast colonial empires.

The process of the collapse of colonialism began after the end of the Second World War, the defeat of fascism and the formation of the world

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 398.

socialist system. By the time the UN declaration was adopted in December 1960 all the major Asian colonies had embarked on the path of independent development (India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma, Sri Lanka, Vietnam and others). Since the second half of the 1950s the African continent awakened as Morocco, Sudan, Ghana and Guinea achieved their independence. The process did not reach its real peak, however, until 1960 which was called the "Africa year". That year 17 new states appeared on the continent's political map. The UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples opened the final stage in the crumbling of the military-political system of colonialism. The past 25 years have seen the appearance of more than 50 new states in Africa, Asia, America and Oceania. As of today less than 0.3 per cent of the world's population occupying less than one per cent of its territory are under one form of colonial oppression or another.

Even so, as long as enclaves of colonialism and racism exist in the world, the tasks formulated in the UN Declaration cannot be considered fully solved. The United Nations cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that the peoples of about 20 colonial and dependent territories are denied political sovereignty, that the Pretoria regime in southern Africa is flouting the UN resolutions and the demands of the world public by opposing Namibian independence and perpetrating acts of aggression against neighbouring African states. In his greeting to the participants of the Special Jubilee Session of the UN General Assembly to mark the 25th Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mikhail Gorbachev stated: "It is the duty of the UN to take urgent measures to realise the Declaration in full so that all the colonial peoples and trust territories should obtain genuine political and economic independence and occupy a proper place in the international community. The Soviet Union will continue to exert every effort to ensure full and unswerving implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and actively contribute to the activity of the UN towards final liquidation of colonialism, racism and apartheid."

With the achievement of independence by the majority of former colonies and semi-colonies, Lenin's prediction that these countries would inevitably cease being objects and would turn into subjects of international relations, began to come true. There have been signs of a shift in the economic area. In 1800 when the capitalist states of Europe were "building up" their colonial possessions and in most cases had no time yet to destroy the local forms of economy, the countries we today refer to as developing nations accounted for 44 per cent of the total world production (and 74 per cent of the population). By 1900 (when the epoch of imperialism began) the century-long activity of colonialism had brought that share down to 19 per cent (population—66 per cent). The next 50 years of imperialist exploitation brought that share down by another 2 per cent. And it was only with the achievement of independence by the majority of the countries belonging to the former colonial periphery that the negative trend was stopped and finally reversed. In the 30 years between 1950 and 1980 the contribution of the developing countries to world production rose to 21 per cent while their share of the globe's population reached 75 per cent.²

As insignificant as this 4 per cent increase might seem at first sight, this figure reflects the achievements made during the period of independence by the newly-free countries. The figure is all the more impressive if one remembers that today these countries use an immeasurably larger share of their gross domestic product for internal consumption and accu-

² *World Development Report, 1984*, Washington, 1984, p. 6.

mulation in contrast to former times when the colonialists could dispose of this GDP at will.

One must of course bear in mind that the situation varies from one developing country to another. For example, countries with the lowest national income, accounting for 47 per cent of the world's population, contribute a mere 5 per cent to world production.³ This indicates growing differentiation within the developing world.

The most evident watershed in this differentiation is socio-economic orientation. The two main groups are the socialist-oriented countries and the countries evolving along the capitalist road. Within the latter group, however, there is considerable differentiation too. This is due to the difference of initial levels, the law of unequal development of capitalism and the selectiveness of neocolonialist intervention, and the particular model of capitalist modernisation chosen by the governing circles, to name just a few factors.

Despite the vast and deepening differences among developing countries, they nonetheless constitute a certain historical entity. They not only share a colonial and semi-colonial past but also the persisting heritage of that past in their present life. The national liberation revolutions merely created the crucial superstructure prerequisites for eliminating the colonial structures in the social production organism of those countries, the colonial division of labour between the former colonies and the metropolises dating back to the preceding historical period. However, in reality this elimination has not occurred. As a result, the developing states are still involved, through the system of neocolonialist division of labour, in the world capitalist economy as an unequal and exploited part.

As in the past, opportunities are unequal in practically every sphere of social life. This is manifested in economics, particularly in the presence of extensive structures that are geared to meeting the various needs of the developed capitalist countries and are not part of the national production complex; in politics, in the forced preservation of elements of Western bourgeois mechanisms in the state superstructure; in culture, in the influence of bourgeois ideology and the scale of values in the most diverse spheres of intellectual life; in foreign policy, in forced restriction of the sovereignty of these states in the international arena due to the diktat and pressure of imperialism, which seeks to draw the developing countries into the orbit of its confrontation with the world socialist system. Thus all the developing countries face the task of *investing all the structures of the social organism with genuinely national and independent content*. This process constitutes part of the substance of the independence period's first historical phase; it involves struggle against neocolonialism, for economic, political and cultural independence.

At the international level the common character of the developing countries can be seen in the formation and expansion of the non-aligned movement, in the creation of the Group of 77 and various regional associations and in a common platform and political line taken by developing nations on a number of topical international problems.

Thus there remains an objective basis for anti-imperialist struggle of developing countries and hence *a basis for the strengthening of political relations and concerted actions between them and the world socialist system*.

The political independence of tens of new countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania did not automatically bring about economic decolonisation. They had to wage an uphill struggle for economic

³ *Ibidem*.

independence to overcome neocolonialism and restructure world economic relations on a just and democratic basis. In the first two to two and a half decades after the war imperialists continued, "by inertia" to exploit the raw materials of developing countries at prices fixed by monopolies in colonial times. This was an important factor that ensured rapid economic growth in Western countries at that period and made it easier for state-monopoly capitalism to maintain the social status quo at home.

Only a small share of the fabulous profits trickled down to the developing countries in the shape of official "aid" rendered by the West on a bilateral and multilateral basis. At the time many in the West were enthused and moved to tears by this "aid". But that time is long gone. If anybody had any illusions about the real character of official "aid", the 1970s, and especially the first half of the 1980s, dispelled them. It became obvious that having cleared the decks for the activity of private capital, notably that of the TNC, official aid began to taper off, even though nine out of ten problems of economic, social and cultural revival of the developing countries are still unresolved. Since the late 1970s the growth of financial injections, in the form of official aid, has tended to slow down. The insignificant annual increment of aid, in absolute terms, was practically brought to nil by steadily growing inflation and the rising cost of plants and machinery, fuel and raw materials which the developing countries bought under aid programmes. And from the beginning of the 1980s aid began to fall in absolute terms. In 1983, for example, it amounted to less than \$27,500 million, i. e. \$273 million less than in the previous year.⁴

As a result of these trends, the recent years have seen soaring debts of the developing countries which amounted to a staggering trillion dollars in 1984. The problem of paying interest on foreign debts was particularly painful for the developing countries. The greedy exceedingly treacherous and cruel policy of the present US Administration in raising the interest rates in the early 1980s was like a monstrous pump that automatically drained more and more thousand millions of dollars from the developing countries. And if one bears in mind that the repayment deadline for the bulk of the debts of developing countries fell due on the first half of the 1980s, it is not surprising that these countries now spend up to 40 per cent and more of their export earnings to service debts (to pay interest and defray the main debts) as compared to 10 per cent in the mid-1970s. The significance of these figures will be clearly appreciated if we remember that Western experts have themselves asserted that 20 per cent of export earnings spent to service debts is a maximum threshold beyond which further commercial borrowing brings no positive effect for economic development. We can thus see that at the present historical juncture financial enslavement has become the main form of exploitation of the developing states by world imperialism.

It should be noted that the flow of investment (even on harsh commercial terms) from the developed capitalist states began to cut at a difficult time when the developing countries are experiencing a crisis. Thus the net influx of financial resources to the developing countries from the developed capitalist countries dropped from \$83,900 million in 1982 to \$69,100 million in 1983 (by more than 14,750 million).⁵ Ironically, the hardest hit financially by indebtedness were the states that had developed along the capitalist road and had in recent years achieved certain economic growth. The developed capitalist states, particularly the USA, prevented these countries from consolidating their early successes

⁴ *Development Cooperation, 1984 Review. Efforts and Policies of the Members of the DAC*, Paris, 1984, p. 201.

⁵ *Development Cooperation, 1984 Review*, p. 201.

and making substantial progress towards economic independence. Such is the price of partnership between advanced capitalist states and the developing countries which has received such praise by Western political and social scientists in recent decades.

The imperialist-inspired arms race has had an extremely negative impact on the economic situation and social development of the newly-free countries, having already produced a "mini" arms race in the developing world. Thus, the developing countries' share in the world military spending grew from a mere 6 per cent in 1965 to an all-time high of 20 per cent in 1982. Although that figure dropped to 18 per cent in 1984 due to economic crises, the absolute volume of military spending last year speaks for itself: about \$119,000 million, including more than \$46,000 million in the Middle East—and almost \$32,000 million in the Far East and South East Asian countries (excluding China).⁶

The shifting of emphasis in the liberation struggle towards economic independence and the quest of a new world economic order in the 1970s were marked by a series of important victories of the developing countries, among which the "revolution in oil prices" occupied an outstanding place. Against this background the non-aligned countries were able to strengthen and make more concrete their demands for ending the arms race and redistributing resources, that could be released by disarmament, and used for economic development needs in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Soviet Union has repeatedly launched initiatives and concrete proposals in the same direction. Its proposals (such as a 10 per cent cut in military spending and the use of part of this to help the developing countries) were highly praised by the international public and widely supported at the UN. But, as always, they were met with sabotage by a number of Western countries led by the USA.

Last October, the heads of state and government of six countries—Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden and Greece—sent a message to Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. It is a significant and in many respects remarkable document. It touches upon the key problem of our time, that of averting a nuclear war, and speaks about the hopes entertained by the world as regards the Soviet-American summit in Geneva. It was signed by leaders of the countries in different parts of the world with one fifth of the globe's population. This circumstance carries particular import because the destinies of the peoples inhabiting all continents depend on averting a nuclear war. One can say that the message reflects the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

However, there have been signs of negative side effects in the approach of some developing countries to the problems of achieving peace. It became clear, for example, that some non-aligned countries tried to distance themselves from the solution of global problems such as the struggle against the arms race and for disarmament and detente, arguing that they must "develop first and disarm afterwards", that "developing countries stand little to gain from disarmament", that it is a matter for the "great powers", etc. Actually, the interconnection between development and disarmament today is such that the former becomes historically meaningless without the latter. Development has no perspective unless there is an end to the arms race and a start of disarmament, because in the event of a world thermonuclear war there will be no one around to use the fruits of development. Medieval Chinese wisdom, whereby a

⁶ *World Armament and Disarmament. SIPRI Yearbook 1985*, London, 1985, pp. 223, 270.

clever monkey sits on a mountain observing tigers fighting each other in the valley, belongs to the past. Today, in the late 20th century, the world is so saturated with nuclear and conventional weapons of mass destruction, that both the "tigers" and "monkeys" will die in the flames of a future war. If only for that reason disarmament must be a concern for all of mankind and no nation has the right to shirk that problem.

Since the early 1980s there has been wider understanding in the non-aligned movement of the close interconnection between the efforts aimed at national revival and the struggle for peace on a global scale, an awareness of the urgency of solving the universal human task of preventing nuclear war. In present conditions when local conflicts are more and more prone to escalate into global ones, and when such conflicts can easily trigger a thermonuclear world war, a growing number of developing countries feel greater responsibility for the destinies of the whole world. This is one manifestation of the deepening process of non-aligned states becoming subjects of world history.

This brings to mind an important statement of the late Prime Minister of India, a major Asian country that is active in the non-aligned movement. Speaking to Soviet journalists on the eve of her visit to the Soviet Union in September 1982, Indira Gandhi said that peace was necessary to our planet not only as a lofty idea but also for practical reasons. We are all engaged in peaceful development, this applies more to the developing countries, but it is no less important for the industrialised countries of the world. War is always terrible but today with nuclear and other recent types of mass destruction weapons, war can lead to the total destruction of mankind. That is why we need peace and détente which helps to preserve it.

The 7th Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in New Delhi in March 1983, went a long way towards promoting the peaceful efforts of non-aligned countries. That representative forum, attended by more than a hundred countries, advanced the problem of defending peace and limiting the arms race as the key foreign policy task for the developing countries. For the first time, the political declaration of the conference included a special section "Disarmament, survival and coexistence in the age of nuclear weaponry." Expressing the will of almost half of the world's population, the conference called for an immediate ban on the use and threat of nuclear weapons by all nuclear powers, renunciation of all nuclear tests and production and deployment of nuclear weapons. The forum backed the proposals for an arms freeze, negotiations on ending the arms race and on disarmament with the aim of signing an effective treaty on the problem. The forum came out in favour of the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

At the same time, differences between developing countries, coupled with the dire legacy of colonialism, sometimes give rise to conflicts between them. An alarming new feature in the development of these conflict situations, observed since late 1970s-early 1980s, is a *constantly growing tendency* for the local conflicts to expand and become part of the context of global confrontation. This is linked with the policy of neocolonialism. A particularly worrisome aspect is the undisguised desire of the American Administration to use conflicts in the developing world to tilt the "balance of forces" in its interests in the global confrontation with the world of socialism, to use conflicts as a pretext for causing new aggravations of international tensions. Along with open aggression (Lebanon, Grenada) the USA resorts to indirect aggression or tactics of "undeclared wars" (Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Angola, Nicaragua).

One should note in this connection the growing contribution of the non-aligned movement to the liquidation and overcoming of crisis situa-

tions that are so frequent in the developing world. Today efforts in this direction take on a particular global significance in the light of the obvious United States' "shift" towards Asia, which was proclaimed by the US President during his visit to Japan back in November 1983. Behind this "shift" in American foreign policy is the ill-disguised desire of the USA to involve the Asian nations even more in the strategic arms race, holding them victims of the aggressive designs of the Pentagon.

In pursuit of these goals, which form part of its global strategy and hegemonistic plans, Washington increasingly resorts to the tactics of creating new hotbeds of tension in the developing world in order to make it easier to involve these countries in partnership with the Pentagon and to create the bases for "rapid deployment forces" on their territories. In arbitrarily proclaiming various regions of the Asian continent spheres of its "vital interests", the USA tries to control the political processes in various Asian states and their raw material resources. Such complex and explosive tangles of contradictions like the Arab-Israeli, the Middle East, the Indo-Pakistani situations, the artificially created confrontation in Southeast Asia over the "Kampuchea issue", etc.—could have been loosened long ago and some of them untangled but for external interference (particularly on the part of the USA). This highlights the inseparable link between the task of final national liberation and the struggle for peace and against the arms race.

Ensuring peace and security in the Asian region is emerging as an integral part of the overall struggle against the threat of a thermonuclear war. And the non-aligned movement has a large role to play in that matter.

The consistent and peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries is the decisive factor opposing the aggressive designs of imperialism in the developing world and helping the peoples to uphold their freedom and independence. Today every honest politician and scholar has to admit that there could be no prospect for genuine independent national development for the majority of Eastern countries without the existence of the world socialist system, which offers an alternative possibility of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation. It is possible that individual states, given extraordinary and extremely favourable conditions, could achieve modern development. But for the whole group of the newly-free Eastern countries this prospect would have been impossible if the advanced imperialist states held unchallenged economic domination and military-political supremacy. This is evident from all past experience (take for example, the history of the development of formally independent developing countries of Latin America) and by the concrete historical practice of modern Eastern states.

On the other hand, the 25 years since the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples have clearly proven that whenever developing countries managed to coordinate their actions with those of the socialist community on the basis of well-thought-out strategies and tactics towards achieving a concrete goal (for example, a major act of nationalisation, support for a nation seeking liberation, etc.), they have scored victories succeeding in countering the pressure of neocolonialism. Cooperation with the socialist states has invariably guaranteed breakthroughs in the struggle of the developing countries for their economic and social liberation. A vivid example is offered by more than 30 years of cooperation between India and the Soviet Union, two countries with different socio-political systems. It is hard to imagine how India could have built a modern industry,

become the world's ninth biggest industrial power and a space power, to name just a few achievements, without mutually beneficial and fruitful cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The whole experience of the United Nations, that authoritative world organisation, testifies that the developing countries and the socialist community states have (with a few exceptions) held identical or similar positions on all the main problems facing the international community. Take for example such an outstanding issue as the fate of the Indian Ocean that has formed the subject of debates at the UN for many years. Backed by the socialist community, the developing countries eventually saw the fruition of their efforts at the previous session of the UN General Assembly, which decided to hold a conference in Colombo in the first half of 1986 to work out an international agreement that would turn the Indian Ocean (the home of more than 1,000 million people) into a zone of peace. This decision was taken in spite of protracted and ingenious counteraction on the part of imperialist powers. They had launched the false thesis about "equal responsibility of the superpowers" for the militarisation of the ocean. However, any impartial observer can see that there can be no question of "equal responsibility of the superpowers" in the Indian Ocean.

For it was the USA and not the USSR that disrupted the international conference on the Indian Ocean in Colombo scheduled for 1981 under a UN decision; it was the United States which unilaterally, and without any reasonable grounds—broke off talks with the USSR on limitation and reduction of military activities in the Indian Ocean. It was not the USA but the Soviet Union which proposed to mutually limit naval activity of the USSR and the USA in the Indian and Pacific Oceans and withdraw missile-carrying submarines of the two countries from the vast areas they now patrol and limit their operations within agreed boundaries. It was the USSR which appealed to all the states whose ships use the Indian Ocean to refrain from any steps that would further complicate the situation in the region and not to send large naval forces or hold exercises there. These are concrete, indisputable facts. And in our case they leave no room for the conception of "equal responsibility".

As for the USSR, it has invariably and consistently followed the principle that the peoples of developing countries, like those of other countries, need a new type of relations where confrontations are replaced by dialogue and rapprochement, suspicion by confidence, and isolation and hostility by broad political, economic and cultural cooperation. Such international conditions could help towards successful and final completion of the process of decolonisation that began after World War II, protect the developing countries from outside encroachments, thereby making it easier for them to move along the road of national development and social progress.

SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATIONS IN LAOS

V. SERGIN

On December 2, 1975, as a result of the victory of the national-democratic revolution in Laos, the monarchy was abolished and the Lao People's Democratic Republic was proclaimed. The formation of the LPDR and the proclamation of the workers and peasants' power—became a milestone in the history of that ancient country. This event has fittingly crowned the protracted heroic struggle of the Lao people for national independence and social emancipation. They had waged an exhausting struggle with the French colonialists, succeeded by the Japanese occupiers during the Second World War, and at the final stage of the liberation struggle with the American aggressors as well. The barbaric raids of US planes, which sought to "bomb Laos into the Stone Age", had inflicted tremendous damage: three million bombs were dropped on the country with a population of three million! The traces of this "war of annihilation" are still visible on the Lao land in the form of numerous gaping craters.

In May 1975, a situation took shape there which led to a revolutionary outburst. The fall of the pro-American reactionary regimes in neighbouring South Vietnam and Kampuchea created favourable external conditions for the Lao revolution. The Lao reactionaries, who found themselves face to face with the patriotic forces supported by the majority of the people, were gripped by fear and fled the country. In June 1975, the conference of the officers' corps of the Royal Army decided to transform it into a people's army headed by patriotically-minded officers. A campaign of replacing began of those with pro-American leanings who had held top posts in the Administration, the police and the army. In November, nationwide elections to the local councils of people's representatives were held. As a result, power entirely passed into the hands of the patriots led by the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP).

On December 1, 1975, the National Congress of People's Representatives took place in Vientiane. It accepted the King's abdication from the crown the following day, declared that the monarchy was abolished and proclaimed the Lao People's Democratic Republic (LPDR). The working people gained full control of state bodies. The national-democratic revolution, which for many years had been developing in the form of armed struggle, was accomplished without bloodshed. Thus, the decisive stage of the Lao revolution confirmed that the working people can attain power by peaceful means, a possibility predicted by Lenin.

The decisions taken by the National Congress and the programme of the LPDR government's activities have mapped out the course for a gradual transition of the country to socialism by-passing the capitalist stage of development. The Fourth Plenary Meeting of the LPRP Central Committee emphasised that now Laos has entered a "stage of socialist revolution with the entire country having achieved peace, independence and unity and moving along the path of building a new, socialist society". To realise the grandiosity and boldness of the tasks the Lao Communists set for themselves and duly appraise what they have achieved over the past decade, it is necessary to recall the country's starting point on its way to socialism.

The Republic inherited an extremely difficult colonial past and the feudal-monarchic system: on the eve of the victory of the revolution the United Nations relegated Laos to the 25 least developed countries in the world. From the old regime the new authorities inherited only small tin mines, a few small-sized tobacco-processing plants and cigarette-, matches-, footwear- and soft drinks-factories. More than 80 per cent of the gainfully employed population were engaged in agriculture where natural economy with its feudal and even pre-feudal forms of landownership prevailed. Transport communications were poorly developed. The country needed a unified economic structure. And all this was exacerbated by the disarray caused by thirty years of war.

As a result of bombings and other military operations some 40 per cent of the ploughland remained unused, and about one-quarter of the population became refugees. As if testing the young Republic's stamina, nature put it through one calamity after another in the early years of its existence: an unprecedentedly dry year was followed by floods.

Another equally hard trial: the imperialists attempted to starve the exhausted young republic into submission. The USA violated its commitments under Article 21 of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam of 1973 under which it had to contribute to healing war-inflicted wounds and the post-war rehabilitation of the Indochina countries, including Laos. To the imperialist rulers' bidding, the reactionary Thai regime closed the frontier with Laos, which meant a virtual economic blockade, because at that time about 80 per cent of imported goods were transported to land-locked Laos across the Thai territory. Other Western countries also abrogated their earlier commitments and cut off their aid to Laos.

In this difficult period the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other socialist countries came to the assistance of the Lao people. Soviet and Vietnamese planes organised an "air lift" to transport sorely-needed cargoes and foodstuffs from Hanoi to Vientiane. In January 1976, agreements were signed in Moscow on Soviet economic assistance to Laos in 1976-1977. The new Laos stood its ground proving that there was no way of forcing it to swerve off the road to socialism, just as there is no way of turning back the Mekong River.

To rehabilitate the economy, the Lao people, so to speak, had to hold a sickle in one hand and a rifle in the other, sparing no effort to repel the encroachments of the internal counter-revolutionaries and emigre armed bands, as well as the external enemies of socialism. In order to weaken the new Laos, its enemies do not slacken their efforts to sow national strife among the 70 or so nationalities of the country. However, all these attempts are doomed to failure.

The people's power has the situation well in hand, and it has full control of the economy. The banks have been nationalised, and the state has taken over the country's natural resources, large enterprises, finance, transportation and communications.

The Third Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, held in April 1982, mapped out the economic policy of the Party, and approved the guidelines and targets for the first five-year plan (1981-1985). Two strategic goals were set for the Lao people: socialist construction and defence of the homeland, with particular attention being paid to the economy. The LPDR, noted the Party documents, is just entering the period of transition to socialism, a period comprising several stages and requiring approximately 20 to 25 years. The Lao revolution has created an advanced political system. However, there are still insufficient material prerequisites for socialist construction. Pointing to the need to restructure the natural economy and proceed from petty-commodity to large-scale socialist production, Kayson Phommvihane, General Secretary of the LPRP Central Committee, Chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers,

said: "In our country it is necessary to create everything: the productive forces and the relations of production, the basis and the superstructure".

Over the past decade, a very short span of time, the Lao people have made tangible progress in various economic and social fields. First of all, the food problem has been solved, for several years now rice harvests have topped one million tons, making the country self-sufficient in this staple food. On the whole, food production has doubled over the decade. Cattle and poultry-breeding are developing at a rapid pace. Compared to 1981, the number of cattle has gone from 200,000 to 1.5 million. Substantial progress is being made in setting up cooperatives in the countryside: more than 2,500 cooperatives now unite 41 per cent of the house-holds which own 47 per cent of all arable land. Several industrial enterprises have been built, and electricity production has increased fivefold.

The illiteracy rate, which was 65 per cent in 1975, is now down to zero. The number of teachers in primary schools has grown 1.6-fold, in secondary schools—4.7-fold, and the number of teachers in the institutions of high learning has shot up 15-fold. In 1985, there were more than 829,000 pupils and students, as against 355,000 in 1975.

These initial successes were scored thanks to the guiding role of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party—the tested and militant vanguard of the working people. The Lao People's Revolutionary Party which marked its 30th anniversary in March 1985, is having a stronger impact on Lao society. Now the Party membership exceeds 43,000. The LPRP is approaching its forthcoming Fourth Congress with tangible results.

Extensive ties with the socialist community countries and the valuable experience of the fraternal parties are, without doubt, the external conditions that contribute to the LPDR's successful advance along the path of socialist construction. "The victory of the Lao people", stressed Kaysone Phomvihane, "became possible because they followed the road shown by the great Lenin and made use of the lessons taught by the October Revolution." The Soviet Union rendered the Lao people unswerving assistance and support at all stages of their struggle.

The Soviet Union played a major role in the convocation of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina, and, later on, as its co-chairman, unrelentingly fought for strict compliance with the accords reached at that Conference.

When the USSR and Laos established diplomatic relations on October 7, 1960, the Soviet government provided material and technical assistance to the Lao lawful government in order to help it overcome the difficulties created by foreign interference. The vigorous diplomatic efforts of the USSR greatly contributed to the cessation of hostilities in Laos and brought about the convocation, in May 1961, of the Geneva Conference on Laos. The Soviet delegation to the Conference defended the interests of the Lao people and resolutely rebuffed the attempts on the part of the US delegation and its allies to interfere in the internal affairs of Laos. Besides its moral-political and diplomatic support, the Soviet Union extended multifarious and effective material assistance to the Lao people.

Since the formation of the LPDR Soviet-Laotian relations have reached a qualitatively new, higher stage. "After 1975, the long-standing ties and bonds of friendship and militant solidarity between the two Parties" noted *Xieng Pasason*, a newspaper of the LPRP Central Committee, "were also supplemented by fraternal interstate relations." These relations were steadily expanding and their forms constantly being perfected. The signing in Moscow in 1980 of the Protocol on the Results of Coordination of the State Plans of the USSR and the LPDR for the 1981-1985 Period signified a transition of bilateral cooperation to a new, long-term basis.

The Soviet Union assisted Laos in building a farming-machinery re-

pair shop, three auto bridges, an oil-storage facility, an auto repair shop as well as a hospital in Vientiane, and the first stage of a cattle-breeding state farm in the Xieng-Khouang Province. A ground-based outer space-communications station of the Intersputnik system is now in operation. It provides reliable telephone and telegraph communications and receipt of TV broadcasts from the USSR and other socialist countries. Soviet specialists have helped build another hospital with 150 beds, a polytechnic school for 600 students, a radio station and other projects. Hundreds of Laotian young people are annually entering Soviet technical secondary schools, vocational training schools and colleges.

The two countries are successfully cooperating in foreign policy issues. The USSR and the LPDR take a common stand on all major problems of our time. Close comradely interaction and fraternal ties between the CPSU and the LPRP which form, as was stressed in the congratulatory telegramme sent by the CPSU Central Committee to the LPRP Central Committee on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Party of Laotian Communists, "a solid foundation for all-round cooperation between our countries and peoples", lie at the core of Soviet-Laotian relations.

This appraisal shows very well the significance of the friendly working visit paid by Kaysone Phomvihane to the USSR in August 1985. At their meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev and Kaysone Phomvihane noted the high level achieved in the development of the Soviet-Laotian relations, solidly based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The participants spoke in favour of more intensive interparty ties and constantly strengthening many-sided interaction between the two countries.

The Laotian side expressed its unreserved support of the USSR's peaceful foreign policy and Soviet proposals aimed at averting a nuclear catastrophe, bridling the arms race and preventing the militarisation of outer space. The Soviet side highly appreciated the successes scored by the LPDR in restoring and developing the national economy, in carrying out profound socio-economic transformations, and in defending revolutionary gains from subversive activities and aggression of the external reaction, and also the constructive initiatives of Laos, Vietnam and Kampuchea keyed to improve the situation in Southeast Asia.

In discussing the problems of economic, scientific and technological cooperation, the participants noted its dynamic growth and set the task of further upgrading and enhancing the effectiveness of bilateral ties on a long-term, comprehensive and mutually beneficial basis. In the next five-year period, the Soviet Union will expand its economic and technical assistance to Laos primarily in developing such key economic sectors as agriculture and forestry, transportation and communications, in exploring natural resources, in training national personnel. Laos will increase its production of goods for export and deliveries to the USSR, which will make the Soviet-Laotian commercial and economic relations more balanced and mutually beneficial.

Laos is actively expanding its relations with the other socialist community countries. It has signed treaties of friendship and cooperation with Vietnam, Bulgaria, Mongolia, Czechoslovakia and the GDR. Since 1976, Laos, as an observer, has been participating in the meetings of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which is rendering that country all-round assistance in various fields.

An inseparable part of the socialist community, an active participant in the non-aligned movement, and a member of the United Nations, the LPDR now enjoys great international prestige, maintaining diplomatic relations with 65 states.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, Laos advocates peace and disarmament, an end to the threat of

nuclear war, detente and turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation. Allied with Vietnam and Kampuchea, it has become a bulwark of peace, democracy and social progress in this part of the globe.

For quite obvious reasons Laos maintains special relations of militant solidarity and close all-round interaction with neighbouring Vietnam and Kampuchea. The ways of further consolidating the relations of alliance between the three fraternal Indochina countries were mapped out at the summit meeting of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam, held in Vientiane in February 1983.

The Soviet Union wholeheartedly supports Laos' efforts to further strengthen the unity with socialist Vietnam and people's Kampuchea. It unswervingly supports the peaceful course pursued by the LPDR in concord with the SRV and the PRK and aimed at improving the situation in the Southeast Asia and turning this region into a zone of peace, stability, good-neighbourliness and cooperation. The Soviet Union welcomed the proposals made at the 11th Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea (Phnom-Penh, August 1985) which could become a constructive basis for a fruitful dialogue between the states of Indochina and the ASEAN member countries.

Being an advance post of the socialist system in Asia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic makes a tangible contribution to the cause of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

US IDEOLOGICAL AGGRESSION IN LATIN AMERICA

Professor K. KHACHATUROV,

D. Sc. (Hist.)

From its earliest days onwards, US imperialism used Latin America as a proving ground to try out diverse methods of its multi-pronged global aggression: economic, political, military and ideological. It was the Latin American "framework" that enriched the vocabulary of Washington politicians with inventions about a "threat to US national interests" and to the security of US citizens.

Pseudo-patriotic rhetoric has always been used to camouflage acts of aggression staged and carried out in the style of the "big stick policy" and "gunboat diplomacy". Thus, in 1898 a pretext was found for the occupation of Cuba. According to Lenin's prophetic forecast, Cuba was "but the *hors d'oeuvre* to whet an appetite for an ampler banquet".¹ Within two decades, imperialism launched the meanest slander of the 20th century: the myth about a "Soviet" or "communist threat". On the pretext of a struggle against the "intrigues" of international communism, Guatemala's constitutional government was overthrown (1954), an undeclared war was started against revolutionary Cuba (1959), an intervention in the Dominican Republic was carried out by US Marines (1965), Chile's legitimate government was decapitated (1973), and tiny Grenada was occupied by a US landing force (1983). On the same pretext, the imperialists engineered numerous pro-fascist coups and installed in power a whole string of tyrants, who unleashed a reign of terror against their peoples. Today, a real war is being waged against revolutionary Nicaragua on the pretext of ensuring US "national security".

The USA has long since expanded its subversive propaganda moves and ideological aggression abroad into large-scale subversive "psychological warfare", mainly targeted against the Soviet Union and the world socialist community. At the same time, imperialism resorts to vigorous "psychological warfare" in areas where the national liberation struggle is gathering momentum. In Latin America, which is one of such "theatres of military operations", the USA's ideological aggression has its specific features.

In Latin America, the overt and covert mechanisms of "psychological warfare", in which US imperialism relies on puppet "banana" dictators and fascist henchmen like Pinochet and Stroessner, stand out in particularly strong relief. The range of subversive propaganda methods and devices includes moral and psychological terrorism, economic and political diktat, diplomatic pressure, subversive-intelligence activities, etc. The goal of "psychological warfare" strategists is to preserve imperialist domination in the region, to combat the liberation and general democratic

movements, and prevent the assertion of the principle of national sovereignty in the inter-American system. The most aggressive imperialist circles are also trying to substantiate in ideological terms such things as armed aggression, plots against governments Washington does not like.

Washington's stepped-up "psychological warfare" against its southern neighbours should be seen in the context of US aggressive global policy as a whole. As soon as it came to office, the present US Administration began using the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy struggle of the popular masses in the Central American and Caribbean countries as a pretext for an unprecedented "crusade" against world socialism. Thus, the struggle of El Salvador's patriotic forces is presented as a result of alleged "communist infiltration", the mythical "intrigues" of Moscow and Havana. The peoples' legitimate right to national liberation and social emancipation, their striving to put an end to the hopeless poverty and the sanguinary rule of pro-US puppets are presented as terrorism inspired by "international communism". In actual fact, it is the US ruling circles themselves together with the leaders of the military-police regimes in a number of Latin American countries who pursue a systematic policy of state-sponsored terrorism, which violates elementary human rights.

Virtually every prong of the US ideological aggression in Latin America is steeped in the poison of bellicose anti-communism. Hardly a single state in the region has been able to avoid the practice of ruthless repressions against dissenters, legitimatised by the ruling regime. Under the banner of anticommunism, bourgeois-democratic reformers who made timid encroachments upon the privileges of imperialism and the oligarchy, have been expelled from presidential palaces or lost their lives. Under the same tattered banner, social and civil rights, scant as they are, are often suppressed altogether, and governments following an independent foreign policy are reviled.

The USA seeks to cover up its gross interference in the internal affairs of Latin American states by the threadbare thesis that all states of the Western Hemisphere have allegedly common interests. The implication here is that the USA is their leader and sole umpire by the grace of God. For over 160 years now, the main postulate of the US hegemonists has been the Monroe Doctrine, a sort of "theoretical substantiation" of the USA's expansionist policy in Latin America covered up by "pan-American solidarity". Saying that the Monroe Doctrine is experiencing a revival, *The New York Times* wrote: "While the Doctrine is not recognised as part of international law, it has long been a rallying cry for those who favor use of United States military power to curb the influence of European Nations in Latin America and, in some cases, to move against Latin American governments unfriendly to the United States." The paper had to admit that the Latin Americans "view the Doctrine as a pretext for United States imperialism and intervention in their affairs".²

"Pan-American solidarity", widely advertised over the decades, in actual fact resembles the "solidarity" between a cowboy and his horse, between the oppressor and the oppressed. Broad public strata in all the Latin American countries raise an ever more resolute voice against such "solidarity", while Washington has been trying to neutralise their movement for real, Latin American solidarity by spreading a lie about "the unity of the two Americas". In 1992, the Western Hemisphere is to mark the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America. There is every reason to believe that official Washington will try to make the utmost of that anniversary to further its selfish purposes mounting a massive propaganda campaign to present pan-Americanism, which allegedly embodies the common interests of the USA and the Latin American states.

² *The New York Times*, Nov. 13, 1984.

US imperialism carries out all its "psychological warfare" operations with the help of a powerful apparatus, which relies on the latest scientific and technical achievements in the field of communications, of the information propaganda complex. Ideological subversion abroad is organised by government bodies, including the State Department, but especially the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and the United States Information Agency (USIA).

Three-quarters of the USIA's "binational" centres are now concentrated in Latin America, which became the first target of US foreign-policy propaganda on a state level back on the eve of the Second World War. Apart from that, the Agency puts out a number of magazines for Latin America and also many books. Latin America's air is being polluted by the Voice of America and its numerous affiliates, including a subversive anti-Cuban radio station.

In tandem with the CIA, the USIA infiltrates its agents into the national mass media. A subversive operation in the style of "black" propaganda, codenamed KM-Forget, has been under way in the region for several years: at first, the CIA insinuates a falsehood (usually anticommunist and anti-Soviet) into a periodical of some Latin American country; that falsehood is then spread through CIA channels to other states in the region; finally, it ends up on the pages of the US press as an "expression of Latin American public opinion".

The USIA's "information imperialism" in Latin America is supplemented with an even more ramified network of "commercial" propaganda media. The countries of the region are the priority targets for Washington's doctrine demanding a "free flow of information" and a removal of all barriers. Since the outset, the US news agencies Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI) have sounded the keynote in that propaganda chorus. They are monopolists both in supplying press, radio and TV news to their southern neighbours (being the source of roughly 75 per cent of all the foreign news carried by the "big" press of the region), and in covering Latin American events in the press of the capitalist West. Although the agencies effect "impartiality", all these events are always interpreted in the spirit of the policy followed by each successive US Administration.

The mass-produced output of "mass culture" being exported from the USA—periodicals, especially the magazine *Reader's Digest*, radio, cinema and television—is also aimed at the spiritual corruption of the Latin American public. Considering that some Latin American countries have more TV sets per head of the population than Western Europe, one will realise why US propagandists devote priority attention to television. The USA seeks to establish full control over the content of TV programmes, using the latest technical achievements: artificial satellites and cable television. The USIA, for instance, beams daily newscasts to the Latin American viewers via the Amnet satellite subsystem. The development of audiovisual means is spurred on by commercial advertising, mostly being done in Latin America by US corporations and used as a major instrument in programming the mentality and behaviour of the audience and forming stereotypes that suit imperialism.

In order to exert imperialist influence on the marginal "outcast" strata and the lumpen-proletariat of the Latin American cities, which is swelling rapidly as the countryside is being ruined, the USA has been exporting right-wing Christian clericalism as represented by missionaries of numerous Protestant sects. In the Latin American interior, the "word of God" is being supplemented with ideological subversion by the Peace Corps, a US governmental agency whose personnel have been expelled from many countries in the region as CIA agents.

"Information imperialism" goes hand in hand with "cultural" and "university imperialism", whose target is the intelligentsia, especially the students of the Latin American countries. In the spring of 1985, the USIA loudly announced a programme for educating young people from a number of Central American countries at US colleges and universities. USIA Director Charles Wick openly admitted that the programme was part of the "ideological struggle" against the Soviet Union. Elaborating on that idea, *The Washington Post* wrote in an article entitled "Education—A Weapon in Latin Conflict":

"The region's poor and disadvantaged students are increasingly turning to the Soviet Union for college while the children of the ruling classes come to the United States. "The pattern... tends to reinforce the image of the United States as the protector of the ruling elites in the region and may give the Soviets both a propaganda advantage and a corps of loyal followers for the future.... The Soviet Union is far ahead in the game."³

Meanwhile, the USA is inducing a "brain drain", an outflow to the USA of highly skilled specialists, mostly doctors and engineers, educated in the Latin American countries, on a scale unprecedented in the whole capitalist world. In that way, the Washington "benefactors" increase their scientific, technical and intellectual potential at the expense of their southern neighbours without any cost to themselves.

Together with the US Treasury, the USA's "psychological warfare" is being financed by big monopoly capital, which acts on behalf of pseudo-philanthropic endowments, primarily the Rockefeller and Ford foundations. A part of their huge profits, including those extracted from Latin America, the monopolies invest in philanthropy, which is untaxed and helps to improve their public image. The function of exploitation is obscured, and the continent, which is extremely short of funds for education, public health, science and culture, finds itself dealing with "good old Uncle Sam" instead of an imperialist predator.

The activities of these "charitable" foundations are diverse, but always pernicious. Thus, together with the CIA and the Pentagon they have been funding university research both in the USA and in Latin American countries in the field of "sociological espionage", or public opinion forecasts aimed at pinpointing the "sore spots" which could harm imperialism and at preventing and suppressing hotbeds of liberation struggle. The foundations are particularly generous in funding "think tanks", or specialised research institutes in the USA which elaborate the main lines of policy and subversive propaganda in Latin America for the White House, the Department of State, the CIA and the Pentagon.

The role of conservative-oriented "think tanks", which determine the USA's current Latin American policy, has markedly increased since the present Administration came to office. Suffice it to recall the so-called Santa Fe Document, or the recommendations on a new inter-American policy for the 1980s drafted by the US President's closest surrounding six months before his election. A struggle against socialist Cuba, ruthless suppression of the liberation movement in the Central American and Caribbean countries, and support for military-police dictatorships—such are the three pivots of the programme of blackmail and aggression.

The projections of the Santa Fe Document's authors have been adopted by the US President as a guide to action. It is precisely in Latin America or, more specifically, in the subregions of Central America and the Caribbean that the aggressive essence of the present US Administration's policy has manifested itself most graphically in acts of "psychological warfare" and undeclared wars. The long-standing blockade of Cuba, the

³ *The Washington Post*, July 11, 1985.

seizure of defenceless Grenada, and the aggressive moves against Nicaragua have been listed in the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme as only some of the crimes which will remain among the most infamous chapters in the history of imperialism.

Cuba remains the main target of imperialism's "psychological warfare" in Latin America, especially since its independent development for more than a quarter-century has proved beyond any doubt that armed aggression can never extinguish the beacon of socialism in the Western Hemisphere. The Latin American states have also seen for themselves that Washington's anti-Cuban policy has in effect swung round against all the other countries of the region. On the one hand, on the plea of defence against a "Cuban threat", the USA has tightened the imperialist grip on the whole continent. On the other hand, imperialism's aggressive moves and gross interference in the internal affairs of all Latin American countries have shown that it is precisely the one to follow the subversive policy on the continent which it vainly seeks to attribute to Cuba. The Republic of Cuba has in reality demonstrated the peaceful nature of its line, showing that stronger peace in the Western Hemisphere presupposes adoption of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with different political and social systems, non-interference in their affairs, and respect for the sovereign will of the people who have chosen the road of social progress.

Now that the anti-Cuban policy is in a state of crisis and Havana's prestige in Latin America and the whole world has been growing, the sponsors of "psychological warfare" have focussed their attention on fabricating diverse falsehoods. In March 1985, for instance, the USIA and the Pentagon concocted a falsehood about a "Soviet-Cuban connection in Central America and the Caribbean". That libelous invention, being circulated abroad by US propaganda services, claims that Cuba, Nicaragua and the Soviet Union pose the main threat to democracy in Central America. The matter, however, goes beyond libel, for it is coupled with interventionist moves.

Speaking before the national committee on American foreign policy in October 1985, US Secretary of State George Shultz declared that "a foreign policy based on realism... cannot ignore the importance of... ideology".⁴ It was then announced that the USA had the right to defend its "national security" by sending over troops for a repeat performance of the events in Grenada, where US troops trampled the freedom of a country whose population comes to one-tenth of the population of New York.

As one will recall, Grenada was occupied against the background of a frenzied chauvinistic campaign, when it was publicly declared that the USA was free to take any action against states whose policy allegedly threatened its vital interests. The organisers of the Grenada venture obviously aimed at Nicaragua, a priority target of imperialism's "psychological warfare" in the Western Hemisphere.

The ideological aggression against Nicaragua brought into focus all the pretence and hypocrisy with regard to true and imaginary human rights. It was only with the USA's help that the uncrowned Somoza dynasty was able to tyrannize the Nicaraguan people for almost half a century. It was only with Washington's support that the Somoza III dictatorship dared resort in its agony to actual genocide, to massacres of civilians, including children, and the destruction of whole towns and villages. Washington tried to save the corrupt regime to the very last, but

⁴ *The New York Times*, Oct. 3, 1985.

these plans were overturned by the triumph of the Sandinista people's revolution on July 19, 1979.

The White House is now lamenting "human rights violations" in free Nicaragua and even a "betrayal of the revolution by the Sandinistas". On that pretext, the French *Le Monde* wrote, "the United States does not intend to relax its pressure on Nicaragua. It could even intensify that pressure in the belief that the Reagan Administration's 'tough' line in Central America is bearing fruit".⁵ That fruit, let us add, is drenched in blood. It is only with the USA's backing that bands of the "contras" dare to raid Nicaragua from the territory of Honduras and Costa Rica, to shell its border areas and bomb its cities. Terrorists penetrate deep into Nicaragua, murder civilians, and try to create a bridgehead for a puppet "government".

The CIA has equipped the "contras" with instructions on "psychological warfare", which contain, among other things, calls for sedition and for acts of mass terrorism. At the same time, the USA extols such military-police regimes as those in Guatemala and El Salvador, where unlawful acts are a daily occurrence: kidnappings, torture, executions, and mass killings of peasants.

The US public is being conditioned to the inevitability and possibly even necessity of a war with Nicaragua. US newspapers have been calculating the likely human losses and material costs, while plugging the notorious "domino theory", which says that unless Nicaragua is punished the other countries of Central America will collapse like a line of dominoes. To scare the US public, they invoke a "Nicaraguan threat", forgetting that "neighbouring" Nicaragua lies farther away from the United States than, say, Britain from the borders of the Soviet Union. The US mass media have so befuddled many Americans that, according to a recent opinion poll, 92 adults in 100 did not know whether the US Administration supported the Sandinistas or the "contras".⁶ Such is the atmosphere in which Goebbels-type provocative inventions on "Soviet military bases" in Nicaragua are being hatched.

The representatives of the top echelon of power in the USA go to any length to justify the involvement of US mercenaries in the "dirty war" against Nicaragua. The US President has compared them with the US patriots who fought against fascism in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade during the civil war in Spain. Veterans of the brigade, long persecuted by the FBI, voiced their indignation over the matter and wrote: "We abhor this attempt to identify us with the US-trained terrorists."⁷

The USA has been using "psychological warfare" methods to thwart a peaceful settlement in Central America. It has boycotted bilateral talks with Nicaragua and torpedoed mediatory efforts by the Contadora Group, supported by a number of other Latin American countries. In a book called *Contadora: desafío al Imperio*, the well-known Colombian politician Apolinar Díaz-Callejas justly wrote: "In spite of all its public statements in favour of the Contadora process, the Reagan Administration invariably regards the Contadora proposals as an encroachment upon its abiding hegemony."⁸

The attempts to deprive an independent country of the right to choose its development way under threat of a military intervention is an encroachment upon the whole system of present-day interstate relations. As Mikhail Gorbachev noted, protection of Nicaragua's sovereign rights is of essential importance from the standpoint of the very future of inter-

⁵ *Le Monde*, Sept. 27, 1985.

⁶ See *L'Humanité*, Jan 30, 1985.

⁷ *Daily World*, Nov. 3, 1984.

⁸ Apolinar Díaz-Callejas, *Contadora: desafío al Imperio*, Bogotá, 1985, p. 148.

national relations, of preserving within these the principles of sovereignty and equality.⁹

The attempts to smear the Latin American states' equitable and mutually beneficial relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to sow mistrust towards Soviet foreign policy and impute to it features which are characteristic of imperialist policy itself are yet another ingredient of imperialism's "psychological warfare".

Liberal intellectuals who expound the false conception of "two super-powers" sometimes fall for the bait offered by career provocateurs. Thus, the Mexican political scientist Isabel Turrent, the author of a book called *La Unión Soviética en América Latina*,¹⁰ gives an extremely free reading of Soviet-Chilean relations in the period of the Popular Unity Government and makes even freer and tendentious generalisations. These boil down to a contrast between "adherence to ideological doctrine" and erratic pragmatism.

On the whole, however, anti-Sovietism is in the midst of a deepening crisis; it is primarily being undermined by such an objective factor as the Soviet Union's immense and constantly growing international prestige.

Both history and present-day events show that anti-Sovietism plays into the hands solely of reaction and imperialism, meeting their predatory interests even with regard to the biggest countries of the region. One could recall that in 1926 Associated Press invented a falsehood about a "Red plot against America" and "the Bolsheviks' striving for hegemony" in the region located between the Panama Canal zone and the USA. The falsifiers had chosen Mexico as a target of "psychological warfare", for the country had come into conflict with the US oil monopolies that were plundering the country, and the falsehood was necessary to blackmail Mexican public opinion.¹¹

Six decades later, imperialist propaganda is still using the very same slanderous clichés in order to make Mexico alter its traditionally independent foreign-policy line. But the blackmail attempts come to nothing. Here is a characteristic admission by Alan Riding, former correspondent of *The New York Times* and the author of a widely advertised book called *Distant Neighbours. A Portrait of the Mexicans*: "Mexico must depend on its neighbour, but cannot trust it ... Mexico cannot resign itself to the seizure of half its territory by the United States and refuses to accept Washington's constant interference in its political affairs, control of its economy and ever greater penetration into the sphere of culture, the spread of the American way of life."¹² In order to suppress these feelings, the whole arsenal of imperialist propaganda is being used: the assertion about "geographical fatalism" and the futility of a struggle against the "great northern neighbour", and the racist inventions about a "biological inferiority" of the Indians and mixed-race people, who constitute a majority of Central America's population.

The masterminds of "psychological warfare" try to get dividends even from human suffering. Thus, *The Wall Street Journal*, which is known to speak on behalf of US monopoly capital, wrote in connection with the earthquake that hit Mexico in September 1985 that "the earthquake will divert attention in the short term from Mexico's other pro-

⁹ *Pravda*, May 30, 1985.

¹⁰ I. Turrent, *La Unión Soviética en América Latina. El caso de la Unidad Popular Chilena. 1970-1973*, Mexico, 1984.

¹¹ G. Seldes, *Freedom of the Press*, New York, 1935, p. 176.

¹² A. Riding, *Vecinos distantes. Un retrato de los mexicanos*, Mexico, 1985, p. 376.

blems". What are these problems? The paper reluctantly specifies that "the CIA developed a covert-action program aimed at pressuring Mexico.... Mexicans still believe they are the target of US destabilisation efforts".¹³ That stand is shared with good reason by the public of other Latin American countries, especially in the face of their common problems: their growing external debt to transnational (primarily US) banks, which is nearing the figure of \$400,000 million.

US propaganda has been trying to prove in recent years that Latin America's unprecedented foreign debt is due to the fuel crisis, the "consumer society's" urge to import goods, poor economic administration by the state, corruption, etc. But it is virtually all Latin American countries—big and small, oil-extracting and oil-importing, with military-police and constitutional regimes—that are now caught in the noose of external indebtedness. Public opinion in all the Latin American countries has now clearly realised that the debt trap has been set primarily by the US monopolies. That realisation intensified the resistance to US expansion, notably, in the field of ideology.

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Social thought in the Latin American countries has never tolerated US ideological aggression. Such a stand was taken by the leaders of the national liberation struggle against the colonial yoke. Today, the traditions of the past are being filled out with new content, engendered by the development of the anti-imperialist liberation process, by its new forms and broadening social basis. Simultaneously, US imperialism is increasingly discrediting itself as the main cause of the social ills of the Latin American countries, and all the tricks and dodges of the masterminds of "psychological warfare" are powerless in the face of that truth.

The Wall Street Journal, Sept. 26, 1985.

USA—SOUTH AFRICA: A SINISTER ALLIANCE

V. MIDTSEV

For something like five years now, the present US Administration has been trying hard to resolve southern Africa's painful problems in its own way, solely in accordance with its own economic, political and military interests. Washington is paying little attention to the well-known UN decisions on the South African regime and Namibia, to the stand taken by independent African states on the region's unbearable problems, to the views of the non-aligned movement, and to the demands of international, including a sizeable section of American, public opinion. Nor does it reckon with the real state of affairs in South Africa and around it.

The line of overtures to African states and pressure on South Africa, however mild, followed in the days of President Carter, has now been discarded in favour of a policy clearly oriented towards support for the racists and "constructive engagement" with Pretoria. But such a line does not work, merely treading water and exposing the USA's actual role as defender and patron of the bellicose and repressive South African regime. The political crisis in the Republic of South Africa, steeped in the blood of hundreds of dead and thousands of wounded fighters against apartheid, the scandalous disclosures of the racist regime's continuing contacts with and support for the bandit groupings of the Movement of National Resistance (MNR) in Mozambique and UNITA in Angola, and yet another aggression by the South African military against Angola—such are the true results of that policy. "Constructive engagement" in effect leads to destructive results.

Liberation of Namibia, unlawfully held by Pretoria, and elimination of the apartheid regime in South Africa itself are the basic problems of southern Africa raised by the objective course of events. It is quite obvious that without a solution of these imperative problems it is impossible to stabilise the situation in southern Africa, to eliminate the dangerous hotbed of unpredictable conflicts and situations in that turbulent region, and ensure peace and tranquility for the development in the Republic of South Africa and the neighbouring countries. Such are the goals formulated and fought for by the democratic, national-patriotic forces in South Africa and Namibia, by the "frontline states" bordering on South Africa, the Organisation of African Unity, the non-aligned movement, the United Nations, and all sincere opponents of colonial rule and racism.

As for the goals of US policy in southern Africa, these are quite different: the most important goal is to preserve the Republic of South Africa and occupied Namibia as a reliable stronghold of the West (or, rather, of the USA) in that region. Hence the numerous references by US officials and propaganda services to a mythical "Soviet military threat", to the false danger of "expansionist aspirations on the part of world communism". Spokesman for the Department of State Redman hypocritically told a press conference in late September that the USA was concerned over the Soviet Union's ever more active involvement in military operations in Angola.

Such a statement is hardly worth mentioning, for Washington has been launching numerous other falsehoods into its propaganda orbits. Moreover, the day after the press conference, Angola's news agency ANGOP resolutely refuted Washington's lies about direct involvement of Soviet servicemen in the operations of Angola's armed forces against the gangs of UNITA, which is a terrorist grouping sponsored by the special services of the USA and the Republic of South Africa. These operations, ANGOP emphasised, do not involve a single Soviet soldier: there are no Soviet soldiers at all on Angolan soil.

It is quite obvious that over the past quarter-century the Soviet Union has won considerable influence on the African continent, including the south of Africa. It has won that influence primarily by its invariable support for national liberation movements and young independent African states, with which it maintains equitable, friendly and mutually beneficial relations. Such close relations have taken shape, for instance, with Angola and Mozambique, whose peoples have been given considerable assistance in the struggle against the colonialists and in the defence of their independence. The Soviet Union is in solidarity with the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia (the ANC and SWAPO), with the "frontline states", against which the aggressive South African regime has been waging an undeclared war, and with all the other anti-racist forces and movements. But the Soviet Union has no economic, military or other claims with regard to Namibia or South Africa, and, moreover, it does not have any soldiers taking part in the hostilities in Angola.

Washington's slanderous inventions about a "Soviet threat" to the south of Africa are no more than a propaganda screen for those who are now trying to play out the conflict in southern Africa according to their own scenario, so as to preserve a pocket of racism and colonialism in Namibia and South Africa for the sake of the economic, political and military interests of US imperialism. Such is the chimerical purpose of the Washington Administration's diplomatic and anti-diplomatic moves in southern Africa.

"SELF-ABOLITION OF APARTHEID": A US MYTH

In word, Washington denounces apartheid as a system that violates human rights, whereas in deed it supports in every way the ruling South African regime, which introduced and legalised that racist, man-hating system. The contradiction between word and deed is the very essence of Washington's hypocritical policy with regard to Pretoria. The present US Administration is trying to "resolve" that contradiction or, rather, to camouflage it by creating an illusion that apartheid and the Botha regime exist separately from each other, each by itself. Moreover, in an attempt to justify its shameful policy of "constructive engagement" with that sanguinary regime, the USA keeps saying that the South African ruling clique has been taking gradual steps towards "moderate apartheid" and even towards giving it up. An attempt is being made to exonerate the patently reactionary policy of allround support for the apartheid regime by getting US and world opinion to accept the propaganda myth about the possibility of "self-abolition of apartheid".

In actual fact, the system of apartheid, that is, the system of the segregated existence and development of races, was elaborated and enacted in South Africa by the Nationalist Party, which has been in power since 1948. It is a monstrous product of that racist party, of the present ruling regime, which has been using every instrument at its disposal to defend the rule of the white minority, or 4.7 million of the country's population, and to suppress the non-white majority, or 25 mil-

lion Negroid people and 3.5 million people of mixed race and of Indian origin.

Far from being alien to the ruling regime in Pretoria, apartheid is literally an integral part and the basis of that racist regime. That is why the struggle against apartheid is not a struggle against some phenomenon which exists outside or apart from the South African ruling regime. It is a struggle against that ruling regime itself, against the racist state, its institutions and organs, including its administrative and judicial systems, the army, the police, the law and order that legalised racial segregation and discrimination, racial inequality and racist arbitrary rule.

Some of the US and other Western patrons of South African racism maintain that the movement against apartheid boils down to a struggle against violations of human rights. Of course, apartheid is a system which violates civil and other human rights. But an essential feature of that system is that human rights violations in South Africa are not directed against individual citizens, but against the whole non-white population of the country, especially the 25-million Negroid majority, which is denied citizenship in its own country by racist legislation and whom the law does nothing to protect. It is only natural, therefore, that the ANC, the country's oldest democratic and now most influential organisation, points out that it regards the struggle against apartheid not merely as a struggle against human rights violations, but also as a struggle against the ruling racist regime, aimed at overthrowing that regime and setting up a multiracial democratic state.

The attempts by Pretoria's well-wishers to present apartheid as something outside the racist regime pursue a single purpose: to create an illusion that the South African ruling clique is able and willing first to "moderate apartheid" and then to give it up altogether, and thus to justify the US support for the South African regime.

The more active Washington's cooperation with Pretoria in the economic, trade, military and political fields, the more often do US officials, along with the President of the United States, come out with statements claiming that positive changes are already under way in South Africa, that the first steps have been taken to ease apartheid, that the Botha government has already taken the road of "reform" and is moving towards a full break with apartheid, and that the US policy of "constructive engagement" towards Pretoria broadens the possibilities for a positive influence on that government. Although Washington cannot but admit that Botha's "reforms" are still insufficient (in actual fact, they are aimed to strengthen the apartheid system instead of "moderating" it), and that the racist regime has not as yet moved away from apartheid, it continues to insist that apartheid can "abolish itself", a myth meant for the uninformed.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN THE RSA AND BOTHA'S "REFORMS"

The political crisis in South Africa shows very well that the apartheid regime hinges on unrestrained violence against the non-white majority and the all-round support from the West, especially the USA. Without these props it would be unable to beat back the anti-racist offensive and would be bound to fall. Pretoria is also said to have a third prop: the "reforms" being carried out by the racists. But these "reforms" have virtually no support among the broad public circles. The anti-racist forces regard them as merely a trick by the authorities aimed at maintaining and strengthening the apartheid system.

The pseudo-reformist activity of Pretoria's ruling circles, advertised by lying US propaganda, is nothing but a badly staged show whose main

purpose is to deceive international opinion, to cover up the South African regime's brutal repressions, which have claimed hundreds of human lives and mutilated thousands of people taking part in the mass anti-racist protest actions that have lasted for more than a year. The unrest among the Black population in Johannesburg and other industrial centres in South Africa, which has involved tens of thousands of people deprived of political and other rights by the apartheid regime, started in September 1984, when the racist government drafted and enacted a new constitution, which creates a semblance of some departure from the apartheid policy.

Under that constitution, approved by way of an all-white "referendum", a three-chamber parliament was set up on racial lines, with one chamber for whites, another for "coloureds" (mixed-race people) and a third for representatives of the Indian community. Apart from that, a so-called presidential council was set up to include representatives of the same three groups of the population, with the majority of seats going to the whites. Simultaneously, the President's powers were considerably extended, and Prime Minister Pieter Botha was made president. Since then, that entire "constitutional edifice" is dominated by presidential power, which is in the hands of a racist.

The new system is faulty not only because it infringes upon the parliamentary rights of the "coloureds" and the Indian community, but primarily because it totally ignores the interests of the 25 million Negroid people, who are still being denied all political rights. And if the racist authorities have recently suspended the forced resettlement of Blacks from areas for whites to the Bantustans (all-Black administrative units, or "Black homelands"), if they have repealed the laws banning mixed marriages, removed the "whites only" and "Blacks only" notices at airports, in restaurants and parks, and taken some other cosmetic measures, that does not as yet indicate an intention to put an end to the white minority rule and abolish apartheid. That was confirmed, in particular, by Pieter Botha himself, who cynically declared: "It is a vain hope that a policy could be followed in South Africa which would be equally fair with regard to all groups of the population." Such is the political leader who is now being presented by Washington as a reformer and even an opponent of apartheid.

Still, the US Administration cannot unconditionally approve of all that is happening in South Africa. The fact that Pretoria is clearly bent on suppressing the anti-racist movement and refuses to carry out deeper reforms discredits the US policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa, tearing off the propaganda mask from it and showing the USA's complicity in the criminal activities of the racists.

The racists' bloody crimes in South Africa defy statistics. According to unofficial data, over 750 Blacks have been killed in clashes with the punitive forces over the past year, several thousand have been wounded, and more than 5,000 arrested. According to the institute of criminology of Capetown University, 83 per cent of those who are thrown behind bars by the racist regime are subjected to brutal torture and humiliation. They are beaten unconscious, tortured with electric shocks, and have their hair burned. The crimes of the South African racists can only be compared with Nazi atrocities in the fascist concentration camps.

The political crisis in South Africa and mass action by the Blacks have given an additional powerful impulse to the struggle of anti-racist organisations and movements in many countries of the world, as it is evident from the results of the international conference of solidarity with the people of South Africa, held in Addis Ababa in mid-October 1985. It was attended by representatives of nearly 70 prestigious international and national organisations and movements coming out against apartheid and racism, for peace and friendship between nations.

A declaration adopted at the conference points out that, in spite of the reign of terror unleashed by the racists, the heroic people of South Africa, led by the African National Congress, are intensifying their struggle for independence. The declaration urges the need to double the efforts for an unconditional release of the ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and denounces the state of emergency in South Africa and the killings of innocent and unarmed people. US imperialism, which follows the policy of "constructive engagement" towards Pretoria, the document says, is responsible for the actions of the racist regime.

The declaration gives a high assessment of the support and assistance given to the national liberation movements of southern Africa by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

FALSE ARGUMENTS AGAINST SANCTIONS

Racist South Africa is now more vulnerable to economic sanctions than ever before. Both the racists themselves and their Western patrons, primarily the USA, realise that very well, for one does not have to be an economic pundit to imagine the disastrous consequences for Pretoria of real economic sanctions which would envisage a ban on capital investment in South Africa, a ban on loans to that country, a cessation of trade with it, and a divestiture of earlier invested funds from its economy. Such sanctions would inevitably lead to a total collapse of the apartheid regime.

The tidal wave of anti-racist protest, which reached an unprecedented level in the summer and autumn of 1985, the introduction on July 21 of a state of emergency in 36 regions of the country, which led to an even greater police terror and sweeping massive repressions, the arrest of 27 leaders of the United Democratic Front, the largest legal opposition organisation, and of thousands of other people involved in the anti-racist unrest—all that brought to the fore the question of strict sanctions against South Africa, economic sanctions above all, turning that question into a subject of stormy debates at the United Nations and in other international organisations, in the press and parliaments of Western states, including the US Congress.

Faced with a real threat of sanctions and disinvestment, the South African regime together with its US and other Western patrons launched a vigorous campaign against such sanctions, using purely speculative and demagogic arguments. It is being asserted, for instance, that economic sanctions would do less harm to the apartheid regime than to the enslaved non-white minority. But public opinion polls held in South Africa showed that 77 per cent of all urban Blacks are in favour of economic sanctions, although 46 per cent of those polled noted that they themselves were bound to suffer in such an event. All the anti-racist organisations of South Africa without exception are in favour of sanctions. In explaining that stand, the ANC President Oliver Tambo emphasised that such measures could not hurt the Africans more than does the policy of apartheid.

The assertions by the South African racists and their US sponsors that sanctions would do more harm to neighbouring countries than to South Africa are hypocritical. Neighbouring and "frontline" states, for instance, unanimously support the demand for all-embracing sanctions.

It is a different matter that such measures would to some extent harm the economic interests of the Western states, especially the USA, Britain, the FRG, France and Canada, which have large capital investments in South Africa and have been expanding their trade with it. But that circumstance, which is of decisive importance for the US and other Western opponents of sanctions, is rarely mentioned in the West, for it is

hard to admit in public that the West is prepared to sacrifice its officially proclaimed "renunciation of apartheid" principles to its commercial interests.

Pretoria, for its part, is openly blackmailing its Western partners, emphasising that it is not South Africa but they who would be the losers in the event of an imposition of economic sanctions. On the eve of a vote to be taken in the US Senate on a draft bill on sanctions, South Africa's former Deputy Foreign Minister Louis Nel went so far as to say that sanctions would obstruct, rather than promote, the implementation of a programme for reforming the racial segregation system allegedly elaborated by the South African government. Voicing his concern that US sanctions could trigger off a chain reaction in other countries, he clearly threatened Washington that a US decision to apply sanctions could lead to a turn of events which the USA would no longer be able to control.

The racists had little reason to fear any changes in Washington's policy with regard to Pretoria. In the UN Security Council, a decision to adopt truly serious sanctions proposed by a group of African states was blocked by the USA and Britain. Instead of that, the Council adopted France's compromise proposal for non-binding sanctions against South Africa, with an appeal to all UN member-states to suspend new investments in South Africa, ban the sale of Krugerrands (gold coins), restrict sports and cultural contacts, withhold guaranteed export loans, ban new contacts in the nuclear field and the sale of computer technology which could be used by the South African army and police. But even when that resolution, which did not envisage any mandatory sanctions, was put to the vote on July 26, 1985, the USA and Britain abstained.

US SANCTIONS AS A GIFT TO APARTHEID

But that was not the end of the sanctions question either in the United States or in other Western countries. The more brazen and shameless outrages committed by the South African rulers were, the greater was the concern over that question among Western political and public circles. Debates on that issue raged in West European parliaments. Some countries of Western Europe, like France and the Scandinavian states, began taking restrictive measures, however timid, with regard to their ties with South Africa.

There was greater criticism in the US Congress of the policy of "constructive engagement" and of stubborn refusal to apply sanctions, to which the US Administration continued to cling. Opposition to the President's line of blind support for the South African regime kept mounting in both houses of the US Congress. On the eve of the summer recess, the House of Representatives passed a bill on sanctions against South Africa, which was approved by the House-Senate Conference Committee, while the Senate was to vote on that issue after the recess, in early September. Well-informed observers predicted that the Senate would adopt the bill.

In these conditions, a day before the debates on the draft bill were resumed in the Senate—on September 9—the US President announced restrictive measures with regard to Pretoria, which, he said, were necessitated by the need to demonstrate opposition to apartheid and to enable the USA to influence events in South Africa. In actual fact, these measures are so mild that they can have no real effect on the apartheid regime.

The US President has ordered a ban on bank loans to the racist government. That measure is purely symbolic, for loans to the South African government and government departments amount to only \$302.2 million, or 7.1 per cent of total US bank loans to South Africa

(\$4,200 million). Another point to note is that from 1982 onwards such loans to the South African government declined by half, and since last spring many major banks have totally ceased extending them of their own accord. The dynamics of US bank lending to private South African banks and enterprises is quite different: as of March 1, 1985 US bank loans to the latter totalled \$3,900 million, whereas in 1979 the figure was just over \$500 million. Moreover, the new presidential order does not apply to the extension of US bank loans to South Africa's private sector, so protecting the economic backbone of apartheid from any financial difficulties.

Another example is the ban on the sale of US computers to South African governmental agencies "practicing apartheid". It is not separate government agencies, however, but the whole South African state system from top to bottom that bears responsibility for apartheid. Besides, the export of US computers for the South African army and police (as covered by the ban) was to have amounted to no more than \$100,000, while the annual trade turnover between the two countries totals \$3,800 million.

US exports to South Africa only in the first seven months of 1985 came to \$852 million, in spite of a 8.8 per cent reduction as compared with the corresponding period of 1984, while US imports even increased from \$540 million to \$768 million. The presidential order, however, said nothing about banning or at least markedly reducing trade with the racist regime.

The US President has also banned all nuclear exports to South Africa. But that measure had to be observed all along in accordance with US legislation, for Pretoria, as one will recall, has not as yet signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. A ban on US imports of weapons produced in South Africa has also been included among the main "sanctions". Doubts are being expressed on that issue even in the West as to whether the United States—the world's biggest exporter of weapons—has any need for South African weapons at all. On October 11, 1985 these insignificant measures were supplemented with a ban on US imports of South African Krugerrands. Although the USA accounted for 80 per cent of the sale of these gold coins, South Africa had little reason to worry, for in 1984 the share of Krugerrands in the total amount of gold sold by Pretoria on external markets came to no more than 10 per cent.

Such are the USA's restrictive measures, and even Washington officials cannot bring themselves to call them economic sanctions. Small wonder, for these measures neither affect the overall volume of US investments (totalling \$15,000 million), nor curtail trade with South Africa in any significant way, nor induce Western international financial agencies, which have given the apartheid state \$14,800 million worth of loans, to put pressure on South Africa.

The EEC countries have adopted similar halfhearted measures, although such countries as Britain, the FRG and France, which have the closest trade and economic links with Pretoria, could make, if they so wished, a contribution to the struggle against the criminal apartheid regime. Suffice it to say that British investments in South Africa total from \$5,200 million to \$9,100 million, those of France \$1,500 million, and those of the FRG DM 600 million. South Africa's trade with the FRG came to \$3,500 million in 1984, its trade with Britain to \$2,400 million in 1983, and its trade with France to 10,000 million francs. The racist regime is also being vigorously supported by the transnational corporations, whose number in South Africa is over 1,068, including 406 US, 364 British and 142 West German TNCs. At year-end 1983, direct foreign investments in South Africa totalled \$15,500 to \$17,000 million. Together

with other external liabilities, foreigners own about 20 per cent of South Africa's fixed capital.

The African states and all sincere opponents of racism and apartheid are quite right in demanding tight and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. Only the forces which are interested in perpetuating apartheid are against such sanctions, covering up their complicity in the crimes of the South African regime with false rhetoric about the inefficacy of economic and other sanctions and the possibility of exerting a "positive influence" on the racists by milder political means.

Advertising the USA's empty and useless measures, the West keeps asserting that they are directed against apartheid and South Africa's present government. As it gives diverse support and assistance to the criminal regime in crushing the anti-racist movement, Washington hypocritically asserts that apartheid is doomed, that it cannot survive, and that the Pretoria government should hasten to hold talks with the Black majority. But the fighters for South Africa's liberation hold a different view: our goal, the ANC President Oliver Tambo declared, is not talks with the racist government, but a destruction of the apartheid system itself. Their courage and resolve to defeat racism and apartheid cannot be broken by anyone.

USSR-SWEDEN: TO PROMOTE GOODNEIGHBOURLINESS

Yu. DENISOV

It has been an invariable tradition in overall Soviet policy towards North European countries, an important area of the Soviet Union's overall European policy to promote goodneighbourly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation with Sweden. It is a consistent line of principle, taking into account the role that Sweden plays in Northern Europe and on the rest of the continent and the significance of Soviet-Swedish relations in promoting detente and international cooperation.

Sweden is Northern Europe's largest country and one of the most advanced among the so-called smaller countries of the capitalist world. It has one-third of the North European countries' population, and accounts for over 40 per cent of their aggregate GNP and industrial output and for over 30 per cent of their exports.

Sweden is one of the Soviet Union's closest neighbours on the Baltic. Never since the St. Petersburg Allied Treaty of 1812 have relations between the two neighbours been marred by wars or other armed conflicts, a fact that is quite rare, if not unique, in 19th and 20th century European history. Nor have these relations ever been beset with political or other major problems.

It was an objective need for close contact—economic, cultural, and, not of minor importance, political—that has been instrumental in shaping Soviet-Swedish goodneighbourly relations. Just as natural has been the underlying interest of both countries in the maintenance of a stable peace in the North of Europe and in the promotion of security and cooperation on the entire European continent.

It was in the relationship of the newborn Soviet state and Sweden that quite a few of the first steps, if rather modest by modern standards, were taken to implant the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with different social systems. That happened in the difficult early years for the Soviet Republic which found itself in the grip of a political, military and economic blockade by the Entente. Lenin devoted a great deal of attention to establishing relations with Sweden when he stressed the importance of persuading the neighbouring smaller countries that "we are, maybe, not allies, but at any rate more reliable and more valuable neighbours than the imperialists".¹

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¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 176.

The leader of the world's first socialist state was very familiar with that country and with the mood of its working class and progressive intelligentsia. He described the 1909 general strike in Sweden as "one of the biggest general strikes of the recent period".² Lenin's letters to K. J. Branting and his correspondence and contacts with O. Grimlund, T. Nerman, H. Silen, Z. Höglund, F. Ström, K. Kihlbom and other Swedish Social Democrats provide enough evidence of how closely he followed the development of the Swedish labour movement.

On December 28, 1917, immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin signed a document establishing a representation of the Russian Federation in Stockholm. The Soviet representatives, under direct instruction from Lenin as the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, were pressing for Sweden to become a kind of "window to Europe" for blockaded Russia. The first Soviet trade agreement with a Western firm was the contract concluded with Jonson Co. in May 1918, for the purchase of farm machinery and the first foreign ship which defied the Entente's naval blockade in the Baltic was the Swedish S/S *Eskilstuna III* arriving in Petrograd in the spring of 1919.

It is no exaggeration to say that in the early 1920s the cooperation between Soviet Russia and Sweden was a factor of certain importance in European affairs. Indeed, amidst the blockade and foreign intervention, the world community could not fail to take notice of transactions between the two countries like the contract with a group of Swedish firms on a commodity exchange worth 100 million kronor, the delivery of equipment for the early Soviet power generation projects, and the famous contract for the construction of 1,000 steam locomotives for Soviet Russia.

Naturally, that prompted other countries of the capitalist world to establish business ties with the Soviet state. It was not by chance that Lenin wrote on the purchase of locomotives in Sweden: "We see the contract as important mainly in that it influences the major locomotive works of Europe and America."³

The very logic of Soviet-Swedish cooperation made Sweden one of the first states of Europe to establish full diplomatic relations with the USSR in March 1924. The Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR stressed in that connection that unobstructed development of relations with Sweden was ensured by "the absence of grounds for any political conflicts whatsoever. Our political interests do not clash with those of Sweden anywhere at all."⁴

Indeed, there were no particular problems at issue in relations between the USSR and Sweden before the war. On the contrary, these relations were among the elements that in effect worked against the deterioration of the political climate in Europe. Both countries were anxious to prevent aggressive actions by Nazi Germany. The Swedish government shared the Soviet principle of the indivisibility of the world, supported the Soviet proposal on the definition of aggression and welcomed the Soviet Union's accession to the League of Nations.

Later on, in the course of the Second World War, Sweden and the Soviet Union succeeded in preventing their relations from being seriously impaired, as outside forces wanted so much. What helped them do so was among other things, the well-known moves of the Soviet Union made in the spring of 1940 towards the maintenance of Swedish neutrality. Soviet Ambassador Alexandra Kollontai, who informed Stockholm of the Soviet government's *démarche* to the German government on the subject, reported to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the USSR that

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, 1963, p. 141.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 51, p. 341 (in Russian).

⁴ See *Pravda*, March 16, 1964.

the Swedish Foreign Minister "expressed his gratitude with deep emotion and said that this action on the part of the Soviet Union will fortify... Sweden in her firm determination to observe neutrality". Increased Soviet supplies of petroleum products, grain and apatites in 1939-1941 were essential to Sweden, as it was cut off from other markets.

The victories of the Soviet forces in the winter of 1942 and in the summer of 1943 finally thwarted Hitler's plans to occupy Sweden.

In the postwar decades, Soviet-Swedish relations have not always been smooth. There have been some appreciable upswings and some temporary declines. Changes in the world political climate have affected them, as have the activities of the Atlantic forces that wanted Sweden to confront the USSR. Yet, whenever it was not the time-serving considerations of certain Swedish quarters, whether in international affairs or in domestic policy, but political realism and long-term factors and mutual interests that prevailed, the policy of promoting goodneighbourly relations between the USSR and Sweden produced tangible results and clearly demonstrated the great potential it contained. This has certainly proved beneficial to both countries and to the overall climate in Europe.

There were noticeable international repercussions in the wake of the Soviet-Swedish negotiations in the summer of 1946, on the resumption and extension of economic relations. Such a move ran counter to the plans of the USA and other imperialist powers which tried to counteract the policy of cooperation with the USSR using cold war tactics. In August 1946, the USA tried to interfere in those negotiations, referring to some negative consequences of the projected Soviet-Swedish trade agreement for international commerce. The US *démarche* was unequivocally rejected by the governments of the USSR and Sweden.⁵ They signed an agreement for a Swedish loan to the tune of 1,000 million kronor for the Soviet Union to buy machinery and equipment in Sweden. In the early postwar years, Sweden was one of the six capitalist countries which were the USSR's major trade partner.

The Soviet-Swedish cooperation in the 1960s and 1970s was particularly noteworthy in its high standard and intensity. Of course, that was a period of positive trends gaining ground all over Europe when the concept of detente and cooperation between East and West was accepted by many West European countries. Both the USSR and Sweden did a good deal in those years to build up confidence and goodneighbourly relations and diversify their mutual cooperation.

One way the two countries followed in promoting their cooperation was by developing a political dialogue, at a high-level above all, which began with the first official visit of Prime Minister Tage Erlander of Sweden to the USSR in 1956. Swedish Prime Ministers then visited the USSR in 1965, 1970 and 1976, while the Soviet heads of government made official visits to Sweden in 1964, 1968 and 1973. There were exchange visits by the foreign ministers during the same period. The official visit of King Carl XVI Gustaf to the USSR in 1978 played a marked role in promoting goodneighbourly relations. The Soviet-Swedish Communiqué of April 10, 1976, stressed the particular significance of the meetings of the leaders of the Soviet Union and Sweden and noted that such contacts contributed towards defining each other's positions and creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding.⁶

⁵ *Foreign Policy of the USSR 1946*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1952, pp. 182-185 (in Russian).

⁶ *Pravda*, Apr. 10, 1976.

There was a very intensive development of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Sweden in the 1960s and in the early 1970s. It sometimes outpaced the development of such ties with many other West European countries in its range and growth rates. From 1959 to 1970, the volume of Soviet-Swedish trade increased nearly fivefold, and from 1971 to 1975 it almost trebled. The USSR has become one of Sweden's top ten trading partners.

One indication of the realistic approach of the Swedish authorities and business community towards cooperation with the USSR was that in the early 1960s, in spite of pressure from the USA, Sweden far from cutting off, expanded the export of large-diameter pipes for oil- and gas-pipelines under construction in the Soviet Union. It is not beside the point to recall this now that the US Administration is once again trying to bind Sweden to its policy of embargo and sanctions against the USSR and other socialist countries by establishing control over the Swedish export and re-export of high-technology equipment with American components to the Soviet Union.

A ten-year programme for the promotion of economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation was signed in 1975. The trade agreement for 1977-1981 for the first time included a number of principles for the promotion of trade contained in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Sizeable contracts were concluded in the same years for the enrichment of crude uranium at Soviet industrial enterprises and for a supply of complete equipment to the USSR for the machine-tool industry, the Ust-Ilimsk lumber complex, the Kama Motor Works, and for air traffic control. Stable cooperation has developed in the field of science and engineering, as well as in environmental protection.

In other words, the USSR and Sweden accomplished a great deal in their joint efforts to translate the idea of detente into tangible cooperation between states and to promote more effective application of the principles of peaceful coexistence both in their mutual relations and on a larger, international scale.

However, the aggravation of the international situation at the turn of the 1980s, as a result the US turnabout with the aim to undermine detente and confidence between states, cast its shadow on Soviet-Swedish relations and slowed down their progress. Influential forces in Sweden itself, those, above all, of the right-wing bourgeois parties that were in power in 1976-1982, went into action against Soviet-Swedish goodneighbourly relations, playing up non-existent problems so as to denigrate the Soviet peace policy.

For a few years, there was an uproar over the far-fetched "submarines issue", played up as a topmost political problem in relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union; it blinded quite a few Swedish politicians to the prospects for these relations, important as they are for Sweden. Strident campaigns over the unintentional appearance of a Soviet submarine in Swedish territorial waters in October 1981, with regard to which the Soviet government expressed regret to the Swedish government, and also over alleged subsequent violations of Sweden's maritime and air frontiers by the Soviet Navy and Air Force, were used to curtail contacts with the USSR, above all, in the political and military fields.

Troubles in Soviet-Swedish relations also made themselves felt after the Olof Palme Social-Democratic government came into office in 1982. Although the government's programme statement did refer to its intention to improve relations with the Soviet Union, it failed to take consi-

stent and decisive practical steps in this direction. Admittedly, trade and economic ties, scientific and technological cooperation, and cultural contacts developed fairly well during that period. But, at the same time, the government was still under strong pressure from the right-wing opposition which grouped around the Moderate Party and sharply opposed whatever contacts and exchanges with the Soviet Union they deemed political.

However, the inconsistency of the Western-imposed concept of "sanctions" against the USSR by curtailing political and other contacts became clear fairly soon, as was only to be expected. Swedish public opinion appreciated Olof Palme's statement at the Congress of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Sweden in September 1984, about the need to maintain contacts and exchange visits between Sweden and the USSR "at various levels and under any circumstances".⁷ After the parliamentary elections of September 1985, in which the Left forces, the Social Democratic Labour Party and the Left Party—Communists, regained a majority, Prime Minister Palme announced his intention to visit the Soviet Union.

Soviet readiness to streamline relations with Sweden and resume broad and fruitful goodneighbourly cooperation has been stated on many occasions. The Soviet Union advocates a stronger mutual confidence with its Baltic neighbour, mutual respect and goodwill, in short, everything that goes into creating a healthy political climate of communication.

To be a good neighbour nowadays is not merely to live side by side avoiding misunderstandings and conflicts, confrontation and enmity. This is certainly very important, but only a start. The exigencies of present-day international affairs extend the limits of the very notion of "good-neighbourliness".

Today they imply full-scale ties between governments, parliaments, and public organisations. Soviet-Swedish relations produced such positive experience in the past, and it can be effectively used. Making the fabric of peaceful coexistence more substantive is no less important. Such ties can be built not only with a view to meeting the current demand and that of the near future, but with an eye to a longer perspective as well. The Soviet Union could continue to share in supplying Sweden's long-term demand in energy-bearing materials, all kinds of equipment, and raw materials. Soviet economic organisations could make a fuller provision for the Swedish industrial potential in drawing up short- and long-term national economic development plans. The role of such progressive forms of ties as cooperation and specialisation as well as large long-term contracts could be also enhanced.

A greater role in promoting goodneighbourly relations could be played by extended ties between the USSR and Sweden in the cultural and educational fields, a greater dissemination of information and more people-to-people contact, in other words, cooperation provided for within the framework of the so-called "third basket" of the Helsinki Final Act. Of course, such cooperation must be carried on, as demanded by the Helsinki accords, without interference in each other's internal affairs and with the recognition of each other's right to establish one's own laws and administrative regulations at home.

What constitutes the major potential of Soviet-Swedish relations, beyond question, is the adamant determination of both nations to keep and strengthen peace, curb the arms race, and prevent a nuclear war. Committed as it is to a foreign policy of peace, the Soviet Union respects

any peace-keeping effort of other countries even if it does not exactly agree with that of its own.

Opportunities for the further strengthening of fruitful cooperation between the USSR and Sweden in international affairs are substantially enhanced by the Swedish policy of neutrality which that country has been following for over 170 years. There is a feeling of great respect in the Soviet Union for Sweden's "policy of freedom from alliances in peacetime, with the view to remaining neutral in the event of war". With three of the five countries of Northern Europe, members of the North Atlantic Alliance, this realistic, time-tested foreign policy course of Sweden is one of the factors unquestionably conducive to preserving peaceful and stable conditions in this region.

The policy that Sweden has been conducting along with other neutral West European states is an important element in the effort to maintain peace and security throughout the European continent. By the very orientation of their policy, the neutral countries are favourably influencing the development of international relations. For neutrality by itself is a rejection of war as a means of resolving international problems, an emphatic refusal to have anything to do with the policy of wars of aggression, and a condemnation of such a policy.

There is another important point. Sweden's policy of neutrality does not mean that it is passive on the international scene or that it shies away from discussing the most burning problems of today. Being a member of the UN and of most of its specialised agencies, and a party to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, Sweden has its own well-established international political profile, its proper place within the system of international relations. It is a signatory to major international treaties and agreements. Participating in a number of Western organisations, (OECD, EFTA, International Energy Agency) Sweden has, nevertheless, refused to join the Common Market, saying that membership therein is incompatible with its policy of neutrality and having confined itself to concluding an agreement on free trade in manufactured goods.

Sweden has always made its position clear enough in curbing the nuclear arms race, with invariable emphasis on preventing Europe from being turned into a nuclear tinder-box. As early as 1961, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Östen Undén, called upon the countries that had no nuclear arms to renounce the idea of producing, acquiring and stockpiling them. The Undén Plan, which was put forward at the time, called for a "non-nuclear club" of states having no atomic weapons to be established in Central and Northern Europe.

The government of Sweden supported—although, not immediately and with a number of reservations—the proposal of Finland, advanced by former President U. Kekkonen in 1963, for Northern Europe to be declared a nuclear-free zone. A whole series of constructive suggestions on ways to give effect to that important idea were made in June 1983 by Swedish Prime Minister Palme in his report at a seminar in Helsinki, commemorating the 20th anniversary of Kekkonen's idea.

The opinion of Sweden, just as that of other Scandinavian countries, was taken into account by the Soviet Union in working out its position on a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. It is a known fact that the Soviet Union, for example, expressed its willingness to consider some measures, substantive at that, regarding its own territory, contiguous to the above zone, and also to discuss with the parties concerned the question of making the Baltic a nuclear-free area.

There has been worldwide reaction to the proposal advanced by the government of Sweden in 1982 to create in Europe a zone "free from battlefield nuclear weapons" (tactical weapons at the disposal of army units—divisions and brigades) that would pass on either side of the boun-

dary line between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states. As Palme underlined, that proposal did not contradict Finland's idea of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe, but complemented the latter instead.

Sweden's initiative was on a par with the efforts made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which saw the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of Europe as one to rid the entire continent of nuclear weapons, whether battlefield or medium-range. It was only natural that the USSR expressed readiness to take part in negotiations on establishing the zone proposed by Sweden, and suggested that, to be more effective, it should be widened from 300 to 500-600 km.⁸

While putting forward a set of fresh peace initiatives aimed at ending the arms race and defusing the situation in Europe and the rest of the world, Mikhail Gorbachev, during his visit to France, also emphasised the importance of moves such as the creation of nuclear-free zones on the continent—in Northern Europe and in the Balkans, and a nuclear-free corridor on either side of the boundary line between the two military-political groupings.

The importance that Sweden is attaching to the problems of detente and peace in Europe has been clearly demonstrated by its contribution towards bringing the European Conference to a successful conclusion and by its constructive effort at the Madrid meeting. Together with other neutral and non-aligned nations, it has been working for reaching substantive accords at the Stockholm conference.

Worried about the destinies of peace in Europe, the government of Sweden has deplored the American "first strike" and "limited war" doctrines, and expressed serious concern over the emplacement of new medium-range missiles on the territory of West European countries by the USA and NATO. It has rightfully drawn attention to problems that arise from the deployment of cruise missiles for the security of Sweden and Finland.

The Swedish position is prominent in matters relating to global nuclear disarmament, too. At the latest sessions of the UN General Assembly, Sweden has been calling for a nuclear arms freeze by the USSR and the USA and supported the Soviet-sponsored resolutions about no-first-use of nuclear weapons and an immediate cessation and prohibition of nuclear tests.

An important contribution to the international discussion of the problems of war and peace has been made by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, headed by Palme (it included public figures, politicians, and statesmen of 17 nations of Europe, America, Asia, and Africa). The disarmament programme put forward by the Palme Commission in 1982 became a subject of serious study in various countries. Washington, however, has rejected the Commission's conclusions since they are totally at variance with the foreign policy concepts of the present US leadership.

An appreciable international act has been undertaken by six countries (Sweden, Greece, India, Mexico, Argentina, and Tanzania) which twice in 1985 called for action to curb the nuclear arms race and defuse international tension. The Declaration of the Six was highly praised in the Soviet Union as being consonant with its own peace aspirations.

In pressing for an end to the arms race on Earth, the government of Sweden is also realising what a disaster it would be to have it extended into outer space. The Soviet Union's major peace initiatives and its appeal to the West to take fresh and bold steps and discard stereotyped political thinking were appreciated and supported in Sweden.

⁸ *Pravda*, Jan. 28, 1983.

One cannot fail to see that the greatest effort that Sweden can make to reaffirm its policy of neutrality (despite the fact that in that country itself and across the Atlantic there are some forces that would push it off that track) and to make it even more active and constructive contributes towards enhancing the international appeal of the "Swedish line" and meet the long-term national interests of the Swedish people and the interests of peace in Europe. "The policy of neutrality," the government of Sweden stressed in its statement after the parliamentary elections in September 1985, "remains firm. It will be followed resolutely, unequivocally and consistently".⁹

The Soviet Union has invariably appreciated the amicability of its neighbours and their desire for broader peaceful cooperation. This country has always responded with readiness for cooperation and with practical action in any area of mutual interest.

The programme for defusing the explosive world situation put forward by the Soviet Union and its approach of principle to expanding cooperation and goodneighbourly relations with Western Europe are directed towards opening up such a qualitatively new stage in the evolution of Europe as one could hardly imagine possible yesterday. Promoting still closer Soviet-Swedish goodneighbourly relations and fruitful cooperation in every respect, drawing upon the experience gained in the 1970s, would fit in perfectly with the overall commitment to bringing Europe back from confrontation and mistrust to detente, and peaceful cooperation.

⁹ *Dagens Nyheter*, Oct. 2, 1985.

for close interaction among them. Broad peaceful cooperation in gearing the achievements and potentialities of the STR to the interests of the whole of mankind, without any politically or economically motivated discrimination, is one of the crucial international problems of our day.

Washington's oft-repeated allegation that the Soviet Union abuses its access to Western technology is totally groundless: the USSR has never pivoted its defence capability on Western technology, and competent Western experts have no doubt about its immense scientific and technical potentialities. Referring to a report by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, *The Washington Post* writes, for instance, that "it is rare to find examples of technologies obtained from the West which the USSR could not have produced itself".¹

It is well known that the USSR and the socialist community as a whole now account for roughly one-third of the world's scientific, technical and production potential, and that they are able, as experience has convincingly shown, to solve the most complicated technical problems connected both with strengthening the defence capability of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty countries and with their socio-economic programmes.

The present vigorous steps being taken by these countries to accelerate scientific and technical progress and their whole socio-economic development are not a sign of weakness but, on the contrary, indicate their ability rapidly to rise across a wide front to the level of STR demands, the demands of its new stage, and to combine STR achievements with the advantages of socialism, of socialist economic methods.

As for East-West trade and scientific exchanges, far from being a "one-way street", as alleged in Washington, these are a mutually advantageous matter. The CMEA countries can and do make an equivalent contribution to international technology exchanges, East-West exchanges in particular. That is tangibly confirmed, for instance, by the fact that socialist countries now account for about 40 per cent of all new inventions in the world, and their successes in fundamental sciences, which constitute a theoretical reserve for the development of the STR, are common knowledge.

In noting the achievements of Soviet science, *U. S. News & World Report* had to admit that science in the socialist community countries "is making enormous strides and providing important contributions to the technology of the U. S. and other non-Communist nations".² Western experts recognise that the flows of technology in the form of licences and know-how (unpatented technical and production expertise) between the East and the West are comparable in terms of volume. Thus, according to *The Financial Times* of London, since 1965 the CMEA countries have exported about 1,500 licences to third countries, while importing about 2,400 Western licences.³ True, there still remains some asymmetry in East-West trade in machinery and equipment.

However, by raising the technical level and competitiveness of their export products, extending the product mix, using new and better forms and methods of marketing and subsequent technical services, and offering greater incentives to producers to extend the export of their products, the CMEA countries are creating the necessary material and organisational prerequisites for an improvement of the structure of their exports in accordance with STR demands, for increasing the share of technical goods, and so on.

At the same time, the CMEA countries were naturally bound to react—both individually and collectively—to the greater discrimination on the

¹ *The Washington Post*, May 13, 1983.

² *U.S. News & World Report*, Jan. 17, 1983, p. 56.

³ See *The Financial Times*, Dec. 22, 1983.

part of the West, to its policy of economic embargo and sanctions against the socialist countries. Within the framework of their integration and their concerted economic, scientific and technical policy, the CMEA countries elaborated effective joint counter-measures, reorienting their trade flows towards more reliable partners in the developing world and in the West itself, deepening their integration process and concentrating it on new pivotal lines of the STR.

A major stage in the drafting and implementation of these measures was marked by the Moscow Economic Summit Conference of the CMEA countries in June 1984, the documents unanimously approved at that Conference, and its decision to elaborate a Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress in the CMEA Countries for the next 15 to 20 years. In their concern for an allout improvement and development of international economic, scientific and technological co-operation on an equitable and mutually advantageous basis, including cooperation with the West, the CMEA countries have devoted special attention to cooperation in Europe, notably, to an extension of mutually beneficial business ties between European states in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid accords.

The CMEA countries' interest in developing trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the West European countries is quite understandable in view of the historical and geographical proximity of these countries, their mutually complementary resources, their long-standing traditions of mutually advantageous cooperation, and its tangible positive results in the past decades, especially in the period of detente. These objective factors cannot be ignored either in the Eastern or the Western part of the European continent. Many important aspects of European cooperation have been given legal status by the Final Act.

For the USSR and the CMEA's European countries as a whole, the West European countries have been and remain the major Western trading partners. As for the West European countries, a considerable share of their total imports and exports is also oriented in that direction, especially in such basic products as energy resources in their imports, and metallurgical products and the output of some subindustries of engineering in their exports.

In the period of detente, such trade increased most markedly, and not only owing to changes in price proportions, but also in physical terms, becoming the most dynamic strand of world trade. Its slower growth over the past few years is a direct consequence of the artificial restrictions imposed by the USA on the West European countries, of EEC protectionism, rather than a result of structural barriers and financial difficulties. If these restrictions were overcome, with a simultaneous solution of credit problems and a perfection of the structure of trade, possibilities would be created for a further stable growth of East-West trade in Europe.

The recent visit to France by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev gave a new and powerful impulse to the development of European cooperation. He came out with large-scale proposals for improving the political climate in Europe, limiting the confrontation between the armed forces of the two military-political alliances stationed on the continent, and developing the peaceful dialogue between European states with different social systems, backed up with confidence-building measures.

As was noted at a meeting with French parliamentarians, the political climate in Europe depends to a considerable extent on the development

of East-West economic ties. An innovative approach is necessary in this field as well. Efficient use of the international division of labour could make it much easier for each country to resolve the tasks of industrial, technical and scientific progress. The USSR is prepared to look for new forms of cooperation on the principles of mutual advantage, equality and responsibility.

Naturally, all that should rest on the solid foundation created over the decades of mutually advantageous cooperation in different forms. A point to note in this context, however, is that the West European countries' obedient following in the wake of the Washington-inspired discriminatory trade policy with regard to the socialist countries could lead to an exclusion from their mutual trade of the most promising high-technology goods, which determine the latest lines of the STR and meet the requirements of the structural changes that are now under way both in Eastern and Western Europe. An excessive tribute to "Atlantic solidarity" in matters of limiting the range of products being exported to the socialist community would, in effect, mean an artificial curtailment of the advantages gained by the West European countries from their mutually useful cooperation with the socialist states.

That would ultimately serve to weaken Western Europe's positions in the intensifying trade war with Japan and the USA, and would limit its possibilities for using such ties to increase employment and so to alleviate its ever graver unemployment problem,⁴ and also to maintain growth and technical development rates.

The West European countries are just as interested in stable access to East European fuel and energy resources: oil and oil products, gas, coal and electric power. Although the energy crisis in the capitalist world has for a time given way to an opposite tendency, it would be unreasonable to rule out its recurrence on an even greater scale than in the 1970s. As recent experience has shown, Western Europe is more vulnerable in that respect than the United States. Meanwhile, Washington has been trying to thrust upon it more costly power-supply patterns on the same pretext of "strategic interests".

Protection of the environment is one of the major global problems engendered by the STR or connected with it. That problem is ever more acute for all European countries, especially the countries of Western Europe with their highly concentrated population and industry. For geographical reasons, that problem cannot be resolved within a national or narrow regional framework; it calls for joint and closely coordinated action on an all-European scale.

The STR has also raised new questions in the sphere of European transport and communications, especially considering the further growth of all-European trade, the intensifying scientific and technological ties, and the development of human contacts and tourism. Their solution is inconceivable without an all-European approach and establishment of cooperation in the investment, scientific-and-technical, and production-and-services sphere.

The USSR and the other CMEA countries—individually and collectively—have been making vigorous efforts to accelerate scientific and technical progress as the major prerequisite for intensifying production and socio-economic development as a whole. Largely similar tasks (although on a totally different socio-economic basis) are also being tackled in the West European countries, which are trying to keep pace with their rivals, the USA and Japan. A certain coordination of these processes within the framework of all-European division and cooperation

⁴ The unemployment level in the West European countries has now exceeded 11 per cent (about 19 million) and is quite unlikely to go down.

of labour could yield undoubted advantages for the whole continent and, simultaneously, for scientific and technical progress on a global scale. After all, roughly one-half of the world's scientific, technical and production potential is concentrated on the European continent, the cradle of technical progress and the first industrial revolution.

Much is now being said and written in the West about Western Europe's technological lag, about its losing or beginning to lose the competition in that field on a global scale. Those who say that refer to the fragmentation of the West European scientific and technical potential, the lack of initiative among West European entrepreneurs and their insufficient receptivity of innovation, the isolation of West European universities from industry, etc. There has even been talk of Western Europe's decline, with a shifting of the centre of global scientific and technical progress to the Pacific region, where attempts are being made to form an integration entity under the auspices of the USA and Japan. Without sharing that pessimistic conclusion, one is nevertheless bound to note certain negative features in West European scientific and technological development, notably, along such lines as computers and microprocessors, robotics and biotechnology, which spearhead the new stage of the STR.

Problems in that field are also faced by the CMEA's East European countries, which have been working hard within national and integration bounds to resolve them as soon as possible. Certain changes have recently occurred in the West European countries as well. A paramount role from the standpoint of the whole continent's technological positions could be played by interaction and mutual dovetailing of the efforts being taken by East and West European countries, which would accelerate Europe's advance along the whole front of the new stage of the STR and assert its role as the acknowledged leader of world scientific and technical progress.

Alongside material and intellectual factors, this process could be promoted by definite organisational prerequisites created in the past, especially in the years of detente. Thus, traditional trade in the past decade went hand in hand with fairly vigorous exchanges in the field of science and technology (researchers, patents and licences, other scientific, production and technical data) and joint development of scientific and technological problems, both fundamental and applied. The two sides have also developed industrial cooperation on the basis of joint production programmes and concerted specialisation, an exchange of units and components, joint development and introduction of new technologies on the strength of scientific research already done by either side, joint or concerted marketing in other countries of new products or investment and technical services, diverse forms of product-pay-back deals and joint enterprise.

Contracts of that kind now run into thousands, and many of them are large-scale, creating prerequisites for long-term cooperation on the basis of the existing organisational and legal infrastructure. A number of projects in the mining and manufacturing industries, in the sphere of the infrastructure and the services have been built in the USSR and other CMEA countries on such a basis so as to meet the demand in West European and other countries as well.

Soviet-French cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space, the joint flight of a French and Soviet cosmonauts, and the use of French instruments in Soviet space research are well known. Such joint research meeting STR requirements could be carried both on a bilateral and multilateral basis, particularly under the recent proposal, International Cooperation in the Peaceful Exploration of Outer Space in Conditions of Its Non-Militarisation, put forward by the USSR at the UN.

A considerable store of positive experience has been accumulated in the sphere of scientific-technical and scientific-production cooperation. The joint Soviet-West German firm Technounion, set up in the FRG, not only helps to market Soviet licences and know-how in Western Europe and to apply Soviet production and technical experience and corresponding technologies, but also promotes cooperation in that promising field. With its participation, the West German firms Man and Kanis produce components for gas turbines and compressors under a Soviet licence, while other components are made in the USSR. Eventually, whole turbines could be built from Soviet designs for use at gas pipelines running across the territory of European and other countries. In cooperation with Soviet enterprises, the firm Stetter (FRG) has developed and is producing concreting machines, which are being widely used in the USSR and the FRG, and are also being marketed in other countries.

Such examples could be cited for virtually every West and East European country. But that is only the beginning. Given favourable conditions, such a pooling of scientific and production potentials, especially on a multilateral basis, could eventually make a much greater contribution to the development of mutually advantageous cooperation in Europe, especially along the most promising high-technology lines. Effective multilateral cooperation under the Tokamak project could yield important results: if it succeeded, mankind would acquire a virtually inexhaustible source of nuclear power. Another timely idea is to set up joint ventures (firms specialising in innovation) to develop and introduce new technology on the scale of the whole of Europe and beyond it on the basis of the partners' scientific backlog, primarily Soviet research, whose results are not as yet being used in full measure but which spearheads scientific and technical progress in a number of fields.

Both in the sphere of scientific and technical progress and in trade and economic cooperation between the two parts of Europe, a major positive role could be played by more businesslike ties between the CMEA and the EEC. The members of these two largest integration groupings of Europe and the world are known to account for over one-half of total East-West trade. (According to the Commission of the European Communities, from 1975 to 1983 trade between the West European countries and the CMEA members virtually doubled, from \$41,000 million to almost \$74,000 million). The CMEA countries displayed initiative in that matter both in the 1970s and in the recent period.

Speaking in Paris, Mikhail Gorbachev once again reaffirmed the usefulness of establishing more businesslike relations between the CMEA and the EEC, calling attention to the CMEA's constructive initiative in that respect, and the importance of making it yield concrete results. It is not only a matter of trade-policy issues, but also of contacts on specific political problems in so far as the EEC countries operate as a "political entity".

As for a perfection of the forms of East-West cooperation in Europe, it could be a matter of giving it a more stable and long-term character, supported by the necessary organisational structure, of supplementing bilateral ties with multilateral, all-European ones, deepening cooperation, especially right through the whole "science-technology-production-marketing" cycle, studying the possibilities of various existing forms of joint enterprise, making more flexible use of product-pay-back forms, primarily in manufacturing, and so on. Other questions of perfecting the forms and mechanism of East-West cooperation, connected, in particular, with a perfection of economic methods in the CMEA countries, including the external economic sphere, are also on the agenda.

The CPSU Central Committee's Plenary Meeting in April 1985 noted the need to make a careful examination of the state of Soviet external

economic ties, to take a deeper look at these with a view to the long term. In spite of the present international tensions, favourable opportunities undoubtedly exist for the development of these ties. The approach to mutually advantageous economic ties should be broad, large-scale and oriented towards the future. That also applies to external economic ties as a whole and to East-West ties in particular, including their most substantial and promising constituent: ties with the West European countries. Naturally, the Soviet Union and all the CMEA countries do not contrast cooperation in Europe with the development of business relations along other lines, say, with Japan, the USA or other Western countries.

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As we find, there are many objective prerequisites and real possibilities for extending mutually advantageous East-West trade, economic, scientific and technological ties in Europe and elsewhere. By helping to relax tensions on the European continent and in the world at large, to effect a turn from confrontation to detente, and also to accelerate and promote peaceful scientific and technical progress in the interests of the whole of mankind, the development of such ties would provide convincing proof of the mutual benefit of businesslike constructive cooperation between countries with different social systems.

Having emphasised the contemporary need to gear international scientific and technological cooperation solely to peaceful purposes and expand it to global dimensions, the Warsaw Treaty member states declared at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Sofia on October 22 and 23, 1985, that this would be the most reliable guarantee that the latest achievements of the human genius would not breed strife between nations, but would be collectively used by them in the interests of all.

THE WARNING OF NUREMBERG

A. GRIGORYANTS

The appearance of this city is inimitable. Its medieval towers, walls and cathedrals are as if outlined in the pre-dusk sky by the hand of its great son Albrecht Dürer. In the language of the local residents one hears the melody of another landsman—the immortal Hans Sachs. Colourful are the peasant women on Market Square, the colourful Artisans' Court, where for many centuries skilled masters have woven fabric, forged iron, poured candles and baked the famous Nuremberg gingerbread. The nervous neon rainbow of our troubled times is reflected in the dark green surface of the Pegnitz, which is hewn in the pink stone of the embankments and bridges.

Nuremberg is a beautiful city. But there is no light without shadows, and no today without yesterday. Everywhere here one is reminded of the city's past. On the Market Square books were once burned, and in a magnificent towers—Turm, which now houses a history museum, the Nazis tortured antifascists. On a square covered with concrete slabs, where youths race about on roaring motorcycles, military parades were held annually on the occasion of congresses of the Nazi party. The Führer intended to turn the grandiose building, which with its lines is evocative of the Roman Colosseum, where smart businessmen have put up warehouses, into an indoor hall of congresses so as to have a stage for his hysterical speeches. In the massive building of darkened brick, where ordinary trials are now held, the International Military Tribunal, the final drama in the bloody history of the Nazi tyranny, was held from November 20, 1945 to October 1, 1946.

A FAIR VERDICT

Much water has flowed down the Pegnitz since then. Nuremberg has become different, as has Europe. The rout of Nazism opened up prospects for a stable peace and cooperation among the peoples of the continent. And no matter how complicated the postwar developments have been, it can be said with confidence that the lessons of Nuremberg have served well. The Nuremberg verdict was a valuable contribution to the edifice of the new, peaceful Europe.

The very idea of a trial of the Nazi clique was born in the flames of one of the most just wars in the history of mankind. In the interallied documents of the war years and in the Potsdam agreement the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition voiced their resolve to do all in their power to bring the war criminals to justice. The allies warned the Nazi cutthroats, stating that they would definitely go to the ends of the earth to find them and hand them over to their accusers so that justice might be effected.

On December 11, 1946 the UN General Assembly confirmed the principles of international law formulated in the charter of the Nuremberg

Tribunal and embodied in its sentence. The world community thus affirmed that aggressive wars, military crimes and crimes against humanity are the most serious international crimes. In a resolution adopted in December 1983 the UN underscored the need to bring all Nazi war criminals to justice, and a year later, a resolution on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the end of the war directly stated that prosecution of war criminals "is the obligation of all states". Earlier—in November 1968—the UN endorsed a Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes Against Humanity.

The establishment of the International Tribunal in Nuremberg thus accorded with the demands and aspirations of the peoples, the norms of law and the morality of the civilised world.

The trial was held in strict accordance with generally accepted judicial norms. Those on trial were provided legal defence. The entire process of the trial allowed proof of the guilt of the defendants to be studied carefully and objectively. The tribunal examined over 3,000 genuine documents, received 300,000 written affidavits and questioned hundreds of witnesses. It was objective and impartial, although it is hard to write these words as applied to that handful of heartless killers. The sentence was a well-weighed, substantiated and a just one. The International Military Tribunal ruled the main German war criminals guilty of planning, preparing for and waging aggressive wars, and of committing innumerable military crimes and most serious atrocities against humanity. It sentenced 12 defendants to death by hanging and seven to various terms of imprisonment.

The Nuremberg trial also investigated cases concerning criminal organisations: the "guard detachments" of the Nazi party (SS); the secret police, the Gestapo, including the so-called "security service"; concerning the Nazi party leadership; the storm troops (SA); the Imperial Cabinet; the General Staff and the High Command of the German Armed Forces. The court declared the leadership of the National Socialist Party, the SA, SS, SD and the Gestapo to be criminal.

The historic role of the Nuremberg trial is not confined to the punishment of the Nazi criminals. It condemned not only the perpetrator of international brigandage, but also aggression itself as a most grievous crime against mankind. It laid the international legal base for punishing war criminals and to this day serves as a grim warning to those given to military adventures. The trial showed the political, economic, ideological and military machinery behind the preparations for armed brigandage. It is for this reason that Nuremberg will not be consigned to oblivion. People are saying Vietnam's Songmi in the same breath with Byelorussia's Khatyn, and Lebanon's Sabra and Chatila with Czechoslovakia's Lidice.

For the first time in history, criminals came before a court, who had turned an entire state into an instrument for carrying out their monstrous plans. It will not be paradoxical to claim that Nuremberg was a trial of Nazism and at the same time an act of rehabilitating Germans as a nation, for the tribunal rejected the "collective guilt" concept and drew a clear-cut dichotomy between criminals whose only place is on the scaffold, and the nation, which, although it had been turned into a weapon of aggression, was provided a road to democratic rebirth by Yalta and Potsdam. West German reactionaries of today would like to play down this precise differentiation. It needs the "collective guilt" and "collective redemption" concepts to remove retribution from the perpetrators of the tragedy, from those who at Nuremberg were rightly called "the main German war criminals". That it why only confusion could be caused by the fact in his speech at a reception in honour of the US President in 1985 the FRG Chancellor revived the tenet of the "collective guilt" and

"collective responsibility" of Germans for the crimes of Nazism. But if everyone is guilty, then the Nazi killers are no more guilty than the victims of the Anglo-American bombing of Dresden! Is Germany again being equated with Hitler, and Germans as such with the Nazi cutthroats condemned at Nuremberg?

THE WELL-WISHERS OF RUDOLF HESS

The defendant with the face of a fanatical ascetic stubbornly kept silent. At all the sessions of the Nuremberg Tribunal his appearance exuded apathy. His lawyers claimed that their client was suffering from loss of memory. Suddenly, at the end of the trial, the "deaf and dumb" one suddenly regained the gift of speech and made a final statement. He impudently blurted out to the International Tribunal that he was happy in the knowledge that he had fulfilled his duty to his people, his duty as a German in the capacity of a National Socialist, as a faithful follower of his Führer, and he did not regret anything; moreover, he would have acted similarly, if he had again started out his career.

Hess—Hitler's deputy in the Nazi party, minister without portfolio, member of the Privy Council, and member of the Imperial Council of Ministers for Defence—was sentenced to life imprisonment for his involvement in the preparations for the aggressive war. Since autumn 1946 he has been in the West German Spandau Prison, which is guarded by servicemen of the four victorious powers, who alternately relieve one another monthly. It would seem that the Hess case is closed both juridically and politically. However, it turns out that this is far from being the case for certain West German circles. For many years now the "Hess case" is kept in the public eye to a certain extent and is brought into the limelight from time to time, especially in periods when the political situation within the FRG and in Europe as a whole worsens. The "prisoner of Spandau" constantly appears on the pages of the West German press. It is being impressed upon the public that Hess' guilt is "dubious", that he was a figure of little importance during Hitler's rule, especially in view of the fact that he was increasingly being elbowed out by Martin Bormann. Hess' name has been turned into a symbol of open struggle for a re-examination of the Nuremberg verdict, for the rehabilitation of the Reich and its ruling clique. By questioning the Nuremberg verdict, reaction is questioning the legitimacy of the prosecution of the Nazi criminals altogether.

The matter of punishing the German war criminals resolved by the allies is gradually being brought to a halt in the FRG. Over the 20-odd postwar years, of the 84,400 persons against whom legal proceedings have been initiated, only 6,430 have been sentenced. The decisions of the courts are astounding in their liberalism. Most of the cases are dismissed, and the persons that do come to trial are let off under the non-judicial pretext that they "were acting on orders" or "did not realise the unlawfulness of what they were doing". Thousands of cutthroats fled to the USA to escape retribution. According to the American press, one out of every ten Nazi war criminals is living in the USA, without fear of punishment.

One can recall the trial in Düsseldorf of a group of SS men from the Majdanek concentration camp. The trial was the longest in the history of the FRG and at the same time the most indicative of the system of justice used in that country for Nazi criminals. The preliminary investigation alone lasted 15 years! Of the 17 criminals eight escaped trial for various reasons, and four were let off for "insufficient evidence". It took another five years and seven months to prove the obvious: the lives of tens, of hundreds, of thousands of people were on the criminals' con-

science. Over one million human lives were snuffed out in the Majdanek death camp. Innumerable testimonies and also documents corroborated the grievous guilt of each of the nine defendants. Nevertheless, the court considered it necessary to sentence only one of them to life imprisonment, the others getting off with various, mostly light, confinements.

The argumentation to which the West German Themis resorts to is noteworthy. "Murder is murder"—with this formula attempts are being made to equate war crimes and genocide with an ordinary criminal delict, committed, say, out of jealousy or with the purpose of robbery. Some portray the crimes of the Nazis as the doings of individuals and thus try to conceal the fact that they reflected the essence of the ideology and policy of the Third Reich. They are in effect working not simply for amnesty for the cutthroats, but for the indirect rehabilitation of the inhuman system that Nazism was.

That is how merciful West German justice has been to the direct executors of mass murder. Those who guided the hand of the cutthroats got off at worst with a slap on the wrist. The FRG has not investigated the cases of over 7,000 officials from the "imperial security department"—the main headquarters for organising genocide in occupied countries, nor has it initiated proceedings against many members of Nazi tribunals who imposed death sentences on antifascists. Former judges and procurators of the notorious "peoples's judicial chamber" sent over 5,000 opponents to the regime to the executioner's block. Countless numbers were executed after being sentenced by "special courts" of the Third Reich. However, not a single one of the cogs in this terroristic machine has been brought to justice in the FRG. Many of them are still leading easy lives on generous pensions provided by the Bonn government.

The heads of the Wehrmacht also sat in the dock at Nuremberg. Keitel's signature stood on the order on commissars, which, in violation of all international rules of warfare—prescribed mass shootings of prisoners of war. Keitel, who fawned upon the Führer, also signed secret directive No. 002060/41, which ordered, as a form of repression, the execution of between 50 and 100 Communists for each German soldier killed. The method of execution, the directive read, was to heighten still more the intimidating effect of this repression.

The West German historian Christian Streit put out a book *They Are Not Comrades—The Wehrmacht and Soviet Prisoners of War, 1941-1945*. It is a scrupulous study of the fate of Soviet prisoners of war in the Nazi captivity. Three out of four died, and not only by the hands of the criminals from the Nazi punitive machinery—the SS and the special teams, but also by the hands of the Wehrmacht's servicemen. How many officials of the German army have been brought to trial for flagrant violations of international conventions on treatment of war prisoners? As a matter of fact, judicial bodies in the FRG have not dealt with these Nazi crimes seriously at all.

And how many Soviet people, forced into slavery, perished in the Reich's mines and plants, and died from attrition and inhuman labour. But today the names of people guilty of the deaths of hundreds of thousands of concentration camp prisoners shine in neon lights in the evening sky of West German cities, gleam on billboards girding football fields, and appear in the daily stock exchange reports. The weekly *Stern* has disclosed how the overlords of the Nazi wartime economy were able to avoid punishment and preserve their fortunes and international ties. The operation was called "Reliable Harbour". It boiled down to the following—to save the capital of the heads of the Nazi wartime economy with the aid of American sponsors, and to protect them from the just retribution. The scene played out in March 1945 at the headquarters of the I. G. Farbenindustrie concern looked truly symbolic. Its boss, Georg

von Schnitzler, who in the early 1930s financed the Nazi party, greeted American officers with the following words: "Gentlemen, it is a pleasure doing business with you again."

The ruins of the bombed-out city of Frankfurt-am-Maine stretched outside the windows of the company building, which was left unharmed. Truly awesome bomb-throwers had been installed on American "flying fortresses"! Also razed and burned were residential areas, above all in working-class suburbs, while industrial facilities that continued to produce weaponry for the "Eastern front", remained untouched. After all, it is a fact that despite the concentrated Anglo-American air raids on Germany only 20 per cent of the country's industrial objects were destroyed. According to the French historian Alfred Grosser, these "guided bombings" spared factories in whose preservation foreign, above all American, companies had a vested interest.

Their interest was indeed very great. While blood was flowing on the fronts, German and American industrialists were jointly making gigantic fortunes. I. G. Farbenindustrie fulfilled profitable transactions with the Americans during the war. The company the concern founded in the USA was a real gold mine for the Frankfurt businessmen. Other firms acted according to the same scenario.

And when the overlords of the economy of the Third Reich appeared before the court at Nuremberg on charges of "crimes against humanity" and of "plundering occupied territories", they experienced neither qualms or fear, as they had behind them the secret American instruction No. 1779, which read that the economic contribution of a stable and highly industrial Germany was necessary for a stable and prosperous Europe.

The reasons for the forgiving attitude of the Western authorities towards the chiefs of the Nazi economy are all too clear! After all, most of them proved to be partners, not enemies. As is well known, the Nuremberg Tribunal imposed the stiffest sentence on Alfred Krupp—a 12-year prison term. Krupp was released three years later, however. Nor was Friedrich Flick incarcerated for long. The Cologne banker, Kurt von Schröder, was sentenced by a West German court for "a crime against humanity" ...to three months. All the rest continued to make money and engage in politics. Karl Blessing became President of the German Federal Bank. Hermann Abs headed the Deutsche Bank, a major West German bank. Ludger Westrick became a minister. Flick, Krupp, Messerschmitt, Diehl, Thyssen, Quandt and other monopolists became heads of revived industrial empires and again set about their former work: smelting steel for armour plating, building airplanes and military vessels, and forging metal for cannons.

THE FOUL WOMB

Are you certain Hitler is dead?" Thomas Mann, who had found refuge in distant California, was asked by telegraph after Hitler's suicide. "Who cares now?" he replied.

Perhaps forty years after those events Thomas Mann, if he were alive, would answer the question differently. What is at issue, of course, is not the upstart Adolf Schicklgruber, who took the name Hitler and whose corpse was burned in the courtyard of the Reich Chancellery to the thunder of Soviet artillery, but his ideology and its proponents today, the neo-Nazism of our day. And it cannot but be a source of concern and indignation for the present generation.

Connivance at the neo-Nazi rabble in present-day West Germany is still another manifestation of the trend toward a revision of the Nuremberg trial. "The womb that brought forth a foul creature is still capable of giving birth," Bertolt Brecht wrote in his play "The Career of Arturo

Ui". It is as though the outstanding antifascist writer looked ahead to the present day.

...It all began with the black helmets and the khaki-coloured shirts, and the marches with the Wehrmacht songs. Then it got to the point of beatings of democrats with brass knuckles and bicycle chains and the painting of swastikas on walls, and to the defilement of graves of the victims of Nazism. Now another stage has logically arrived: firearms and dynamite are being brought into play; young hoods with runic symbols on their shirtsleeves are taught to use them at summer "military sports camps". The number of neofascist sallies and acts of terrorism is increasing. According to official data, there are 75 extreme right organisations in the FRG uniting some 20,000 members.

Cooperation with like-minded people abroad is extending, with neofascist organisations to be found in 60 countries. Upwards of one million persons are united in the movement today.

These werewolves demand the "establishment of order" in the country and a return to the laws of the Third Reich. Anticommunism is the common denominator for the motley groups. Foreign workers are portrayed as a threat to the "racial purity of the German people".

The thugs who have scrupulously read Hitler's *Mein Kampf* comprise only the tip of the iceberg. The huge remaining portion is hidden. What it at issue is the overall psychological atmosphere being created in the FRG in which the weed of Nazism is growing as if in a greenhouse.

The artificially whipped up fear of a "Soviet menace", the escalation of the arms race, and the striving to whitewash the past as a logical consequence—this is what is enriching the soil for the flourishing of hard-line nationalism, revenge-seeking ambitions and the neofascist scum. Anticommunism is the link connecting Nazism and the reaction of today. The Führer's legacy is being used in the political struggle of the 1980s. After all, it is not accidental that huge editions are being published of Hitler's anti-Soviet pronouncements ("The Führer's table talks"), which are suffused with a racist spirit, and it is not fortuitous that his fabrications concerning the "pan-Slavic ambitions" of the Soviet state and the "insidious designs of communism" are being repeated.

An entire group of writers, historians and sociologists are churning out books like *The Lie of Oswiecim*, *The Military Guilt of the Allies or Majdanek for Eternity?*, in which they even question the fact of the mass annihilation of people in the Nazi death camps. A film series is shown on television which is designed to prove the "crimes" of the allied powers against Germany. The daughter of Schirach, the Nazi youth chief, is putting out a book in which she praises Hitler as a "gracious host and charming interlocutor". Goebbels' diaries—500 small-type pages published in a large edition—reveal the "spiritual credo of the Führer" to the younger generation in the FRG. In her memoirs the widow of Nazi Foreign Minister Ribbentrop attempts to shroud the raving Führer in the halo of a peacemaker, claiming that "he wanted peace"....

Such a concentrated psychological impact must have its consequences, and not only for young ones. Large segments of the population do not possess strong immunity to individual elements of Nazi ideology. Day after day the man in the street is indoctrinated with the aid of concentrated anticommunist propaganda to accept that ideology. Several years ago the Sinus Institute of Social Sciences did a vast study, the conclusions of which cannot but put one on one's guard. Thirteen per cent of the FRG's population, i. e. over five million people, espouse "extreme right views". In another 37 per cent of the population over the age of 18 the researchers discovered views "which in part coincide with extreme right thinking". The world view of these categories of people is formed, it so turned out, from elements inherited from Nazi times. They are racism,

and hence the hatred of foreign workers in the FRG, nostalgia for the Führer, blind anticommunism, and a readiness to throw all the left in general—intellectuals, dissidents, and rebellious youth—into concentration camps. The researchers note that endemic to those who espouse Nazi beliefs is the “Siegfried complex”, meaning a conflict between the “mighty German giant” and “insidious and crafty enemies” who have surrounded it from all sides.

The corrupting influence of such dangerous ideas is enhanced many times over in the tense and unstable situation that is taking shape with the mass unemployment, loss of confidence in the bodies and laws of the bourgeois state, the decline of morals, the rise in crime, drug abuse, and the devaluation of “traditional virtues”. Nostalgia for tough rule is engulfing broad segments of the politically passive part of the population. Disillusionment with the existing system is being channeled in a mendacious and dangerous direction.

Extremists, write the researchers of the Sinus Institute, can easily take advantage of the deep-going confusion and sense of helplessness, and abuse the striving of people to live in a world free from the upheavals of an industrialised society.

SPECTRES ACQUIRE FORM

Over a century and a half ago young Heinrich Heine cast the following words, filled with pain and anger, at the petty-tyrants and thick-headed retrogrades who ruled Germany at that time:

Be gone, visions of the past,
Hide thyself, spectres of shadows!

Reaction made short shrift of the impassioned exposé. His name was consigned to anathema. To this day the right wing politicians in the FRG start when the poet's name is mentioned. And how: the “visions of the past” and “spectres of shadows” today, too, are disturbing the tranquility of West Germany and the whole of Europe and are threatening peace by advancing absurd and dangerous revanchist demands.

Hitler rose to power under the banners of revenge for the defeat in the First World War. The adventures of the overthrowers of the Versailles system cost Germany, Europe and the world dear. The Nuremberg Tribunal drew the line on encroachments on the peaceful order established in Europe. It would seem that it gave a rather instructive lesson to those who covet the lands of others. Some have not drawn any benefit from this lesson, however.

The scope which the activity of revanchist associations in the FRG has assumed is evoking mounting concern throughout Europe. Some are trying to push the idea that what is at issue is merely “beer drinking sessions of landsmen” who are given to recalling their youth and nostalgia for their former native parts. If only these rallies were merely harmless get-togethers. The centre-piece of these gatherings is the tenet that the “German question is still open” and that juridically “Germany continues to exist in the 1937 borders”. Thus, the decisions of Yalta and Potsdam, the Helsinki Final Act, or the “Eastern treaties” that formalised European realities and the inviolability of the borders existing on the continent have no validity for the leaders of these “fellow countrymen” associations.

The political explosiveness of such great-German ambitions is greatly increasing as a result of the fact that the official quarters and the bosses of revanchist unions exhibit a kindred spirit not only in rhetoric but also essentially in issues of principle. And it is not only a matter of the munificence of the authorities: DM80 million are annually allocated from the budget to finance the “eternal yesterdaymen”. Or even of the fact that they have many sympathisers in Parliament and the state machinery.

The main problem is that in essence revanchism proceeds from the fundamental goals of Bonn's policies and is a component of its ideology, legal stands and long-term strategy. Its core is a refusal to accept the final and irreversible nature of the military, territorial and socio-political results of the Second World War and postwar development.

The report On the State of the Nation in a Divided Germany made by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in the Bundestag on February 27, 1985 was truly a policy-making one. From the title of the report to its final conclusion—everything bespeaks the fact that revanchism is leaving its imprint on the foreign policy doctrine of the FRG government. It contains all the components of this doctrine—historical, juridical and political—and the conclusions drawn from it are unequivocal: "Being the central European question, the German question is not such as can be declared resolved". "The German house still has to be built on the foundation of human and civil rights, fitting it under the roof of a united Europe". "The German question is not resolved". In essence, by refusing to recognise the border along the Oder-Neise, Bonn is effectively laying claims to Soviet and Polish lands. By refusing to recognise the unlawfulness of the Munich agreement of 1938, it is calling the border with Czechoslovakia into question. The FRG is thus questioning the legitimacy of the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, which mapped out the territorial structuring of postwar Europe and settled the issue of the displacement of the German population from East European countries. Meanwhile, the allies adopted a final decision of indefinite duration on this score. It speaks of the lands being ceded to Poland as "former German territories". As we can see, the three powers considered the given question settled.

Bonn's supposed concern for the "German national minority" in socialist countries is also untenable. Statements are again being made today to the effect that Bonn bears a "responsibility" for the fate of Polish citizens of German nationality and is even obliged to "defend" them. This is nothing but an attempt to resurrect the claims of the Third Reich to act on behalf of all Germans, no matter what states they are citizens of, and attempt to trample underfoot the sovereignty of other states and apply West German jurisdiction to the territories of neighbouring countries.

Official Bonn adheres to the tenet that all contractual commitments regarding the Reich's boundaries can be only of a temporary nature, which is why the entire "German question" is still open. Furthermore, it is even being claimed that the defeat in the war was sustained by the Wehrmacht, not the Reich, and that consequently the act of unconditional surrender was signed on behalf of the armed forces, not the German state.

A new situation emerged in Europe in the postwar years. Peaceful settlement took an untraditional path. By the 1970s conditions had matured for the conclusion of the process of a peaceful settlement with Germany in the context of the two German states. Questions usually considered at the signing of a peace treaty were by and large resolved. This process was formalised by the system of treaties by four powers, between the GDR and the socialist countries, and also between the FRG and the socialist countries. Finally, the process of a peaceful settlement was concluded by the Helsinki Final Act, which formalised in terms of international law the political and territorial status in Europe that had taken shape as a result of the Second World War.

And here are politicians who claim that the German Reich continues to exist in the 1937 borders. It is appropriate to remind them once again that the German Reich has sunk into oblivion and that two sovereign and equal states have emerged on its territory.

The reactionary forces of the West in no way want to reconcile themselves to these historical realities, however. The tenet is invariably being repeated that the FRG and the GDR are not two separate countries in the strict sense and that special, not ordinary, international legal relations should exist between them. Relations regulated by international law supposedly cannot exist between both German states, and the "German question continues to remain open".

It does not take much brains to untangle this kind of reasoning.

Essentially, they have in mind a long-term programme of blowing up the social structure which has taken shape in Europe after the Second World War, the programme of "rolling back" communism. The idea is to reunite a state along the lines suitable for Bonn, a state which will become a part of a "free Europe".

Therefore, Bonn's revanchism is a purely class phenomenon. It is geared to re-establish the borders of the defeated Reich and to restore the capitalist order on vast areas in Europe, first of all in the GDR, as well as in Poland and other countries. Only the blind fail to see the groundlessness and futility of these imperial ways.

One cannot help seeing that Bonn's revenge-seeking ambitions are merely a part of the global strategy of the United States. Washington stood at the cradle of Bonn's revanchism. The USA has always viewed the West German revenge seekers as a "reserve" in its "crusade" against communism. Washington, in conjunction with Bonn, is attacking the Yalta and Potsdam resolutions and the territorial and political realities that have taken shape in Europe. The white lilies that the US President laid at the graves of SS men in Bitburg in May 1985 symbolised this alliance.

Invariably underlying the entire Western policy of Bonn and above all its relations with the USA are the class-based community of interests and desire to harness the allies into fulfilling its political task—to alter the situation that took shape in Germany after the Second World War and to "close the German question" by obliterating the achievements of socialism in the German Democratic Republic. Military cooperation between the USA and Bonn serves precisely this goal.

In effect, the ideas of revenge rest on a militarist foundation, a multilateral, Atlantic one, at the base of which lies close military cooperation between Bonn and Washington. The FRG became a leading military power of the Western bloc with direct US aid. The deployment of American Pershing-2 and cruise missiles on West German territory is turning the country into a launching pad for first strike at the Soviet Union and a bridgehead for adventurist attempts to revise the territorial and political results of the Second World War in Europe.

A timely warning to the adventure-fanciers are the words from the draft new edition of the Programme of the CPSU which declares that the CPSU resolutely rejects the attempts to review the European realities under any pretext, and will rebuff any manifestations of revanchism.

Forty years have elapsed since the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg opened. Time has borne out the justice, timeliness and validity of its verdict, which condemned Nazi armed brigandage and severely punished its perpetrators. The trial and its rulings were an important component for the building of a new, peaceful order in Europe. Belief in the possibility to prevent a catastrophe and establish peaceful coexistence among the European peoples, and determination to curb the latter-day adventurists and ward off the threat now of a nuclear conflict have become political realities on the continent.

(Continued on page 109)

A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT AND ITS OPPONENTS

The Middle East remains a hotbed of increased political and military tension where acute, at times even armed, conflicts far from abating, flare up periodically keeping the region explosive. The peculiarity of the situation derives from the fact that the unresolved regional problems, for a number of reasons and due to their scope, are reaching a much wider scale, becoming international.

The USA and Israel, its strategic ally in the Middle East, are chiefly responsible for this situation. The Arab-Israeli conflict, as the key problem, convincingly proves this conclusion. It is this problem, seen against the backdrop of the rapidly changing conflict situations in the region, that remains the root cause of the dangerous tensions running high there. The Israeli politicians, realising the untenability of their position, are at pains to drown the Arab-Israeli conflict in a multitude of other problems, relegating it to the ranks of run-of-the-mill issues. The basic idea is quite obvious: to absolve themselves of the main responsibility for decades-long tensions in the Middle East and switch the attention of the world public to some other problems. Deliberately discarding the cause-and-effect sequence of events, Tel Aviv attempts to present the Lebanese problem as an issue unrelated to the consequences of Israeli aggression, over-emphasising discord between the Arab countries, and so forth.

The situation evolving in the Middle East, with its contradictory trends, cannot be easily interpreted. In the entangled multitude of events occurring there, one has to identify the most important ones. First of all, one can safely say that there remain common key postulates in the strategies of the USA and Israel. Naturally it does not preclude different interpretations and approaches of the American and Israeli diplomacies. However, as experience has shown, these interpretations are kept within the bounds of tactical nuances and, sometimes, of the distribution of the roles.

The main thing that brings together Washington and Tel Aviv in Middle East affairs is their desire to push forward the Camp David process and rewrite the Camp David scenario making it more intricate. The leitmotif is direct Arab talks with Israel to force the Arabs to make major concessions. This time the "core" of the Middle East conflict—the Palestine problem—has found itself a target of the US-Israeli plot.

The empty verbal discourses, voluminous statements and abounding visits of all kinds of politicians and trips by US envoys—all these pseudo-activities cannot conceal the supertask—to "close" the Palestine problem to one's own advantage, to push through its surrogate solution, to preclude the establishment of a Palestine state, to find among the Palestinians, circumventing the Palestine Liberation Organization, a political creature who would take upon itself the task of implementing palliative versions of settling the Palestine problem.

Attempting to realise these plots, the proponents of the separate collusion are not avert of exploiting the accord reached in Amman by King Hussein of Jordan and Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, in February of 1985. The events of recent months confirmed that it was a wrong step. Actually, the agreement threw overboard the problem of an independent Palestine state, weakened the independent status of the PLO as the exclusive legitimate representative of the Palestine people, and as an equal partner in the settlement process.

From the outset many Palestinians and the Arabs as a nation levelled justified criticism at the serious flaws of the Amman agreement, a fact which was of principal significance for the PLO. These shortcomings prevented the agreement from serving as a basis for radically solving the Palestine people's problem once and for all. However, there were the proponents of this agreement as well. By all indications the aspirations of the Palestinians and their resolve to continue the struggle for their inalienable rights, seem to be far-fetched and even burdensome to certain quarters. These quarters still evidently entertain illusions that for concessions made by the PLO the Americans will grab the Amman accord and start a "constructive" dialogue with this Organisation.

However, the situation is turning out otherwise. Making vague encouraging moves towards the architects of the accord and pushing forward as bait a promise that American officials will meet with some Palestinians, the USA does not even contemplate an alternative to rigid postulates to its Middle East policy—reliance on Israel and orientation towards its aggressive power politics, separate negotiations of the Arabs with Israel, non-recognition of the PLO and aversion to the idea of an independent Palestinian state, rejection of the idea of convening an international conference.

The Arabs ask a legitimate question: why, for the sake of contacts with the USA (all the more so because the outcome of them would be certainly advantageous to Israel), is someone prepared to forsake the PLO's principled demands and the considerable gains scored by the protracted struggle for the rights of the Palestinians, for their statehood, for an independent status of the PLO, waged by the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Arab states, their friends within and outside the UN? It is obvious that Washington will spare no effort to drag the Arabs in a separate deal with Israel.

The halo of a "peace-maker", which the United States tried to fabricate in recent months by transparent political speculations around the problem of upholding a "peace process" (a term used by Washington to denote the Camp David scheme), "promising" hints of some meetings of US representatives with a Jordan-Palestine delegation, was shattered to pieces by an outrageous action of the Israeli military in Tunisia. Even earlier Israeli statesmen growled that their American partner is not cautious enough and is going too far in its play.

Recently, chief of the Israeli diplomatic department Shamir, with his bland candor and lack of diplomacy, stated, for example, that the efforts exerted by US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy and aimed at extracting assurances from the Arabs of their readiness to hold direct talks with Israel, are a waste of time.

The signs are that the Israeli leaders were obsessed with the idea not only of delivering a strike at the PLO Headquarters but also of "punishing" Tunisia, situated more than two thousand kilometres from Israel, for its hospitality to the Palestinians in the wake of the 1982 Beirut tragedy. The Israeli action revealed the true, far-reaching intentions of Tel Aviv and brought to light overt armed violence and undisguised blackmail resorted to by Israel to saddle the Arabs with its terms and conditions.

Recollecting Shamir's statement, one can say that Israel's armed action against sovereign Tunisia and the PLO was geared to "saving time" for its American accessory, reasoning that military diktat would make the Arabs consent to what the USA and Israel are striving to attain.

This piratic action was followed by a salvo of cynical statements made by Israeli leaders—politicians and brass hats—in which they attempted to confer on Israel some kind of a right to deliver similar blows any place, any time. It means that Tel Aviv, by unremittingly pursuing the course of state-sponsored terrorism, is striving to elevate it to a level of official policy, and all but legalise it, forcing the international community to reconcile itself to this "exclusive" Israeli right.

In the Arab world and elsewhere justified indignation was aroused with the US Administration's attempts to whitewash the Israeli aggressors and vindicate their air raid on the Tunisian territory. According to the US President, Israel allegedly has the right to respond in kind to any terrorist acts. However, when the White House chief was asked whether he was sure that the blow had struck the "culprits", the President could not supply a convincing answer.

The adherents of the Camp David proposition and of the idea to arrange Arab-Israeli talks believed that this overtly pro-Israeli stand of the US President was clumsy, and received it with astonishment. However, an examination of the essence of the problem reveals that actually there is nothing astounding in the US stand—it is fully in line with the spirit and letter of the agreement on strategic cooperation between the USA and Israel. Washington still adheres to its traditional line, and its reaction to the Israeli operation against Tunisia can surprise only those who deliberately disregard the US policy in the Middle East.

In particular, this is exemplified by the Lebanon torn apart by the Israeli aggressors and internal strife. More than a decade has passed since the civil war broke out in the country. After that, the Republic of Lebanon remains one of the hottest spots on the globe. The initial cause of the misfortunes befalling the long-suffering Lebanese people is the aggressive policy of Tel Aviv upheld by the USA. Israel's expansion is the rootcause of the strife tearing apart Lebanon from within.

The remaining major problem is how to put an end to the occupation of the south of Lebanon by the Israeli military, which had to retreat from some regions of middle and southern Lebanon. However, Israel continues to hold a considerable part of the south, establishing there a buffer zone. To this end use is made not only of the pro-Israeli Right-Christian forces of General Antoine Lahad, but also of Israeli army units on the Lebanese territory, check points, mobile posts and raids. A partial withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon can deceive no one. The issue of a total discontinuation of occupation by Israel and its retreat to the internationally recognised borders in conformity with the UN Security Council's resolutions is still on the agenda, and this problem cannot be pushed into the wings. It must remain in the focus of the world public and the United Nations.

Extremist forces from among Muslim organisations have become more active in Lebanon. By their provocative actions they further poison the situation, misguide the Lebanese in their struggle with their proclaimed enemies—the Israeli aggressors and their benefactors. One of these organisations perpetrated a heinous crime against the Soviet staff in Beirut. This act was resolutely condemned by governments, parties and public organisations throughout the world. It should be noted that the majority of the Lebanese political forces, parties and religious organisations also condemned this act. On October 30, 1985 three employees from Soviet institutions in Beirut were released.

The 26th Congress of the CPSU stated that the "banner of Islam may lead into struggle for liberation. This is borne out by history, including

very recent history. But it also shows that reaction, too, manipulates with Islamic slogans". From this the conclusion can be drawn that the neo-colonialist circles are striving to exploit religious fanaticism, channel it into an anti-Soviet direction, stupefy the Muslims, force them to embark on a wrong path, to beat down the intensity of the anti-imperialist and social struggle of the peoples in the Middle East.

By imposing separate deals on the Arabs, the USA and Israel find themselves at variance with the international community as regards the essence and thrust of a Middle East settlement, as well as the ways and means of reaching such an accord. Washington and Tel Aviv stubbornly reject the idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East. They even lead to questioning the USSR's possibility to participate in the efforts aimed at finding a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. More often than not, their "arguments" boil down to unsubstantiated references to an allegedly unconstructive role the Soviet Union is playing in the affairs of the Middle East. Richard Murphy, US Assistant Secretary of State, recently deliberated in this vein. This patently false postulate does not hold water—an overwhelming majority of the Arab states and other countries hold in high esteem the USSR's position in the affairs of the Middle East and are strongly in favour of its participation in the search for a settlement.

Even the US government, for some time, adhered to that view, recognising the important role of the Soviet Union. In 1973, the USSR and the USA co-chaired the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. In 1977, they issued a joint statement on this problem. It is interesting to recall that in this document the USA, along with the USSR, said that all specific settlement issues must be resolved within a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem, recognising the legitimate rights of the Palestine people. In this document the American side also supported the thesis that the only correct and effective way for a cardinal solution of all the aspects of the Middle East problem as a whole would be negotiations within a specially convened Geneva Peace Conference. Consequently, American diplomacy does not only disregard the opinion of the absolute majority of the countries of the world but also conflicts with its own former stand.

Naturally, the problem is not that the Soviet Union is taking unconstructive actions, but that official Washington is unwilling to reconcile itself to the growing prestige of the USSR in the Middle East, to the aspiration of the overwhelming majority of the Arabs to see the USSR play a significant role in the Middle East settlement. One may cite many statements made by the leaders of Syria, Algeria, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Iraq, Jordan, the PLO, and the Persian Gulf states, positively assessing the effective contribution made by the USSR in the search for such a settlement. They objectively reflect the Arabs desire to see the USSR, by means of its presence in the region and due to its authority and principled policy, rectify the imbalance created by the pro-Israeli course of the USA and its vicious obsession with separate and capitulatory deals for the Arabs.

The problem is that the USA does not want to part with the dangerous undertaking of turning the Middle East into a zone of its "vital interests" and with its plans for elbowing the Soviet Union out of this region. The situation here makes it obvious that proclamations of "zones of vital interests" and the Washington-sponsored idea of establishing its hegemony and diktat in many regions of the globe engender serious problems and confrontation which could have been avoided otherwise. The notorious "zone" concept contradicts the genuinely vital interests of the peoples living in these zones, interests which are as remote from Wash-

ington's imperial ambitions as the Middle East is remote from Camp David, the abode of US Presidents.

So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it believes that, in face of these impudent actions of Israel towards the Arab states and of the more vigorous attempts of its patrons to substitute all kinds of separate deals for a genuine search for peace in the Middle East, the problem of concerted actions by the Arab states is acquiring particular importance. Acting separately one can hardly hope for a settlement corresponding to the interests of all Arabs, for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

As before, the Soviet Union is convinced that this goal can be reached only by concerted actions on the basis of an international conference on the Middle East. On October 11 last year, in the Kremlin at a dinner in honour of Col. Muammar Gaddafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, it was stressed: "We are in favour of the conference for the very simple reason that it is actually the only reasonable and effective alternative to putting an end to the state of war in the Middle East, which has dragged on for many years, and establishing lasting peace in the region." The visit by the Libyan leader and the negotiations in Moscow are added convincing proof of the Soviet Union's undeviating course which provides support to those Arabs who courageously rebuff aggression, hegemonism and imperialist diktat, and which favours the establishment of a reliable and just peace in the region.

V. KONSTANTINOV

THE WARNING OF NUREMBERG

(Continued from page 104)

The decades that have passed have witnessed major positive shifts in international relations and in the thinking of peoples. The reassessment that has taken place has also affected broad segments of the FRG population. Common sense, the record of history and political changes in Europe have altered the views of most West German citizens. The Nuremberg Tribunal also made its contribution to these changes.

While stating all this, not a single sober-minded person can, however, shut his eyes to the mounting threat to international peace and tranquillity. In these troubled times Nuremberg reminds and cautions us. It reminds us, urging vigilance towards those who ignore the lessons of history and try to raise the threadbare banner of a new "crusade" against socialism that had been wrested from the hands of the Nazis. And it cautions us, serving as a stern warning to the forces of reaction and war.

THE MILITARISTIC POLICY OF THE USA AS REFLECTED IN ITS BUDGET

Yu. KATASONOV

The US Administration, encountering growing opposition to its militaristic course, is resorting to subtle camouflage of its true aims. Characterising the essence of these manoeuvres, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "They speak of defence but prepare for attack, they advertise a 'space shield' but are forging a space sword; they promise to liquidate nuclear arms but in practice build up these arms and refine them. They promise the world stability but in reality strive to upset the military balance"¹.

A convincing proof exposing the false declarations made by the US leaders as regards their "peaceableness" and alleged endeavours to curb the production of arms is provided by the US policy of building up its military budget.

THE FINANCIAL BASE OF THE COURSE TOWARDS SUPREMACY AND AGGRESSION

As openly stated in the Republican Party's 1980 election platform, the object of its Administration would be the achievement of general military and technological supremacy, the condition for this being additional military spending. Although later (and especially in the last two years) representatives of the Administration refrained from making such outspoken statements, its practical policy, particularly with regard to increasing the military budget, leaves no doubt that this factor is a major guideline of US foreign and domestic policy.

In the 1981-1984 fiscal years, corresponding roughly to the present Administration's first term in office, allocations for military needs (the National Defense section of the Federal Budget) went up by 82 per cent from \$145,800 million to \$265,200 million². To compare, in the preceding four-year period, at the end of which the USA had already begun to accelerate the arms race, the growth of the military budget had been around 50 per cent.

The present Administration is striving to maintain the high growth rates of the military budget during its second term in office. In the draft budget for 1986 it applied for allocations for military spending to a sum equal to \$322,200 million dollars. On the whole it is intended to raise the military budget between 1985 and 1988 to \$411,500 million, or by 55 per cent.

¹ *Pravda*, Apr. 8, 1985.

² In the USA the fiscal year begins on October 1 of the preceding calendar year. All further reference to the budget is made in terms of fiscal years.

It is also planned to continue building up the military budget into the distant future. By 1990 the budget is expected to reach the \$488,100 million mark, meaning that between 1981 and 1990 the US military budget is liable to increase by more than 230 per cent. In the preceding 10-year period (embracing some of the years of the Vietnam war) it increased by 88 per cent.

With due regard for the biased nature of official estimates of the dynamics of the military budget for the 1980s in comparative prices (or in "real terms"), i. e. taking account of inflation, they irrefutably show the same tendency of accelerated growth.³ From 1981 to 1984 military spending increased in comparative prices by more than 26 per cent, whereas in the preceding four years the rise was under 6.5 per cent.

Altogether, between 1981 and 1990 US military expenditure will increase in constant prices by 86 per cent. It is envisaged that by 1990, US military spending in comparative prices will exceed its highest levels at the peak of the Korean and Vietnamese wars by nearly 30 per cent.

It should be borne in mind that far from all the aspects of US military spending fall under the "national security" index. A considerable portion of this expenditure is included in the "civilian" sections of the federal budget (allocations for military aid, military space and other scientific and technological programmes, etc.), the budgets of states (some mobilisation events), or comes from different non-budgetary sources (payments for deliveries of arms exports which run into thousands of millions of dollars). According to US and other Western experts, actual military spending in the USA exceeds the official military budget statistics by more than 50 per cent.

Thus, US militarist policy is supported by an extensive financial base, a substantial share of the country's economy, and, to a certain extent, by the economies of other capitalist countries. This base does not only provide the necessary material and technological facilities for pursuing such a policy, but, by its monopolistic nature, engenders powerful stimuli for a strengthening of its unbridled aggressiveness.

THE ARMS RACE POLICY GOES ON

Attempts to go back to the policy of inflating the military budget were resumed in the early 1970s, a year or two after the brief standstill due to the winding up of the Vietnam war. This was done despite the United States' official recognition of military-strategic parity and the need to hold talks with the USSR on limiting nuclear and other armaments. These attempts were begun under the Nixon Administration and grew bolder with the installment of the Ford Administration. President Carter, who promised in his election campaign to cut military spending, in fact proclaimed at the very start of his term in office (1977) that it was the official policy of the USA to increase annual military spending by three per cent in "real terms". The USA soon forced its NATO partners to follow suit.

At the end of 1979, a few months after the signing of the Soviet-US Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-2), President Carter made public a far more extensive military programme that was to raise annual rates of growth in military expenditure to 4.5-5.0 per cent in "real terms". This step marked an about-face in US policy—the changeover to the accelerated arms race—and was followed by a drastic es-

³ Official statistics give data on the dynamics of the military budget in comparative prices only in terms of the "expenditure" index, which is essentially smaller than the "allocations" index (which offers a more reliable picture of military financing). There are also other essential shortcomings in the methods used by the Pentagon to formulate the budget in "real terms", which, even according to US experts, considerably diminishes its actual size and rates of growth.

calation of the US military budget, the refusal to ratify SALT-2, the blocking of other bilateral and multilateral talks on limiting the arms race and reducing international tension, and a series of direct US military ventures abroad.

The growth of militarism in all spheres of life reached its height under the present US Administration. The continuity and long-term nature of this policy, as well as its advanced planning (despite official assurances that it was made necessary primarily by a growing "Soviet military threat") have been confirmed by the inexhaustible drive to implement its major aspect—to prepare and develop another, even more massive and dangerous round of the arms race, which is well reflected in the dynamics of the US military budget.

In the late 1970s, when Washington did not yet openly proclaim its militarist slogans restricting itself to a "moderate" increase of the military budget, the highest rates of growth were shown by US "investment", or military-technological programmes: the production of armaments, military R&D, military construction, and the use of nuclear energy for military purposes. While the overall increase in the US military budget for 1976-1980 amounted to 69 per cent, spending on military-technological programmes within the same period increased by 88 per cent, and on the production of armaments, by 111 per cent. Spending on military nuclear programmes doubled (See Table below). The result was that allocations for the military-technological programmes, which in 1975 consumed 34.3 per cent of all military allocations, reached 38.2 per cent in 1980, while the share of allocations for the production of armaments increased from 19.4 per cent to nearly a quarter of the military budget.

In 1981-1985 the acceleration of the arms race in the USA reached its peak. Bearing in mind the unprecedented growth of the military budget, which doubled in that period, spending on military-technological programmes increased by 159 per cent, and on the production of armaments alone, by 174 per cent. In 1985 alone nearly half of the military allocations have been channeled into military-technological programmes, with one-third being confined directly to arms production.

For the future, the USA intends to maintain the high growth rates of its military budget and the priority growth of allocations channeled into the arms race. In 1990 spending on military-technological programmes will be more than a quarter of a trillion dollars and will account for 55 per cent of all military allocations. Of this sum, something like \$170,000 million, or approximately 35 per cent of the military budget, will be spent directly on arms production. In this period allocations will grow especially quickly for military construction, which is linked with the development of new strategic arms systems and the preparation of military bases, above all those overseas, for the combat actions of general purpose forces. However, from the second half of the 1980s onwards, the US Administration will make military R&D the centre of its attention. This reflects the endeavours of US ruling circles to go over from the present round of the arms race, which is still in progress, to the development of a qualitatively new round linked chiefly with the militarisation of outer space.

Although US outlays for military R&D grew rapidly in the past, in the late 1970s and early 1980s they consumed (less the respective nuclear programmes) only a tenth of the military budget. In the 1984 budget, the first after the Administration's "strategic defense initiative", this level was left behind, and by 1990 allocations in this sphere are expected to take up 13.5 per cent of the military budget. Thus, the groundwork is being laid today for another, even more dangerous and costly round of the arms race, whose peak, according to the Administration's plans, will be reached at the beginning of the next century. The programme for pre-

Distribution of US Military Allocations Along Functional Lines, 1975-1990 Fiscal Years*
(thous. mil. dollars)

Budget subsections (type of activity)	1975	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Department of Defense, military functions	85.8	115.3	125.0	142.6	178.4	213.8	239.5	258.2	284.7	313.7	354.0	401.6	438.8	477.7
including:														
military personnel	31.3	36.4	39.0	43.0	50.7	57.9	61.9	64.9	68.5	73.4	75.8	77.7	78.9	79.5
operation and maintenance	26.2	34.7	38.0	46.4	55.5	62.5	66.5	71.0	78.2	82.5	95.8	108.8	116.7	125.2
procurement	16.7	29.5	31.4	35.3	48.0	64.5	80.4	86.2	96.8	106.8	122.4	141.2	155.0	166.9
research, development, test and evaluation	8.6	11.4	12.4	13.6	16.6	20.1	22.8	26.9	31.5	39.3	42.6	49.3	55.9	65.9
military construction	3.1	2.9	3.9	3.8	3.4	7.1	7.2	7.2	8.4	10.3	12.8	14.8	17.3	19.3
other legislation	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.6	2.0	-0.7	0.7	2.1	1.4	1.4	4.6	9.8	15.0	20.8
Atomic energy defense activities	1.5	2.5	2.7	3.0	3.7	4.7	5.7	6.6	7.3	8.0	8.8	9.5	9.7	10.0
Defense-related activities	-1.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Total, budget authority	86.3	117.9	127.8	145.8	182.4	218.7	245.8	265.2	292.6	322.2	363.3	411.5	448.8	488.1

* 1975-1984—actual results; 1985-1990—estimates

Sources: *Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1977, 1980...1986*, Washington, 1976, 1979-1985; *Historical Tables, Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1986*, Table 5.1.

paring "star wars"—to create an antimissile and antisatellite defence systems—will be the pivot of this new round. According to US experts (for example, former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown) this is the first arms programme in US history to amount to a trillion dollars. The programme is to become the main (but far from the only) area of the arms race, which in the next ten years will continue to step up the growth of the US military budget. The "star wars" plans are eloquent evidence of the military-political and economic adventurism of US militarism.

THE WARS FOR WHICH WASHINGTON IS PREPARING

What are the wars for which the US ruling circles are planning, and who do they intend to wage them against? How are these activities reflected in the US military budget?

It would be naive to search through budget documents for figures characterising highly secret details of US military plans. Figures such as, for instance, the sums allocated for maintaining in a state of alert 30,000 nuclear warheads (aimed at the USSR, other socialist countries and several other states) carried by US missiles, aircraft and vessels; figures giving dollar estimates of the value of destructing some of 40,000 nuclear targets included in the Single Integrated Operational Plan of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (the Pentagon holds such estimates); or figures showing the many billions (or rather, the many thousands of millions) of dollars that Washington spends on overt and covert (often slightly covert)* military operations against other states and national liberation movements.

Nevertheless, the main trends of the USA's preparations for wars of aggression are clearly defined in the country's military budget. They are presented first of all in the way in which US military activities are financed according to special purpose programmes. Among these priority belongs to "Strategic Forces" and "General Purpose Forces". Each of them reflects US preparations for different types of wars: firstly, for a "strategic" (or "central") nuclear war, i. e. involving the use of the bulk of the country's nuclear potential (ground-based and submarine-based strategic missiles and bombers) against the USSR and its allies (in the course of which targets on the territories of other states may be hit); and, secondly, for conventional (involving the use of conventional weapons) and "tactical nuclear" wars, envisaging the use of less powerful nuclear weapons in different theatres of war. In this case the USSR and other socialist countries are seen as the USA's chief enemies. However, general purpose forces are also aimed against many other states whose policies do not suit Washington.

Other special programmes of the military budget ("Intelligence and Communications", "Airlift and Sealift", "Guard and Reserve", "Research and Development", "Support of Other Nations", etc.) supplement and support the fulfilment of the two chief programmes and actually serve the same aims.

The US ruling circles have long regarded strategic forces chiefly as an instrument of pursuing a policy of "deterrence through intimidation". i. e. as an instrument of political blackmail. From the late 1970s and early 1980s this role began to be looked upon in Washington as "insufficient", and the aim was set of having strategic force potential that would enable the USA to wage a real nuclear war, namely, a "limited strategic" and a "protracted" war, in which it would be victorious. The build-up of such a potential is the chief aim of the long-term programme of the rearmament of strategic forces proclaimed by President Reagan in October 1981. The measures recently carried out within the framework of this

programme have been financed along the lines of the "Strategic Forces" and other special purpose programmes.

Officially, the general purpose forces are regarded as an "active" instrument of force employed in US foreign policy, i. e. one that can be put to use as a means of threat or direct coercion. The occupation of Grenada, the bombing of Lebanese towns and villages, the encircling of Nicaragua with sea and air armadas poised for invasion—all this is the work of US general purpose forces. Speaking of the role of the conventional potential of general purpose forces as the most realistic military instrument in the nuclear age, US leaders have repeatedly underlined that the two biggest wars waged in recent decades—in Korea and Vietnam—were waged by the USA with conventional arms, and that such an "experience" may well be repeated.

The general purpose forces also have a nuclear potential which is the embodiment of Washington's instructions to maintain an unbreakable link between the conventional and nuclear potentials so as, on the initiative of the USA, to be able to turn any military conflict into a nuclear war. In its turn, the nuclear potential of the general purpose forces is closely linked with the strategic nuclear potential and the use of each of them is coordinated by the Single Integrated Operational Plan. This link has become particularly firm since the USA equipped itself with medium-range nuclear armaments which are formally part of the general purpose forces, but in reality serve strategic needs.

For all their calculations to "limit" nuclear war and, above all, to keep it away from US territory, US leaders seem to believe less and less in the reality of this. Hence their particular emphasis in recent years on ensuring the maximal interrelationship between the different echelons of their military potential and thereby achieving "escalatory domination"—to maintain their supremacy at all levels of development of military conflict.

The financing of each of the two major areas of US military preparations runs into hundreds of thousands of millions of dollars. When it was announced, the rearmament programme for the strategic forces alone was estimated by the US Administration at \$220,000 million over a period of six years. Actually, as its development has already shown, it will cost at least 50 per cent more.

According to US experts, expenditure on strategic forces, even taking account of the programmes by which they are maintained, consumes on average only 20 to 22 per cent of the US military budget with nearly 80 per cent of the military budget allocated for general purpose forces (including programmes to reinforce and maintain them). Their costliness is explained by the huge scale and intensive character of their activities as one of the biggest components of the US war machine. The training and operations of the general purpose forces are conducted on a worldwide scale and a considerable part of them is constantly stationed on the territories of other states.

As can be gathered from all that has been said, "Strategic Forces" and "General Purpose Forces" programmes and their financing give a far from complete picture of the scale of the preparations for the wars they are intended to wage. At the same time, the dynamics of their financing gives a fairly good idea of the rates at which the USA is making war preparations in each of the two main directions, and also of changes in priority.

In the late 1970s, when the USA officially recognised the existence of strategic parity and took part in the SALT talks with the USSR, it did not abandon its plans to achieve its hegemonistic aims in the international arena by force, as well as its attempts to "contain" by force of arms the anti-imperialist struggle of the countries and peoples that have taken

the road of national and social liberation. That is why at the time it was busy building up the potential of its "active" instrument of force, the general purpose forces. To compare: in 1976-1979 the financing of the "Strategic Forces" programme increased by 11 per cent, and that of "General Purpose Forces" by 69 per cent.

There were sharp changes in the period that followed. Having taken the line of developing the arms race "along the entire front" the USA concentrated its efforts on breaking up the military-strategic parity that had become established in the world and achieving supremacy over the USSR in the sphere of strategic offensive arms. This about-face, triggered off by the extensive military programme adopted by the Carter Administration and Presidential Directive No. 59, which admitted the possibility of waging a "limited nuclear war", culminated in the programme to rearm the US strategic forces; this was proclaimed by the present Administration and called "unprecedented for the nuclear age" by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. For all the impetuous growth of expenditure on the two programmes in the 1980s, spending on the "Strategic Forces" programme grew twice as fast. Between 1980 and 1984 allocations for the "General Purpose Forces" programme more than doubled (increasing by 112 per cent), and for the "Strategic Forces" programme they increased more than three-fold (by 226 per cent).

Huge allocations made it possible to accelerate virtually, as far as was technologically possible, all the programmes dealing with the development, production and deployment of new strategic offensive weapons systems, their general purpose being drastically to build up the "counteroffensive" potential of the US strategic forces, i. e. their ability to attack Soviet retaliatory weapons. The large-scale rearmament is underway of all the components of the strategic offensive "triad"; the Army, the Air Force and the Navy. The programme of modernising the air component includes modifying and equipping nearly 200 B-52 bombers with long-range cruise missiles (12 to 20 missiles per bomber); producing 100 new B-1B bombers also equipped with cruise missiles (30 missiles per bomber); developing a bomber on the basis of Stealth technology which makes it difficult to detect it by radars (130 bombers will be deployed from the early 1990s); and developing and producing a second generation of long-range cruise missiles based on Stealth technology (up to 1,500 missiles of this type will be produced).

The Trident programme, the basis for rearming the sea component, envisages the building by the late 1990s of 20 nuclear-powered *Ohio* submarines equipped with 24 Trident 1 and Trident 2 missiles (carrying 7 to 14 warheads each). By mid-1985, five submarines of this type had been put into operation and several more are still in the docks. Altogether, 25 submarines will be launched.

Another large-scale programme for modernising this component of the "triad" includes the deployment of long-range cruise missiles to be carried by multi-purpose nuclear powered submarines and sea ships. This virtually new element of the sea component is allotted an entirely new strategic role—to serve as the reserve of the strategic offensive forces, in a "protracted" nuclear war.

The chief programme for modernising the ground component of the strategic offensive "triad" includes the deployment of 100 MX intercontinental ballistic missiles (each carrying a ten-charge warhead). The dangerous, destabilising nature of this system meets with vigorous opposition from both the public and the US Congress. The Administration is forced to resort to manoeuvres in order to keep the programme operating at the planned level. One of its ploys is to declare its consent to limit the system to 50 missiles. However, now it is known that there exists a secret Air Force plan to expand the programme to 200 missiles, while the Admi-

nistration is escalating the development and production of the new monoblock "Midgetman" ICBMs.

In the early 1980s, efforts were also concentrated on the intensive build-up of general purpose forces. Evidence of this are the high growth rates of expenditure on the programme of the same name and on supplementary programmes. In that period allocations for the "Airlift and Sealift" programme grew even quicker than those channelled into the "Strategic Forces" programme, showing Washington's foremost concentration on building up its interventionist "rapid deployment force".

The 1985 military budget marked a radical new change in the ratio of funds siphoned into the two key specific programmes: the priority rates now belonged to the "General Purpose Forces" programme. The spending on the "Strategic Forces" is to go up by 23 per cent in the 1985-1988 period, and that on "General Purpose Forces", by 76 per cent. The supplementary "Guard and Reserve" programme will be financed at still higher growth rates.

The strategy of the present US Administration in the sphere of military preparations is to go over from the powerful impetus it gave to the development and production of a large "family" of the latest systems of strategic offensive weapons during its first term in office to building up the general purpose forces—a realistic instrument of the USA's interventionist policy—during its second term. At the same time, great efforts are being made to prepare a scientific and technological base for a new upsurge in the sphere of strategic weapons, this time for use in outer space.

THE DANGER OF THE MILITARIST POLICY AND THE GROWING OPPOSITION TO IT

The dynamics of the US military budget also reflects an important regularity of present-day militarism—the development of two opposite trends: its ever more dangerous nature and the narrowing of its possibilities.

The first trend is observed in the long-term build-up of the US military budget; in the hundreds of billions of dollars channelled by the US Administration for the development of still more destructive systems and types of arms; in the financing of large-scale military preparations and the practical use of US military force.

The link between the dynamics of military spending and the mounting danger of US militarism is confirmed by the fact that it was precisely in the decades marked by excessive military budgets that the USA made particularly intensive use of military force on the international scene. From 1946 to the mid-1980s Washington used or threatened to use its armed forces nearly 300 times, and in approximately 20 instances threatened to use nuclear weapons. The two biggest aggressive wars unleashed by the USA—in North Korea and Vietnam—took a huge toll of their peoples' lives (2 million and 7 million respectively).

If the USA was to unleash another large-scale "local" aggression, even involving the use of only conventional weapons, taking into account its increased potential, the number of victims of such an aggression would be even greater. What is even more dangerous is that a "conventional" war involving the USA and its NATO partners would greatly increase the risk of a nuclear war breaking out. This makes the recent line taken by the USA on giving priority to building up expenditure on conventional weapons and urging its allies to follow suit no less dangerous than the line towards achieving nuclear superiority. US militarism poses a special threat by its plans to deploy offensive weapons in outer space, which are covered up by talk of "strategic defense". These plans are finding ever

greater expression in the US budget in the form of growing allocations for military space programmes.

The opposite trend, aimed at reducing the potentialities of militarism, finds expression in the budget sphere the following way. Despite the efforts of the supporters of the militaristic course to escalate military spending, they do not always succeed in realising all their ambitions. In several cases, the US Administration has been forced by the relative reduction of the military-financial base (at least as compared with its plans) to modify its military plans and programmes, and at times even its strategy and policy in general, reducing their scope and far-fetched aims. A most eloquent example to this effect was Washington's revision in the early 1970s of its military-political strategy and military programme, taking into account the new, restricting "financial realities", the result of the mounting movement in the country to "change national priorities" as a reaction of broad strata of the Americans to the raging militarism and the unbridled growth of military expenditures.

Of late, the present US Administration has also come up against mounting opposition to the policy of accelerated escalation of the military budget. This is reflected in the growing unwillingness of Congress to approve all the budget demands of the Administration for the needs of the Pentagon. In discussing the 1986 military budget the law-makers voted in favour of bridling the growth rates of military spending. As a result, the final bill on military spending for the year 1986 was approved by both chambers of Congress to the tune of \$302,500 million. There is mounting opposition in Congress to financing several particularly odious military programmes: the deployment of MX intercontinental ballistic missiles on the scale proposed by the Administration, military aid to Nicaraguan "contras", etc.

Simultaneously, one can see a steady decline in the political effect of military spending. Despite the constantly growing sums spent by the USA on military programmes, this is not bringing nearer the realisation of its imperial ambitions, such as the revival of its former world leadership, the achievement of "social revenge", etc. On the contrary, these ambitions are growing ever less attainable.

At the same time, one can see how the escalation of the military budget and the arms race are affecting the USA. Domestic socio-economic problems are growing more acute. The following problems have become particularly acute for the USA: its record budget deficits (over \$200,000 million yearly); the unprecedented growth of the federal debt (which has already exceeded \$1.8 trillion, and will reach almost \$3 trillion by 1990); the curtailment of social programmes; and the deterioration of living standards for tens of millions of the American poor. The militarist policy inevitably aggravates the contradictions, sharp as they are, between the USA and its closest allies in the monetary and financial, trade and economic, scientific and technological, and other spheres of interstate relations.

However, US militarist policy gravely affects first and foremost the country's own security and increases the risk of an outbreak of a nuclear war which (and this is well understood in Washington) would turn into a catastrophe for the American people.

The development of the two opposite trends—the increasing concentration in the hands of militarism of an unprecedented physical potential, which makes it lethally dangerous, and the further limiting of its possibilities to use this potential for achieving rational political aims without the risk of social suicide—is the result of a more acute struggle which is underway in the world, where the aggressive forces are opposed by

MICRONESIA: A PENTAGON PROVING GROUND

O. KUROCHKIN

With the haughtiness typical of them lately, spokesmen of the current US Administration are attempting to teach entire nations and governments of sovereign states how to conduct themselves in world affairs and on the domestic scene. The US Administration itself is guided in its activity by nothing other than fierce nationalism and a striving for superiority, military superiority first and foremost, invariably trying to deal with others from positions of strength. It is thus trampling underfoot the national sovereignty of other countries and the right of entire peoples to plan their future as they see fit. A graphic illustration of this is the fate of a strategic UN Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, otherwise known as Micronesia, which is under the rule of the United States.¹

At the conclusion of the Second World War, when as the result of the rout of Nazi Germany and militarist Japan their colonial empires disintegrated, an international trusteeship system was set up and the UN Trusteeship Council founded to govern the former mandate territories of the League of Nations and to prepare them for self-government or independence.

In a letter addressed to the UN Secretary-General the American representative to the UN submitted on February 17, 1947, a draft agreement on trusteeship for Micronesia, which underlay the Security Council resolution of April 2, 1947, establishing the terms of trusteeship for the Pacific Islands as a Trust Territory. The USA as the governing power of the Trust Territory, pledged to take measures to "ensure that the Trust Territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security according to the Charter of the United Nations". Washington has preferred to ignore this pledge, however.

The USA has likewise openly disregarded other trusteeship commitments, including those it itself formulated in the draft agreement. It simply forgot about its pledges to further the economic progress of the population and its economic self-sufficiency, to encourage the development of fishing, agriculture and industry and protect the population from losing their lands and natural resources, and to safeguard the rights and basic freedoms of the population and protect the health of the population.

What, then, have the American "guardians" done for the social and economic development of Micronesia over the past four decades? At talks on the status of Micronesia (meaning the new dependent, semicolonial "status", an agreement on which should, according to Washington's scheme, tie down the Micronesians right now, prior to the cessation of UN trusteeship). Fred Zeder, the US President's Personal Representative for Micronesian Political Status Negotiations admitted in September 1985

¹ This UN Trust Territory includes three archipelagos north of the Equator in the Western part of the Pacific—the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall islands, which consist of over 2,000 islands and atolls. The population of Micronesia is 136,000. The land mass of all the Micronesian islands is 1,800 square kilometres; however, their area of water stretches over 7.5 million square kilometres.

before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives that "unfortunately the Trust Territory Pacific Islands suffers from the classic problems of an underdeveloped area", that "almost 90 per cent of the domestic economy [of Micronesia]... is directly or indirectly dependent on U.S. assistance". Thus, it is simply inappropriate to speak of any socio-economic "progress" having been attained by the territory or the free will of the population of these island formations deprived of economic self-sufficiency.

What has the US been engaged in in Micronesia and what is its attitude to its trusteeship obligations? At Congressional hearings Fred Zeder admitted that "the importance we have placed on the defense aspects of the Trust Territory has not decreased over the years, and has been a central element in determining U. S. positions in the negotiations" on the political status of the Micronesian formations after the cessation of trusteeship.

As early as 1946 the USA focused on the Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands archipelago, having decided to turn it into a nuclear testing ground. The population of the atoll, which then numbered 166 persons, was deceived by hypocritical assurances of the American military governor to the effect that the tests would be carried out for the benefit of people and to end all wars on earth, and were resettled on another islands. The settlers were told that they would be able to return to their atoll as soon as it would not be needed as a testing ground. Somewhat later the Pentagon needed still another testing ground, and local residents were also chased off the Eniwetok Atoll.

The tragedy of the inhabitants of Bikini and Eniwetok continues—they cannot return to their radiation-contaminated islands. The Americans, however, are least of all worried about the fate of the "nuclear wanderers", as the Micronesians call them. Typical of the US government's attitude to Micronesia was the impatient remark Henry Kissinger made in 1969 when he held the post of the President's National Security Adviser: "There are only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn?"

In the late 1950s the USA set up on the Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands archipelago a proving ground, or rather a target, at which virtually all test launches of submarine-based intercontinental ballistic missiles and ballistic missiles have been aimed ever since. To this day the MX and Minuteman-3 ICBMs, which are capable of carrying nuclear warheads, are fired at this target from the Vandenberg Air Force Base in Southern California. For finishing purposes another 16 additional tests are expected until 1987.

Engaged in the testing of increasingly deadly weapons, Washington had no time to remember why the UN entrusted to it the administration of the Trust Territory. It was only in the 1960s that the USA "came to its senses". However, this was not to rectify the situation by meeting the demands of the UN Charter. To have someone with whom to hold "talks" about the "future status" of the territory, the Washington emissaries formed the so-called Congress of Micronesia of representatives from various island communities. First, Micronesians were offered the status of a "commonwealth" similar to the semi-colonial status of Puerto Rico. Naturally, the Congress of Micronesia did not give its consent to such an obvious enslavement of their countrymen by the American trustees.

Without giving it much thought, Washington resorted to the "divide and rule" formula tested by other colonisers. In 1975 the Northern Mariana Islands were separated from the Trust Territory, and the status of a "commonwealth" with the USA was foisted upon their representatives; according to it all questions of defence and external relations were handed over to the United States, while the islands received "local self-government". In 1976 the American Congress passed a joint bill endors-

ing the deal. *The New York Times* editorial entitled "The American Mariana Islands" stated that Congress had sanctioned the first direct territorial annexation in half a century.

The arm-twisting process on the remainder of the Trust Territory lasted 10 years. After the separation of the Northern Marianas—contrary to the stand of the UN Trusteeship Council—the USA split up the remaining part of the Trust Territory into three insular formations—the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the Marshall Islands, and the Palau Islands. By 1983 the USA's "talks" with the Micronesian formations, which abounded in various sorts of intrigues and attempts at pressure and blackmail, ended in the signing of the Compact of Free Association, common for all three formations, with the United States. Washington has attached increasing importance to Micronesia—the version was circulated that the Micronesian islands and atolls are the only emergency position for the USA's defence from the West in the event of a withdrawal of its troops from South Korea, Japan and the Philippines.

Over the decades of US rule the islanders lost the capacity for independent economic existence and development. The dollars of the American "trustees", as the journal *Southeast Asia Chronicle* noted, "went to the creation of an administrative bureaucracy designed to entice Micronesians into permanent affiliation with the United States, while relatively little went to spending for infrastructure and industrial projects which could have triggered self-sustaining development in the areas". After conditions were provided for the complete dependence of the islands' population from the Americans, Washington began promising "aid", at the same time instilling fear in the islanders with references to the notorious "Soviet threat" myth.

Under the terms of the agreement imposed by the Americans, the USA receives full authority and freedom of action as regards "questions of security and defence" vis-a-vis the islands; the Micronesians have been promised "self-rule" and certain powers in external relations with the stipulation that in taking any steps in this sphere the islanders "shall consult with the Government of the United States". The agreement empowers Washington to set up military bases and other military installations on all "associated" territories. The Pentagon made haste to stipulate its "exclusive rights" to several long selected, highly extensive sectors for the construction of military bases, ports, airfields and barracks in the so-called "accessory agreements". The term of the agreement with the FSM and the Marshall Islands is 15 years, and with Palau—50 years; the use of the missile proving ground on Kwajalein is being extended for 30 years. These terms, however, mean nothing, since everything attests to the US intentions to hold on to Micronesia forever. According to the most conservative estimates, the Pentagon has already spent over \$1,000 million on the construction and modernisation of the missile testing ground on the Kwajalein Atoll alone. The tests on Kwajalein are a key element of the American President's "strategic defense initiative".

Washington does not conceal the fact that the USA needs the UN Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands as a new frontier for the deployment of the forward based nuclear weapons, as a new bridge-head. Even now, regarding Micronesia in the context of the US militarist plans, US Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs Richard Armitage stated in July 1985 at a conference of the Asian community in Washington that the border of the United States passes 5,000 miles West of San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge.

The USA has already trotted out the "agreement on free association at referendums" in the FSM and the Marshall Islands. On Palau the agreement did not gather enough votes to be passed. The population of Palau rejected the highly important section of the agreement which en-

visages the provision of the United States with the right to test and store in Micronesia nuclear, chemical or biological weapons and radioactive and toxic chemical and biological substances, and also to bury such materials there. This provision is a violation of the Constitution of the Palau Islands, whose population well remembers the consequences of the radioactive contamination as a result of the tests of American nuclear weapons in the Pacific. From the early 1950s to the present Micronesians subjected to radiation are suffering and dying, and women are having stillborn children or children with birth defects. The soil on the atolls and even the fish in the Micronesian lagoons are contaminated by radiation from the American blasts.

Between 1946 and 1958 the USA carried out 66 nuclear explosions on the Bikini and Eniwetok Atolls in the Marshall archipelago. The most tragic damage was done by a test explosion on the Bikini Atoll by a 15 megaton hydrogen bomb, code-named Bravo, on March 1, 1954. Radioactive fallout from this explosion fell on the Rongelap Atoll 150 kilometres north of Bikini four hours after the explosion, as a result of which all the inhabitants of the atoll received dangerous doses of contamination. In connection with this event one of the participants in a study done on the effect of radioactive fallout on people stated that "the habitation of these people on the Rongelap Island will afford most valuable ecological radiation data on human beings". The islanders are convinced that the American "scientists" used them as guinea pigs for their experiments.

Despite the fact that the inhabitants of Palau rejected the general Compact of Free Association with the USA, the White House submitted it to Congress for approval. An accompanying letter signed by the American President says that congressional confirmation is expected for this Compact as representing great importance for the strategic positions of the United States in the Pacific and extending "indefinitely the right of the United States to foreclose access to the area to third countries for military purposes". Obviously, Washington, which has declared many regions throughout the globe as being vital to America's interests, added the final words "for military purposes" exclusively for stylistic icing.

The consideration of the Compact with the FSM, the Marshall Islands and the Palau Islands (tentatively for the time being, while the Americans continue stubbornly to pressure the islanders) in congressional committees is drawing to a close. Congressional adoption is soon expected of the joint resolution approving this inequitable agreement, which is turning a UN Trust Territory into a new source of tension in the Pacific. Agreeing with the arguments of the Administration representatives on the military-strategic value of Micronesia, the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives cynically noted that this Compact will also help settle "all nuclear claims [by Micronesians] resulting from our nuclear weapons testing program in the Micronesian Islands". The victims of the American tests have sued Washington for a total of \$5,000 million. Congressmen are jubilant that by endorsing the agreement and establishing uncontrolled domination over Micronesia, the US government will be able to get away with a much lower amount—\$150 million.

The rush with which the Administration is striving to "formalise" the annexion of the UN Trust Territory was again manifest on October 10, 1985 in a statement by US Vice-President George Bush at press conference in connection with his trip to the People's Republic of China. The Vice-President stated his intention of stopping en route at Saipan (the Mariana Islands) and to meet there with representatives of the Micronesians, to "express our concern" over the antiwar and antinuclear demands of the Pacific countries. Bush could not restrain himself and complained that Washington's hopes that the Compact would be endorsed "by this visit" had not come to fruition. He went on to state cynically

that congressional approval would become a sign of the conclusion of US trusteeship and the start of its association, which was expected to be of benefit to all sides. The activity of the USA in Micronesia, to put it mildly, attests to Washington's unique conception of this "benefit". Also readily evident in the pronouncements of the US Vice-President is disregard for the UN Charter according to which the UN Security Council alone is authorised to change the status of the UN Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly called the attention of the UN and the world public to the inadmissible situation that has taken shape in Micronesia as a result of the USA's illegal actions to turn it into its colonial possession. The Soviet representatives in the Trusteeship Council demonstrated by facts that Washington is not only impeding the people of this territory from exercising their inalienable right to genuine self-determination, freedom and independence, but is also posing a serious threat to the security of the countries adjoining this region and to international peace as a whole. The Soviet stand was clearly set forth in letters of the USSR Permanent Representative to the UN in 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1984; a TASS Statement on this score was issued in 1983. The UN Special Committee on Decolonisation has pointed again and again to the absence of conditions in Micronesia that would enable its people to exercise their right to self-determination and independence freely, without outside interference, to the dependence of the territory on the USA economically and financially, and also to the fact that US bases and other military installations hinder the Micronesians in exercising their right to self-determination and independence.

The world public and the UN cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that the peoples of some two dozen colonial and dependent territories are still deprived of their own legitimate right to freedom and independence. "In a bid to preserve their domination, the imperialist powers are foisting various neocolonialist statuses on these territories and are turning them into their military-strategic strong points and bridgeheads for aggression," Mikhail Gorbachev noted in his message To the Participants of the Special Jubilee Session of the UN General Assembly on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The annexation actions vis-à-vis the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is one graphic illustration of this".

The peoples of the world, including in the Pacific basin, clearly realise the danger posed by the United States' policy to the region and are coming out more and more decisively against the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands being turned into a military-political proving ground of Washington.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

From August 27 through September 21, 1985, the regular Third Review Conference of the States Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was held in Geneva. Representatives from 86 countries took part in the Conference, as well as representatives from a number of international organisations, including the United Nations, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (OPANAL). Observers from 11 other countries attended.

On the whole, the work of the Conference produced positive results. Its principal result was a clear-cut conclusion that the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is vital to international peace and security. At the present time 130 states are party to this Treaty. In just the past five years since the last NPT Review Conference another 17 countries joined in.

The NPT jointly worked out by the many countries proved its viability and efficacy. Since the signing of the Treaty in 1968, not one single new country has become a nuclear one.

The final declaration passed at the Conference, voted by consensus, contains a detailed and unbiased analysis of the progress made towards fulfilment of all the basic articles of the Treaty. It gives a picture of the present general state of affairs in the area of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, including negative tendencies dangerous to the non-proliferation regime.

The Conference drew the conclusion that the states participating in the NPT are fulfilling its basic terms. The nuclear powers which are party to the Treaty are not transferring nuclear arms or other nuclear explosive devices to other countries nor are they helping non-nuclear powers acquire them, in accordance with Article I of the NPT. Non-nuclear states which have signed the Treaty, on their part, are not procuring nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, as is stipulated by Article II of the NPT.

As regards the fulfilment of Articles I and II of the Treaty, the final declaration includes the appeals made by many countries to totally and unconditionally prohibit the transfer of any kind of nuclear materials, devices or installations to Israel and South Africa and for a total cessation of the exploitation of Namibian uranium, both natural and enriched until that nation has attained its independence.

At the Conference it was generally agreed that all participant states of the NPT have been meeting their obligations as required by Article III

of the Treaty. The non-nuclear states participatory to the Treaty, in accordance with this Article, agreed to control provisions, i. e. the obligation to apply IAEA safeguards to their peaceful nuclear activities with the aim of verifying assurance of compliance with the basic commitment to abstain from acquiring nuclear weapons.

At the Review Conference the important role of IAEA was stressed, most of all its work in monitoring nuclear activity in non-nuclear countries. It was especially emphasised that the IAEA safeguards play a key role in the prevention of proliferation of nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices, because nuclear activity not provided for under adequate safeguards in non-nuclear countries engenders a serious threat to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Occupying the centre of attention at the Conference was the question of fulfilment of Article VI of the Treaty, which envisages that the participants negotiate, in the spirit of goodwill, on the limitation of the nuclear arms race and on nuclear disarmament, as well as general and complete disarmament.

With this aim in view, the idea of the acute need for halting the nuclear arms race and attaining nuclear disarmament runs through the final declaration, an idea that expressed a common view of almost all the conferees. That position, taken by the Conference, apart from demonstrating the desire to avert the threat of nuclear war, testified to the aspiration for preventing the spread of nuclear arms.

At the Conference a grave concern was expressed that the spilling of the arms race, especially nuclear arms, into space, could weaken and even destroy the non-proliferation regime. Socialist countries, a considerable majority of non-aligned nations, as well as a number of West European states severely criticised the US policy which is aimed at continued escalation of the arms race and its extension into space. They essentially accused the USA of failing to comply with Article VI of the Treaty.

In this regard, many states have noted the consistently peaceful nature of the USSR's foreign policy. The Conference welcomed the Soviet Union's moratorium on all nuclear explosions from August 6, 1985 and its willingness to extend the moratorium past January 1, 1986 if the USA also refrains from carrying out nuclear testing. This proposal was considered new evidence of the USSR's strong desire to facilitate the road to curtailing the nuclear arms race, to help put an end to the dangerous competition in the buildup of nuclear arsenals, as well as to set an example for other nuclear states. At the Conference hope was expressed that the USA would heed appeals to follow the USSR's example. It is obvious that the reluctance of the USA to join in a moratorium and its conducting of nuclear tests after August 6, 1985 contradict in fact, Washington's statements to hold to its commitment in support of the non-proliferation regime. In addition, hope was expressed that other states, especially France, would cease nuclear weapon tests until a treaty on the prohibition of such tests is concluded.

A significant majority of states at the Conference emphasised that a general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests was an initial step in fulfilling the obligations envisaged in Article VI of the Treaty. The Conference demonstrated that, according to the opinions held by a considerable majority of non-nuclear countries, the most important aspect of fulfilling Article VI, at this stage, is the attainment of agreement for a complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests as soon as possible. In its final declaration the Conference urged a renewal of trilateral talks among the USSR, USA and Britain in order to work out a treaty on a general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

The USSR's proposal submitted for discussion at the 40th Session of the General Assembly of the UN on International Cooperation in the Pea-

ceful Exploration of Outer Space in Conditions of Its Non-Militarisation received wide support at the Conference.

The prevalent sentiment expressed by many states is that the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons currently proceeding in Geneva, are of vital importance. In this connection attention was drawn to the urgent need for an immediate reaching of an accord between the USSR and the USA for prevention of an arms race in space and for a cessation of the arms race on the Earth, with the final aim of totally ridding the world of nuclear arms, once and for all.

Problems associated with Article IV of the Treaty also occupied a prominent place at the Conference. As is known, this Article establishes the right of all participant countries to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes and also states their obligation to assist other participant countries in this area, with special attention given to the needs of developing countries.

The conferees were unanimous that the NPT has created the most favourable conditions for wide international cooperation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. In as much as there exists an uneven development of various regions of the planet and unequal distribution of material resources involved in the use of atomic energy, such international cooperation is utterly imperative if atomic energy is to be used for the benefit of all mankind.

In conditions of increasing ties among governments in the sphere of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, in many countries there has recently appeared a new field of modern energetics—atomic-power generation. The report on the activities of IAEA, concerning the fulfilment of Article IV of the Treaty, states that by the end of December 1984 there were 345 atomic power plants in the world whose total capacity amounted to 220 million kilowatts. These nuclear installations accounted for approximately 13 per cent of the total production of electrical energy in 1984. There were another 180 atomic power plants under construction during this period, whose total capacity amounts to 163 million kilowatts. In 1984 construction of another 14 units was begun having a total capacity of 11 million kilowatts.

According to IAEA data, between 1985 and 1990 the share of atomic energy in production of electricity will increase even more. In Belgium it will make up more than half, in Bulgaria and Sweden more than 40 per cent, in Hungary, Spain and the FRG—more than 30 per cent and some 20 to 30 per cent in Britain, USA, Finland and Switzerland.

In the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, it is envisaged to raise the output of the atomic power stations to 390,000 million kilowatt-hours in 1990.

Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are carrying out significant atomic power programmes, the total capacity of which is presently more than 6 million kilowatts. In the near future, the construction of an atomic power station will be finished in Romania. Plans are underway for the construction of an atomic power plant in Poland. In the period before 1990, the majority of the European socialist countries plan to increase the capacity of atomic power plants by 4 to 5 times. The construction of a large atomic power plant is currently being carried out in Cuba.

Atomic power production is being developed in the developing countries. There are power plants, having an aggregate capacity of 8 million kilowatts, in Argentina, Brazil, India, Mexico, and Pakistan as well as

South Korea and Taiwan. These countries are carrying out considerable nuclear programmes. Construction of atomic power plants is taking place in Egypt, Libya, the Philippines and a few other developing countries.

As the future use of Atom for the production of energy and heat increases, the exploration, development and initial processing of nuclear source materials, as well as the production of enriched uranium are of course further being promoted. Therefore, all these problems of peaceful uses of atomic energy were in the scope of the Conference's activities. It was constantly reiterated that the NPT helped further the use of the Atom for peace and nothing in the Treaty should be interpreted as infringing upon the inalienable right of any participant state to conduct research, production and utilisation of atomic energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in accordance with Articles I and II of the Treaty.

Of fundamental importance was the generally held opinion at the Conference that the use of atomic energy should be in strict accordance with Articles I and II. The fact is that, as is widely known, the material base which is created in non-nuclear countries in the development of atomic power generation and its nuclear fuel cycle can be used as well for the production of nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices. In view of this, from the very beginning of the peaceful use of atomic energy, the task arose of not allowing the switching over of atomic energy in non-nuclear nations for the purpose of creating nuclear explosives.

The Conference discussed a wide range of problems connected with the further developing of international cooperation in the sphere of peaceful uses of atomic energy under conditions of consistent provision of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Conference appealed to states to consider possible measures to further improve bilateral cooperation in fulfilling Article IV of the Treaty.

The problem of ensuring guaranteed nuclear deliveries was discussed in detail at the Conference. In this connection the activities of the IAEA committee on guaranteed deliveries were approved; it managed to advance an agreement on principles of international cooperation in the sphere of peaceful uses of atomic energy, with due account given to the task of providing guaranteed nuclear deliveries.

The Conference emphasised the importance of IAEA's activity in rendering technical assistance to its member states. The Conference noted with satisfaction that the programme of technical assistance embraces a wide spectrum of areas of atomic energy utilisation for peaceful purposes, both in the field of atomic power production and its fuel cycle, and in the sphere of application of nuclear technology in industry, agriculture, medicine and various branches of science and especially in hydrology.

On the whole, the Conference acknowledged the principal role played by IAEA in bringing about international cooperation in the sphere of peaceful uses of atomic energy. Practically all the countries represented at the Conference stressed that the Agency is the only universally recognised international body for consolidating the efforts of states in this area.

The Conference noted the USSR's significant contribution to the development of international cooperation in the use of the Atom for peace on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis, including that which lies within the realm of IAEA.

It was noted at the Conference that there is a growing interest in the world in the realisation of the provision of Article VII of the Treaty in which the right is recognised of any group of states to conclude regional

agreements, pledging not to have nuclear weapons on their respective territories at all. To this end a unanimous opinion was expressed, that the creation of nuclear-free zones, on the basis of freely expressed wills of states of each specific region, constitutes an important step towards disarmament. It was emphasised that the process of creating such zones in various parts of the world must be encouraged with the aim of ultimately ridding the whole world of nuclear weapons.

The Conference expressed satisfaction with the successful fulfilment of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America in accordance with which a nuclear-free zone has been created in this region of the world. In accordance with the Antarctic Treaty, this continent also has a nuclear-free status. The Conference approved the signing of a nuclear-free zone treaty for the southern part of the Pacific.

The Conference noted the existing proposals as well as the efforts undertaken at the regional level for creating nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. Above all these are steps to create such zones in various parts of Europe, in particular in the Balkans and in Northern as well as Central Europe, in Africa, the Middle East and in Southeast Asia.

The Conference resolutely spoke out against plans to produce nuclear weapons in Israel and South Africa, demanding a cessation of all ties with these countries in the nuclear sphere.

The Conference showed that the overwhelming majority of countries understand the exceptional importance of this international agreement. Its results will help further the strengthening of the international regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

A. IOIRICH,
V. MISHARIN

THE MILITARISTIC POLICY OF THE USA AS REFLECTED IN ITS BUDGET

(Continued from page 118)

those of socialism and by other peace-loving countries and peoples. This struggle goes hand in hand with the growing opposition of millions of Americans to militarism.

One of the major aspects of this struggle is the demand of large sections of the US population, among them realistically minded representatives of highly influential circles, to cut short the build-up of the US military budget. Its implementation in Washington's practical politics could create a favourable basis for the following key step—the achievement of an agreement to hold talks on the cutting of military budgets between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty states. This is one of the main ways which the USSR and other socialist countries have long been insistently advocating as a means of curbing the arms race and reducing the military threat.

"FRIENDS" AS CANNON FODDER

Of late Washington's leaders have been persistent in reminding the world that they have made new and very dear "friends". They are lavish in explaining the goals and character of this "friendship", attempting to make the American and world public believe that the USA proceeds from the noblest of motives.

Thus, the US President, addressing the leaders of the Reagan-Bush committee, said: "America must remain freedom's staunchest friend.... It's America's responsibility and the responsibility of the Republican Party to stand with people... risking their lives for liberty—from Afghanistan, to Angola, to Nicaragua. Supporting them is not only morally right, it is the way of honor".

While praising to the sky the "moral" foundations of "friendship" with the anti-people terrorist groupings in various parts of the world, the US Secretary of State is trying to provide a political justification for one of the most dangerous trends in the imperial foreign policy. He said in a speech that it is in the US "national interests" to be "on the side of freedom and democratic change everywhere, and no less in such areas of strategic importance to us as Central America, South Africa, the Philippines and South Korea". To achieve these goals, said the Secretary of State, Washington must use all means at its disposal, "from economic and security assistance to aid for freedom fighters to direct military action when necessary" as in Grenada.

This is not the first time such statements have been made by US Administration officials. The Secretary of State in his speech, however, paid particular attention to what is a growing preoccupation of the US ruling circles. While previous administrations, in pursuing their policy of interference in the affairs of other states, were careful to hide from the public their involvement in secret subversive activity, today ultra-conservatives not only do not bother to hide it but openly fraternise with chieftains of bands, receive them as if they were statesmen and subsidise them out of the federal budgets.

Thereby open interference by the United States in the affairs of other countries, including the overthrow of their existing systems, is a long-term strategy and part of government policy. It is noteworthy that it is not just an individual act but a doctrine, a programme of actions against peoples and countries fighting for national sovereignty and independence.

Who are those on whom Washington confers its patronage and its material backing? In a revealing statement, Richard Armitage, US Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, said that the enemy of the USA's enemy could be assured of America's friendship if he shared its ideals in his opposition to that enemy. In other words, if the enemy of America's enemy took a firm anticommunist stand, then "the United States should actively—and overtly—back the rebellions against pro-Soviet regimes."

Thereby the US Administration, wrote the *Los Angeles Times*, has given final shape to a new approach to Third World conflicts: the United

States considers it to be its right and duty to help rebels who take up arms against pro-communist governments whether it be in Nicaragua or Angola, Afghanistan or Kampuchea. So, the White House intends, as the paper said, to help overthrow undesirable governments and the Congressmen on Capitol Hill give it the green light to do so.

The US Congress has approved the spending of \$27 million on so-called non-military aid to Nicaraguan "contras". The State Department has set up a special office to distribute aid among them. Shortly afterwards Congress repealed the "Bowland amendment" thus leaving the CIA free to supply arms and intelligence to the contras.

Faced with increased aggressive anti-Nicaraguan actions on the part of Washington, the government of Nicaragua had to extend emergency law by another year.

Interference in the affairs of Kampuchea is becoming more and more brazen, as witnessed by the allocation of \$5 million (for the fiscal year 1985-1986) for military aid to the Khmer counter-revolutionaries and by the visits of the US Secretary of State to their camps on the Thailand-Kampuchean border, when the Secretary of State and members of his party even made instigatory statements and posed for pictures in the turret of an American-made tank.

The USA's aggressive role is even more pronounced in Afghanistan. Congress has approved a \$250-million programme of aid to the Afghan dushmans. In addition, the CIA is planning to spend another \$300 million for the war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan through its own channels. And Congress has recently approved the decision of the US Council for World Freedom to confer the "best freedom fighter of the year" title on the Waly Khan, a dushman unit chief guilty of grievous crimes against the Afghan people.

The main vehicle of the policy of state terrorism is the Central Intelligence Agency, headed by William Casey. Casey's regular personal reviews of counter-revolutionary bands as part of his "inspection tours" of Central America, Southeast Asia and Africa leave no doubts that the "cloak and dagger" agency has been charged with overseeing the new "friends" and coordinating the actions of the "freedom fighters" in Washington's pay. To this end the CIA is trying to bring together motley bands of mercenaries.

Leaders of Nicaraguan contras, Afghan dushmans, Cuban gusanos and other terrorists met in Angola in the zone controlled by the UNITA counter-revolutionaries to declare the setting up of a "democratic international". These "democrats" were presented with a message of greetings from the White House, wishes of success and assurances that "your goals are our goals".

Encouraged by the attention of their masters the Cuban "gusanos" held their own congress under the slogan of "preparation for democracy".

The "unitary process" was crowned by a gathering of the ultra-reactionary World Anti-Communist League (WACL) in Dallas, Texas. The composition of the gathering was revealing. Prominent among them were representatives of counter-revolutionary terrorist groupings fighting the governments and peoples of Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola, Kampuchea, Laos, Ethiopia, Mozambique and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. They sat side by side with ultra-right political leaders from Latin American countries, pro-fascists from Spain and Portugal, conservative representatives of US big business and editors of the US *Soldier of Fortune* magazine for mercenaries. Washington sent greetings to the WACL that were as warm as the greetings it had earlier sent to the gatherings of UNITA and the "gusanos".

The Dallas conference, like the entire activity of the WACL in recent years, shows that the US rulers assign it an important place in its stra-

tegy of backing counter-revolutionary movements by the joint efforts of private capital coordinated from Washington.

The current rise of the WACL is associated with the name of its chairman, John Singlaub, a retired Pentagon general. During the US aggression in Vietnam he commanded the special units and earned a reputation of an expert in "non-traditional methods of warfare". In 1984 the US reactionaries appointed Singlaub head of WACL, one of the largest anti-communist organisations, with the clear intention of urging it to shift gears from propaganda and ideological actions to subversion and armed provocations. The WACL has been reorganised into a channel for supplying financial aid and arms provisions to various splinter groupings and terrorist bands.

According to the *New Republic* magazine, Singlaub provided liaison between the top administration and the "league" and came to play an important role in implementing the doctrine of aid to anti-communist forces in the Third World. Singlaub, writes the magazine, is in the centre of a network of private aid to the rebel organisations which is closely linked with the White House. In the last two years these activists from private organisations have been raising funds to assist in tactical combat training and send various materials, ammunition and arms to a new generation of the USA's allies in the Third World.

The main thrust of the Dallas conference was also to drum up more "private donations". A world fund-raising for the resistance movement was announced. Marshalling all the resources of the imperialist world to take its "social revenge" on socialism, Washington calls under its banners all WACL-type organisations that formerly could not dream of being in such favour with the US Administration.

Imperialist US quarters have never refused shelter and aid to reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries of every stripe. Today, however, relations with them have taken on quite a new character. They have been elevated to the rank of "friendship". The "friendship" is but a screen for the self-same tactics of US imperialism—to make other its cat's paws, to use them as cannon fodder in "local wars", counter-revolutionary mutinies, anti-communist actions by mercenaries, puppets and other enemies of their peoples.

Herein lies the main reason for the sudden outburst of "friendly feelings" for various social outcasts who have found themselves in the dustbin of history.

V. NIKOLAYEV

TNC CRIMES IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

A year ago, an appalling disaster broke out in the Indian town of Bhopal, where poison gas escaped from one of the three underground storage tanks at a plant belonging to an affiliate of the US corporation Union Carbide. Over 2,500 Indians died as a result, and tens of thousands were badly poisoned.

The Bhopal disaster was no accident, but a real massacre. One could recall that poison gas stored at the factory had already taken a toll of innocent lives: Indians had died on at least three previous occasions.

It is quite obvious that the Union Carbide management had done nothing to improve safety measures, for the outlays on such measures would, have an adverse effect on the corporation's profits.

The Bhopal disaster, caused by a leakage of poison gas at a US enterprise, showed the cynicism of the Western propaganda thesis on TNC "aid" to the developing countries. The poisonous cloud spreading out from the Union Carbide plant left nothing of that lie. It is common knowledge that the TNCs now control roughly 40 per cent of industrial production and 50 per cent of foreign trade in the developing world. That "aid", however, results in unprecedented plunder. According to the West German *Unzere Zeit*, in 1983 the industrialised Western countries paid out DM 27,500 million worth of "aid"; that same year, these countries, and the TNCs first and foremost, received DM 150,000 million worth of interest on earlier loans from non-oil-exporting developing states alone.

As they plunder the developing world, transnational corporations like Union Carbide will not stop at actual murder. And when the Western mass media assert that such a disaster as the one at Bhopal is possible only in the developing countries, which allegedly pay no attention to safety measures, that "explanation" is a cheap but nevertheless dangerous lie. It is not the developing countries that economise on safety measures, but the TNCs that control these countries' industry and bear responsibility for their enterprises. The Bhopal tragedy proves that the US monopolies couldn't care less about the health of the workers and the population. As a Union Carbide spokesman declared after the tragedy, the company's activities at Bhopal were no different from its activities elsewhere.

The appalling disaster brought upon India by the US chemical octopus has naturally caused concern in other developing countries where Union Carbide and other TNCs also operate in quest of profit. In Brazil, for instance, a new tide of condemnation swelled up against the US TNCs which had used the Tordon-101 herbicide in the Amazon River basin. Chairman of Brazil's Bar Association Mario Sergio Duarte strongly condemned the use of defoliants in the state of Pará during the building of an electric power line, as a result of which more than 7,000 local inhabitants were poisoned or died.

Mexican public opinion has for many years now sounded the alarm over the sway in the country's economy of US chemical companies, which keep polluting the country's waters with toxic industrial waste. For that

purpose, they operate a whole flotilla of specially equipped vessels, for it is not a matter of kilograms, but hundreds of thousands of tons of waste.

A real storm of protest was raised by a report of the Bonn correspondent of the newspaper *O Dia* that two West German firms, Hoechst and Bayer, whose affiliates operate in Mexico on a large scale, have been selling on the Mexican market a number of drugs whose sale is banned in West Germany, for these present a health hazard. In their drive for super-profits, the paper wrote, the transnationals neglect safety measures and evade responsibility for the crimes, subjecting millions of people to monstrous exploitation. Profit and gain for them far outweigh human life.

In early 1985 a similar scandal broke out in the Philippines, where hundreds of kilograms of drugs presented by American TNC "benefactors" had to be stacked and burnt. It turned out that their shelf life had run out two or three years before. Following numerous reports that these drugs had caused poisoning of people taking them, the authorities were obliged to burn up the gift. Philippine Member of Parliament Antonio Diaz declared that the US gift of drugs to the Philippines was a "major swindle aimed at winning the favour of the Philippine people, although in the USA itself these drugs are banned even for treating animals". Moreover, as it later turned out, the drugs had been "granted" to the Philippines only after the US authorities had banned their use in the USA.

These facts show very well that the Western monopolies have been trying to use the difficulties faced by the young states for their own selfish purposes. With that aim in view, for instance, the TNCs have been selling them obsolete technology and hedging its sale with numerous restrictions and stipulations. More often than not, such technology fails to meet safety standards, to protect the workers' health and life. Speculating on the immense unemployment problem facing the young states and, in consequence, on their striving to raise employment, the TNCs pressure them into agreeing to the location on their territory primarily of ecologically harmful industries.

Such "dirty" industries are known to be highly dangerous both for nature and for man. Besides, they require large tracts of land and use up a lot of energy and fresh water, whose high cost in the developing countries pushes up production costs. Wages at TNC enterprises in the developing countries are 50 to 75 per cent lower than in the industrialised states (sometimes dropping to as low as one-tenth), and the rate of profit is correspondingly higher. One dollar invested in the developing countries by the Western monopolies often yields a profit of three to four dollars. It is only natural that in their attempts to consolidate these advantages the TNCs have been neglecting elementary safety regulations, economising on waste-disposal systems, and directly violating government decisions of environmental protection.

A point to note is that in signing contracts with the developing countries the TNCs usually make the choice of technology on their own account. Moreover, these contracts always stipulate that the production methods used are a business secret. That often leads to dire consequences, for the government of the host country has no information on the technology involved, on how precisely it pollutes the environment. As a result, it cannot even adopt legislation to limit its harmful impact.

Thus, the African press reported a powerful explosion at the Nigerian oil fields of the Texaco Overseas Co., which is an affiliate of the US Texaco. More than 400,000 barrels of oil spread out across the Niger delta, reaching 320 villages with 230,000 inhabitants. Many of them have since been suffering from diseases caused by oil affecting their eyes, skin, and sometimes their digestive system. The unprecedented pollution has done

immense damage to the economy and natural environment of the country's eastern provinces.

Accidents at oil installations in the developing countries are not unusual, for the foreign monopolies operating there neglect to install safety devices which would rule out oil blow-outs. Idolising profit, they care nothing about the harm being done by their activities to the nature and population of the states that have become the targets of their plunderous exploitation. The oil transnationals usually "skim" the oil fields, extracting only 15 to 20 per cent of the oil and burning up or discarding casing-head gas. The attempts to stop such barbarous pollution of nature meet with resistance on the part of the Western monopolies, unless that yields them additional profit.

The oil monopolies have an adverse effect on the environment of the developing countries not only in the extraction and refinement of oil, but also in the course of its delivery. Tanker accidents result in oil slicks on the surface of the ocean, which decimate marine plants and animals and impair fishing in the area. Meanwhile, fishing is one of the main sources of livelihood in the coastal states, and the consumption of marine products poisoned by toxic substances undermines human health. The problem is particularly grave in the countries of Eastern Africa, for three-quarters of the oil bought by the West in the Middle East is shipped along their coasts.

The Western corporations do a great deal of harm not only as a result of accidents, but also in the course of their basic activities. Since the developing countries have virtually no imports restrictions or regulations, the TNCs often supply them with low-grade goods, including farm chemicals, which, instead of raising crop yields, lead to totally different results.

As soon as goods are labelled for export, writes the London magazine *New African*, all the restrictions and controls operating in Europe are swept aside, and it is now up to the buyer himself to watch out that he is not swindled. Many dangerous chemicals whose use is banned in the USA and Europe are exported to the developing countries. It has come to light, for instance, that chemical fertilizers falsely labelled and packed as patented products may either contain the wrong active ingredient or be adulterated with chalk. As a result, farmers come to mistrust agricultural chemicals and are reluctant to waste their hard-earned money on crop spraying.

For instance, Kenya paid a Dutch company \$1 million for 125 tons of a fungicide patented by the Chevron company. The fungicide was meant to fight a coffee disease, but turned out to be ineffective. As a result, Kenya's whole crop of coffee—its major foreign-exchange earner—was put in jeopardy. The Kenyan Ministry of Agriculture believes that coffee output has gone down by 7 to 8 per cent because of the use of the wrong agrochemicals.

The tragic consequences of the use of farm chemicals produced by affiliates of US concerns in Brazil were reported by the Brazilian *Journal do Pais*. In particular, a heightened incidence of cancer, hormonal disturbances, leukaemia, and mental deficiency in children has been recorded in recent years among the farmers of the Brazilian states of Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul.

According to a study carried out by the Brazilian researcher Mauro Castro Faria of Rio de Janeiro State University, agrochemicals based on phosphates, carbonates and chlorine have the gravest effect on the human organism. It has been established that such an agrochemical (DDT) produced by the US concern Dow Chemical caused many sudden deaths among the farmers, for once it is within the human body it leads to full paralysis of the nervous system.

In speaking of the activities of Dow Chemical in Brazil, one is bound to recall the testing of highly toxic agents in the Amazon River rain forests, staged by that firm together with the Pentagon. A report by Elisário Couto Bastos, professor of toxicology and head of the criminal law institute in the State of Pará, shows the scale of these inhuman "experiments". The professor believes that use was made there of Agent Orange and White Agent, which not only destroy the foliage of trees and shrubs, but also lead to loss of human life.

Another expert, Sebastião Reginaldo da Silva Pinhero, notes that chemical agents whose composition "has yet to be determined" have been used in the Tocantins River area. A mysterious "white powder" was added to the herbicide Tordon-101, which resulted in a toxic contamination of the soil, waters and plants used for food by human beings and animals. A secret letter by Paulo Nogueira Neto, Secretary of Brazil's Special Environmental Protection Committee, divulged to the public, also indicates the use of highly toxic chemicals in the Tucuruí area. Noting that the use of highly toxic defoliants amounts to an "experiment" in destroying foliage in the Amazon River basin, he compared its effects with those of an atomic bomb.

In Asia and Oceania, the TNCs annually destroy 1.8 million hectares of forest, and in Africa (in the Ivory Coast alone) 400,000 hectares. Ecology experts believe that, if that tendency persists, all rain forests in the Ivory Coast will totally disappear by the end of the present decade. Forests in the Philippines and Malaysia could also disappear by the end of the century or even earlier.

The fact that African forests have been shrinking rapidly could have grave ecological consequences for the continent, declared Adebayo Adedeji, Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). At present, he said, four million hectares of vegetation is being annually destroyed in Africa. It has been estimated that if the uncontrolled deforestation is not brought to an end, in another 15 years or so at least nine states of the continent could be left without any forests at all. Such deforestation has already turned once luxuriant lands into near-deserts, rivers have dried up, soil fertility has fallen, and wildlife is dying out. Such a large-scale destruction of the environment, the ECA official noted, is closely tied in with the declining productivity of the agrarian sector in many African countries and, in consequence, with an overall worsening of their socio-economic position.

Special mention should be made of "desertification", which has been claiming ever new fertile areas in Asia and Africa. Every year, 20 million hectares of land are lost to agriculture. That entails potential losses in produce totalling over \$25,000 million, which equals the annual amount of Western "aid" to the developing countries. One-fifth of all the irrigated lands, which provide means of subsistence for 80 million people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are under threat of silting and degradation.

The "desertification" is largely due to the reckless activities of the TNCs aimed at an intensive production of export crops. The desert keeps making inroads upon once arable lands. Photographs taken from satellites and agrometeorological research show that over the past few years the "green belt" bordering on the Sahara Desert, the world's largest desert, has shifted 150 to 200 kilometres to the south.

Of course, the onset of the desert is due to diverse factors, but one thing is certain: the main cause is the reckless activity of the Western TNCs in the intensive cultivation of export crops. The soil is depleted, and ploughland and pastures give way to deserts.

These crimes naturally arouse anger and indignation among broad public strata in the developing world, which urge their governments in

ever more resolute terms to protect them from such pernicious activities by the Western monopolies. What are the forms and methods of the struggle against TNC abuses? A major role here, experts believe, belongs to strict control over monopoly activity by the appropriate agencies of the newly free states and to international decisions, primarily the "code of conduct" for the TNCs. The Western countries, however, have been dragging their feet on the adoption of that code within the UN framework, seeking to emasculate it and turn it into a leverage for imposing obligations on the national governments. In these conditions, the progressive forces of Asian, African and Latin American countries see the way out in a consistent struggle against TNC domination on a national and international level, in deeper regional economic ties and broader equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation with the socialist countries.

A. GOLIKOV

AFGHANISTAN: TRUTH AGAINST LIE

People's power in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is emerging and consolidating in a complicated situation. International imperialism and the forces of regional reaction, which are furnishing multifarious aid to local counter-revolution—above all with arms and money—are waging an undeclared war against the young republic. Furthermore, the enemies of the Afghan revolution are engaged in unbridled “psychological warfare” against the DRA, having chosen as the main weapon the dirtiest of lies so as to denigrate Democratic Afghanistan and its friends before world public opinion.

An active role in the unveiling of these lies is played by the DRA mass media, which get at the heart of the reasons for the aggression unleashed against the Afghan people and show the methods by which it is perpetrated. An example of this are the mass editions published of late in Kabul.

The DRA Foreign Ministry has put out the third (revised and enlarged) edition of a collection of documents and materials about the armed intervention and other forms of interference in Afghanistan's affairs, entitled *Undeclared War*.¹ As its compilers note, the book is based on information provided by competent Afghan bodies, including the army command and the security organs. In many instances the authors use testimonies received from captured dushmans and foreign mercenaries. Part of the information is taken from the world press.

The book convincingly shows that the very goal of the April national democratic revolution—the building, under the guidance of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, of a genuinely democratic society, as well as the country's fall from the orbit of the West—has evoked enmity and annoyance in imperialist quarters, in the USA first and foremost. In a bid to take revenge, the USA-led forces of imperialism and reaction have unleashed an undeclared war against the DRA. This, specifically, is confirmed by the memorandum of the US Central Intelligence Agency of September 1983 which advances the goal of “using the situation which has emerged in South-West Asia for inflicting ever greater political and economic damage on the Soviet Union and for destabilising Babrak Karmal's regime and isolating it in the international arena” (p. 34).

The authors of the memorandum recommended to their government to continue its backing of Afghan counter-revolution and particularly to supply it with modern anti-aircraft and anti-tank weapons. In addition, the CIA has set about additional hiring of secret agents from the emigre rabble that has entrenched itself in the West, and also in Pakistan (which has been turned into the main outpost of armed intervention and subversion against revolutionary Afghanistan) and in Iran. This is fully corroborated by the testimony of captured leaders and members of fanatical

¹ *Undeclared War*, third revised and enlarged edition, Kabul, 1984.

bands of dushmans which perpetrate bloody crimes against the civilian Afghan population, sparing neither old people, women or children.

The authors of the collection note that the only road to a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan is a political one, specifically, direct talks above all with Pakistan and Iran. "The April Revolution," the book stressed, "is irreversible and marches forward from one victory to another. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will not alter its correct and principled position. The Islamabad and Teheran rulers had better not sacrifice the interests of their peoples at the altar of the strategic designs of US imperialism" (p. 76).

The generalising material of the collection is supplemented in publications containing numerous pieces of evidence of the dushmans' atrocities, specifically, in the book *Enemies' Grim Faces Unveiled*.² It features genuine documents seized from the bandits which reveal their crimes and show their real intentions and *modi operandi*, their close ties with official institutions of the USA and its NATO allies. For example, Hajee Gula Jan, one of the members of the leadership of the Islamic Union of Mujaheddins of Afghanistan headquartered in Pakistan, informs the "Honorable Ambassador of the United States of America" of the safe arrival of American Major Charles Peeter at the bandits' lair in the Panjsher Valley on Afghan territory. Hajee Gula Jan goes on to pose the question of the sending of a new military expert to Panjsher. A letter of February 25, 1984 addressed to the French Ambassador to Pakistan mentions a readiness to receive "guests" in Afghanistan "to watch the Holy War there" and at the same time reports the arrival of five French physicians. These and many other documents incontrovertably attest to the aid being rendered by the USA and other capitalist countries to the dushman bands, without which the latter would quickly suffer defeat.

Convincing factual material is also adduced in the book *CIA Agents Expose Their Crimes in DRA*.³ It consists of statements made at press conferences given by Pakistani, Iranian and Turkish spies in the American imperialists' employ who had been arrested by the Afghan security organs. A certain Sharif, a native of Iran, taught at a university, combining this activity with work having nothing to do with instruction. Specifically, he had been charged to leave for the DRA to collect intelligence about its armed forces and also "materials" for provocative aims—to show the spurious interference of Afghanistan in Iran's internal affairs. He had been infiltrated into the DRA with the aid of a dushman band, but he was arrested before he could carry out his assignment (pp. 3-7).

Unlike the Iranian, Zulfiqar Hyder, an inhabitant of the town of Peshawar, was an agent of Pakistani intelligence. Together with three Afghan bandits he sneaked into Kunar Province, then returned to Pakistan and reported the situation in this province to his chiefs. He was soon ordered back to the DRA, this time to collect information about the sentiments among the people, the country's armed forces, the location of military units, and types of weapons. The spy first made his way to Jalalabad, and from there to Kabul, where he was supposed to meet with other Pakistani spies and obtain their reports. But he was arrested the next day (pp. 7-11).

Whereas Hyder was working chiefly for the intelligence organs of Pakistan, which are closely tied up with the US special services, Torgit Ozel, a Turkish citizen, was a direct agent of the CIA. He had been assigned to infiltrate North Afghanistan to instigate the local Turkmens and Uzbeks into action against the people's power, and also to collect information of interest to the CIA concerning the dislocation of Soviet military

² *Enemies' Grim Faces Unveiled*, Kabul, 1984.

³ *CIA Agents Expose Their Crimes in DRA*, Kabul, 1984.

units and detachments of the Afghan army, including the photographing of military installations. However, Torgit Ozel was unable to carry out his assignment, as he was arrested 15 days later (pp. 11-14).

Alongside these "traditional" techniques of the imperialists, which they are widely using against Afghanistan, the USA has made an attempt to employ monstrous chemical weapons there, having attributed this to the Soviet armed contingent. The truth behind this large-scale provocation is graphically revealed in the book *Chemical Weapon: Who Resorts to Its Use?*.⁴ It is noted in the foreword that in 1981 units of the Afghan army, during an engagement with a dushman band, seized American-made CS chemical bombs. That same year another unit seized a CE chemical bomb, which also bore the trade mark SSMP-7 and the inscription "Made in USA" (p. 3).

Genuine documents of the bandit leaders are also highly telling in this respect. For example, in January 1984 Sayed Ahmad Gailani, the leader of the National Islamic Front, wrote from Peshawar to his henchmen in circular No. 29126: "The poisoning chemical substances, sent to you must be used very carefully, i. e. the time of usage during the operation must be chosen carefully not to harm our Mujahiddins, and in case of improper weather conditions, it is better to leave the place of operation. Afterwards send all the poisoned people to Peshawar as soon as possible for the propaganda purposes" (p. 8). Commentary here is superfluous, as the document eloquently speaks for itself.

No less convincing is the letter sent by the Commander of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan to his subordinate, Farouq Mansour, in the Logar Province in March 1984. In it he clearly states: "You are aware that in these days a large number of modern weapons such as different types of cannons, heavy machine guns.... and poisoning chemical grenades were sent to the Islamic Party of Afghanistan by the international friends." To train the bandits how to use them the order was issued to send to Peshawar as soon as possible from three to five persons from each committee and, if need be, from each detachment. The authors adduce other documents also vividly attesting to the atrocities committed by the USA and its henchmen who, in violation of the international conventions on the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons, have set about using them in the undeclared war against the Afghan people.

The publications mentioned above and others like it are instructive, document-based writings which draw on facts to unveil the criminal goals and actions of the perpetrators of the large-scale intervention against the DRA. However, these publications again attest to the vigilance and heroism of the bodies of people's power in the stubborn struggle to repel the imperialists' incursions into the country which is working towards genuine freedom and social progress.

M. ARUNOVA

⁴ *Chemical Weapon: Who Resorts to Its Use?*, Kabul, 1984.

New Books on Cuba

V. K. Vladimirov, *Cuba's Role in Inter-American Relations*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya Publishers, 1984, 304 pp. (in Russian).
The Republic of Cuba, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984, 336 pp. (in Russian).

The high interest shown towards the Republic of Cuba in the Soviet Union is mirrored in the enormous number of books published in this country on the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere. Understandably enough, Soviet people have an especially warm spot in their hearts for Cuba, and admire the staunchness and heroism of its freedom-loving population who overthrew the pro-American regime of General Batista 27 years ago and launched progressive socio-economic reforms under extremely difficult conditions, scoring unprecedented achievements in the building of socialism within a short period of time and winning for their country broad recognition on the international scene.

The two monographs we are reviewing are a noteworthy addition to the body of literature written on Cuba's home and foreign policies. The first of them looks at the role Cuba has been playing in inter-American relations since the early 19th century, and the second offers an all-round overview of the republic's development following the revolution of January 1, 1959.

In the closing years of the last century, Lenin called Cuba one of the first victims of imperialist wars of aggrandisement waged for a reearving of the world, and the prey of the US monopolies' expansionist policies. That was when the US was making inroads into all fields of the island's social life in an attempt to annex it. Although Cuba received formal independence from the Spanish crown in May 1902, it remained a colony--of the USA this time. Looking back at this period of his nation's history, Fidel Castro said that Cuba was, without a doubt, under US domination more than any other country in Latin America, not counting Puerto Rico. Indeed, just prior to the 1959 revolution US capitalists controlled 80 per cent of the Cuban service industries, 90 per cent of the mines, 90 per cent of the dairy farms, and 40 per cent of the sugar industry, while three of the US companies held 150 per cent more land than 62,000 of Cuban peasants (*Cuba's Role in International Relations*, pp. 55-56).

The Cuban revolution was not only a turning point in the destinies of the island's population but produced a strong revolutionising effect on Latin America as a whole. The building of a new society was, however, plagued by many problems, the most serious of which was the heavy legacy left by the US puppet Batista who had eventually turned the country into a US agricultural backyard; the country lacked skilled work force, equipment and finances, and was reeling from the US aggressive policies. The following figures are cited in *The Republic of Cuba* to illustrate the harm the USA has inflicted upon Cuba: the material damage the country's economy sustained as a result of the US economic blockade between October 1960 and 1982 runs into more than \$ 9,000 million and the economic losses at the hands of Washington-nurtured counter-revolutionaries nearly hit \$ 1,000 million (pp. 31 and 33).

Aware of the influence the Cuban revolution could have on other countries of the Western Hemisphere, the USA launched a drive to isolate the republic politically. Under erude pressure from the White House, the Organisation of American States (OAS) voted to exclude Cuba from its ranks, most Latin American countries, except Mexico, being compelled to break diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Despite economic and political problems created by imperialism, the revolutionary republic has made significant headway in developing its industry and agriculture and in overhauling its economy on planned principles, in reinforcing the socio-class fabric and political foundations of society, and in raising the population's living standards through the devoted efforts of the Cubans themselves and thanks to the fraternal assistance the republic has been receiving from the USSR and other socialist countries.

Between 1960 and 1982, over 240 economic projects, many of them essential for the growth of individual industries and the national economy as a whole, were built in Cuba with Soviet economic and technological assistance. The republic became a full-fledged member of the Council for Mutual Economic

Assistance, and its trade with the other CMEA members grew nearly 40 times over in this period (*ibid.*, pp. 203-204, 209).

Cuba's prestige has grown considerably in the world, especially in Latin America. The republic's uncompromising foreign policy and active opposition to imperialist aggression and the ill-famed concept of "Pan-American solidarity" preached by the White House to the other countries of the continent to induce them to toe the US line finally brought to the recall of the anti-Cuban resolutions by the OAS in 1975. By the end of the 1970s, 17 Latin American and Caribbean countries restored diplomatic and consular relations with Cuba (*Cuba's Role*, p. 283).

Although it is easy to understand the authors' preoccupation with the Cuban-American relations, both monographs would, in our view, be more successful in achieving their aims had the authors provided a more thorough-going analysis of Cuba's political, and especially economic, relations with Latin American countries. Indeed, this is an issue that deserves treatment in a separate chapter in *The Republic of Cuba*.

After a short-lived thaw in the Cuban-American relations in the mid-1970, the United States has again turned towards an across-the-board confrontation with Cuba. Since the first days of the present US Administration, Vladimirov emphasises, "all that Ha-

vana has been hearing are threats, intimidation and promise of revenge for Cuba's alleged intervention in the Central American people's fight for liberation" (*ibid.*, p. 261).

Cuba's leaders are countering the US Administration's malicious attacks with patience and political maturity. While it is warding off imperialist forays, the republic is rallying all progressive forces in Latin America to battle against the United States' expansionist policies and for a revision of the lop-sided economic relations between the region's countries and their North American neighbour. The most recent example of Cuba's activity are its initiatives aimed at resolving the problems of the colossal national debt owed by Latin American countries to foreign creditors. The Cuban leaders' presentations that the continent's states cannot repay the debt imposed on them by imperialism are provoking open irritation and fits of anti-Cuban hysteria at the White House.

A country that has staunchly repelled imperialism's aggressive designs for 27 years, Cuba is ready to give a fitting rebuff to Washington's anti-Cuban sallies—it knows that it can rely on help from the Soviet Union, other countries of the socialist community, and all progressive mankind.

S. ISKENDEROV

Building Developed Socialism

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984, 320 pp. (in Russian).

This monograph has been prepared by a group of researchers with the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System for the 40th anniversary of the conclusion of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. It forms a sequel to a book of the same title put out by Nauka Publishers in 1975. The relevance and scientific worth of the new monograph stem from the fact that it is, in effect, the first attempt in the Soviet Union to present a generalised analysis of socio-economic and political development of Czechoslovakia at the present stage of the building of developed socialism.

The foundations of socialism were laid in Czechoslovakia at the turn of the 1950s and the 1960s. By that time the material and technical base of socialism had been built and the socialist economic system had become prevalent; the basic framework of the socialist state and the political system, the systems of education, science and culture had been creat-

ed; and decisive changes had taken place in the social class structure of society. The experience acquired by the peoples of Czechoslovakia in creating a new system was patent proof that the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the laws of building socialism fully applied to an industrialised country that had embarked on the road of socialist transformations.

The authors believe that a new stage in the development of Czechoslovak society began in the early 1970s when the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (1971) put forward policy-making principles. That Congress, notes the book, formulated the general line for the building of developed socialism in Czechoslovakia that envisaged concrete political, economic and social measures geared to the following main goals: 1) enhancing the socialist system in the country, the power of the working people led by the working class, strengthening the leading role of the Communist Party, its Marxist-Leninist cohesion and unity with the

people; 2) cementing the socialist foundations of Czechoslovak society, i. e. the production and social relations and further development of socialist democracy; 3) developing and modernising the material and technical base of production, making the whole economy more effective in order to raise the material and cultural standards of the people; 4) expanding the promotion of education, science, and culture and the forming of a new socialist type of individual; 5) consistently struggling for peace and social progress in the world. Since the 14th CPC Congress the general line for building a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia is the main underpinning both of the CPC policy and the activity of all the institutions and organisations of the country's political system.

The 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia stressed that the relations of fraternal cooperation, friendship and a firm alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries provided a solid foundation for the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia and the main guarantee of the freedom, independence and socialist development of that nation.

The implementation and validity of the general line of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which provided a long-term and comprehensive programme, were closely reviewed at the 15th (1976) and 16th (1981) Congresses of the Party and the Plenary Meetings of the CPC Central Committee. The 16th CPC Congress stressed that "there is no need to change anything in this political line and we have not departed from it in anyway. *The general line for the building of developed socialist society remains in force*" [my italics.—Yu. G.].

During the 1970s and early 1980s the realisation of this general line of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has further strengthened the socialist system, the alliance of the working class, the farmers organised in cooperatives, the intelligentsia, and deepened the unity of all nationalities and all the Czechoslovak people. The friendship and alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal countries grew stronger.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, write the authors of the book, proceeds from the assumption that the building of developed socialism requires a still greater role of the Party in all areas of life in Czechoslovakia, more effective political, organisational and ideological Party work, stronger ideological unity and improved quality of its membership. The book reviews the activities aimed at solving that task, drawing on a large number of documents of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and works of Czechoslovak

authors many of which are presented to the Soviet readers for the first time.

The book pays much attention to the problems of creating the economy of developed socialism that are relevant not only to Czechoslovakia but to all other fraternal countries. These include the tasks of intensifying social production, the policy in upgrading the structure of industrial production, agriculture, improvement of economic management, and so on. The social policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia at the present stage of developed socialist society comes in for thorough analysis.

The policy of Czechoslovakia in foreign economic ties, note the authors, gives priority to economic relations with the socialist community countries, primarily with the Soviet Union, and to all-round development of economic ties with the states of a different socio-economic system, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. The recent Congresses of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia have urged a greater involvement of the country's economy in the international, especially socialist, division of labour which meets the objective needs of economic development. The book notes some progress in that area.

While noting the merits of the new study, something must be said about its shortcomings. In our view, the monograph fails to take account of the growing role of the mass media and also the role of the Socialist Academy of Czechoslovakia, in tackling the problems of building developed socialist society. Their significance in modern Czechoslovakia is very great, as was noted at the 14th, 15th and 16th Congresses of the Czechoslovak Communists and in the resolutions of a number of Plenary Meetings of the Party's Central Committee over that period.

The monograph barely mentions active participation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Party of the Slovak Revival and the Slovak Freedom Party in the activity of the National Front of Czechoslovakia (p. 81). In our view, the activities of these parties merit more detailed study.

The chapter on the main directions of the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia in the 1970s and early 1980s is somewhat schematic. This and some other shortcomings do not detract from the scientific and practical value of the publication of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences which contributes to the study of the processes of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia.

Yu. GALANIN

The Arms Race Threatens the Environment

A. M. Vavilov, *Ecological Consequences of the Arms Race*, Moscow
Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1984, 176 pp.

Modern civilisation has reached the stage where economic activities infrequently produce detrimental environmental changes. The military activities of the states are especially destructive ecologically. The book under review points out that the arms race, accompanied by the unabating mistrust and tension between states, creates a negative psychological climate, thereby hindering international cooperation in environmental protection, which depends on concerted efforts of all states possibly to a much greater extent than in other fields (p. 4).

The author examines in detail possible ecological aftermaths of a nuclear war, which, he said, would far exceed all the ecological disasters of the past; it would mean the destruction of man as a biological species. In this respect, the programmes of "supplementary arming" carried into life by the US Administration and its plans for turning outer space into a field of military rivalry are fraught with particular danger. That is why the struggle led by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for averting a nuclear danger and preventing the militarisation of outer space is, in fact, a fight for the preservation of life on this planet.

The author pays particular attention to the prohibition of a so-called ecological war, that is, a war involving the wilful change of ecological equilibrium and the destruction of the environment for political and military ends.

History abounds in sombre examples of such "military actions". It is appropriate to recall here the US aggression in Indochina. Suffice it to say that over that period the Americans exploded three times more bombs and shells, including those intended to destroy the flora, than throughout the Second World War. More than 100,000 tons of toxic substances were spread for military purposes over an area of two million hectares in Vietnam. Besides, the American military unremit-

tently destroyed forests with heavy-duty ploughs, caused artificial downpours leading to floods, and resorted to other means of modifying the environment.

The unmasking of the secret ecological war waged by the USA in Indochina caused an uproar throughout the world. The imperative task today is to prohibit, on an international legal basis, wars inflicting tremendous damage to the nature. A special chapter of the book traces initially Soviet-American talks and, later on, multilateral negotiations on the prohibition of military use of environmental modification techniques, which were first proposed by the Soviet Union. Moreover, the book provides a critical assessment of the American approach to the talks, and thoroughly examines the positions of other parties on this score.

It required the Soviet Union's unremitting persistency and readiness for compromises to achieve accord in this field. As a result of protracted negotiations a Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques (the Enmod Convention) was signed on May 18, 1977, and came into force on October 5, 1978.

The conference on the Convention confirmed the validity of this document of international law. It also noted that over more than five years since the Convention came into force there has not been a single recorded case of its violation.

However, the environment is still under threat which is growing, what with the imperialist circles stepping up the arms race. This situation calls for firm and resolute actions to be taken by all peaceloving forces. "The attainment of the humane goal of eliminating ecological disasters, the conservation of the environment for future generations," concludes the author, "can be accomplished only in conditions of mutual trust, good-neighbourly relations between states, a bridled arms race,

decreased danger of war, and transition to disarmament" (p. 168).

The author has not covered all the aspects of the problems in detail, nevertheless this

book will draw attention of a wide readership.

K. YURIN

The Origins of Aggressive American Policy

Igor Pavlov, *America's Turbulent Years, Documentary Essays on US Domestic Realities and Foreign Policy in the 1970s and 1980s*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, 356 pp. (in Russian).

The 1970s and the first half of the 1980s in the United States were the times when all the contradictions of American society—economic, political and ideological—reached their peak. This objective process revealed itself in the growing instability of the American domestic and foreign policy of the USA, in the ruling elite's feverish attempts to overcome the "period of crises", and in the sharpening of social conflicts. As Igor Pavlov's book points out, one of the main reasons behind the crisis of US capitalism is the growing gap between the real state of things in the world and the increasing ambitions of the American rulers, who pretend to world leadership.

In the field of domestic policy this period was marked by the monopolies' assault on the rights and gains of the American working people and the suppression of all "heresies" in the country. The entire mechanism of state-monopoly controls started to crumble. In order to increase military expenditure and enrich a handful of monopolies, the present Republican Administration, which came to power in 1981, adopted a policy of drastically cutting or totally scrapping some 250 socio-economic programmes, which resulted in growing social tension and an intensification of the workers' struggle against the oppression of the monopolies.

The decay of American capitalism is most revealingly expressed in its growing militarisation. In the last fifteen years successive administrations, have all made their contribution to whipping up military expenditure, the development of new types of

weapons and, consequently, the creation of an unprecedented threat to the very existence of human civilisation. Militarism, Pavlov points out, deprives Americans of enormous material resources (upwards of \$500 million a day), thus restricting possibilities for solving acute social problems. The arms race leads up a blind alley: it undermines the security of the United States and aggravates still further the deep crisis of American capitalism.

Igor Pavlov provides an insight into the reasons behind the inconsistent and contradictory foreign policy of the USA, and reveals its motive forces. The growing instability of US foreign policy in the 1970s and 1980s results not only from the deepening general crisis of American capitalism, but also from the distorted, if not morbid view some segments of monopoly capital hold of the main trends of world development that run counter to the interests of the United States as a major imperialist power.

The bankruptcy of the cold war policy, the failure of the aggression in Vietnam, and, most importantly, the collapse of the American strategy of achieving "military superiority" over the Soviet Union, the realisation by influential circles in the ruling elite that American global potential is limited and also other factors—all gave rise in the early 1970s to stronger realistic trends in Washington's foreign policy. However, at the turn of the 1980s, this line gave way to an openly reactionary and aggressive policy that prevailed in Washington with the advent of the present Administration.

Pavlov comes to the important conclusion that, given the existing military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, and between the Warsaw Treaty countries and NATO, Washington's aggressive foreign policy has no prospects and runs counter to the basic trends of world development. The legitimacy of this conclusion is supported by references to examples from history, in particular, to the collapse of German Nazism and Japanese militarism, which tried to establish a "new order" and subjugate other peoples, and by the failure of American leaders to establish Pax Americana in the postwar years.

In its attempt to justify adventurist US foreign policy the *Foreign Affairs* magazine wrote recently: "The optimist might argue that American policy has been like a drunk coming home from a bar. He may wander the path from time to time, and follow a circuitous and inefficient route, but the important point is that he eventually reaches home."¹

Aggressive American foreign policy has today become the main source of the threat of war in the world; it furthers active interference in the domestic affairs of other peoples and impedes humanity's advance along the road of progress. "The practice of the Reagan Administration," Pavlov writes, "gives good grounds for saying that the antagonism between imperialism and the vital interests of the peoples is reaching its highest point since the Second World War" (p. 242). This is the principal reason why this policy is doomed and the American leaders have no option but to start re-evaluating morals.

¹ *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 62, No. 4, Spring 1984, p. 861.

This complex research work by Igor Pavlov (I. P. Sevostyanov) into the problems of American domestic and foreign policy in their interdependence and interaction certainly adds a number of new tenets and conclusions to American studies in the USSR. On the other hand, the book would only have benefited had the following phenomena found reflection in it:

First, it should have shown the basic motives and specific content of the limited American participation in the process of detente in the 1970s. It was at that time that elements of a realistic approach revealed themselves in American foreign policy, which were in the best interests of the USA and helped mutually beneficial cooperation;

Secondly, the author should have analysed in more detail how, on the one hand, American foreign policy aggravates the crisis situation in the world and, on the other, the Soviet Union takes steps to prevent the tilting of the military-strategic balance in favour of imperialist "superiority" over socialism, and showed how these factors affect the development of international relations in the modern world.

As is known, these steps are backed up by the untiring diplomatic efforts of the Soviet Union aimed at normalising relations with the USA and returning them back to the road of detente. The qualitatively new round of Soviet-American talks which started recently in Geneva on space and nuclear weapons is yet more evidence of the fact that the USA is unable to impede the development and strengthening of realistic trends in world politics.

A. BORISOV

Weapons Will Not Kill Hope

F. Dyson, *Weapons and Hope*, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1984, 340 pp.

The author is a well-known US authority on theoretical physics and a professor who worked for a lengthy period of time as consultant for the US Defense Department and other military institutions in Washington.

During the Second World War F. Dyson served in the British Royal Air Force, and has since made the problems of war and peace the centreplece of his writings. In his previous book, *Disturbing the Universe*, and in

his more recent articles Dyson touches upon political, moral and ethical problems of the nuclear age and ponders ways of checking the arms race and warding off nuclear catastrophe.

Freeman Dyson voices in his latest book the American scientists' grave concern over the continuing arms race, especially the US Administration's plans to put weapons in space. The author's line of thought and many of his conclusions build up to a convincing case.

Freeman Dyson puts the problems of war and peace largely in the context of Soviet-American relations. He starts out from the assumption that the USA and the USSR do not need to think identically to survive in this world. "We need only to understand that it is possible to think differently and to respect each other's points of view" (p. 191).

This is all the more important, the author points out, because the quantitative and qualitative buildup of weapons has changed the atmosphere in the world to the extreme. Although Dyson does not fully share the "apocalyptic" views of some Western scholars on the outcome of a global nuclear war, he believes that a nuclear conflict may prove fatal for the planet Earth. The consequences of a nuclear exchange—huge fires, explosions, a pall of smoke and radioactive contamination—which are not difficult to predict even now with a fair degree of accuracy, would only be a "prelude" to the vast damage that could be inflicted upon man's habitat and that is nearly impossible to foresee. The recent attempts to construct a "nuclear winter" theory only provide a rough outline of the aftereffects of nuclear weapons used on the battlefield, whereas our ignorance of the character of nuclear war is much greater than is generally assumed, the author emphasises.

Freeman Dyson closely examines the political aspect of the arms race and the doctrines the USA is currently drawing up to justify the use of nuclear weapons. He levels a well-argued criticism against the "optimists" from among the bellicose US scientific community who claim that nuclear war is nothing to be afraid of, that America would be capable of surviving it, provided further war preparations are instigated. In the author's view, the concepts of a nuclear conflict being "admissible" might have an irreversible psychological effect on people—they might find themselves "adapting too well to the fighting of nuclear war", they might become "collectively insane" and this might lead to a "vicious circle of hatred and revenge". In the final analysis, this could make the threat of human beings completely wiped off the face of the earth quite probable (pp. 22-23).

Dyson makes a laudable attempt to portray the Soviet people's attitude to war and compare the underpinnings of Soviet and US strategic conceptions on the basis of his own impressions and observations of the Soviet Union. He disagrees with those spokesmen for the US military who assert that the Soviet military strategy is aggressive because it is allegedly based on the possibility of a

victory being won in a nuclear war. Dyson writes that both the Soviet leaders and the Soviet people as a whole are confident that they would administer a fitting rebuff to a potential adversary. Beginning with the Mongol invasion and ending with Hitler's aggression, the Russian people stood firm, preserving and strengthening their state. The Russians' attitude to war is not that of warriors but rather of people who have suffered much from foreign invasions. Be as it may, Soviet policy and strategy pose no "threat to American security" (p. 190).

The problem of space militarisation and analysis of the views of "star wars" advocates are the themes running all through the book. "Star wars" advocates have mounted a propaganda campaign in an effort to prove that conflicts fought in outer space are the next thing to a boon for mankind. "Warfare in space could become... a comparatively decent and humane method of settling political disputes. Space battles, like sea battles, would be fought by professional elites, with minimal damage to noncombatants. Even a few thousand megatons exploded here and there in deep space would be a harmless display of fireworks for the spectators on Earth..."

This is not, however, a mere play of imagination, the author writes. Militarisation of outer space is fraught with a new danger for the world—the arms race on earth is supplemented with a buildup of weapons—the ones intended to deliver a first strike—in outer space.

Looking into the principal scientific and technological aspects of the "strategic defense initiative" from the viewpoint of an expert, Dyson dismisses many of them, including the idea of a laser beam of high power capable of destroying land-based nuclear weapons, as technologically unfeasible at this stage. "A space-based antimissile system has many technical weaknesses"—It is "very vulnerable". Assessing the SDI potential, the author concludes: "So long as large [land-based or sea-based] missile forces exist and are not subject to severe political constraints, there is no technological magic by which space-based weaponry can disarm them" (p. 70).

In the chapter entitled "Diplomats", Freeman Dyson retraces the negotiations that have been held on disarmament in the post-war period, only to arrive at the following conclusion: in most instances agreements on arms limitations were torpedoed by the United States. This was the case when the USSR made its first attempt to reach an accord with the USA on an atomic weapons ban. In 1946, the USA responded with the Baruch Plan designed to reinforce the US atomic monopoly and, for this reason, totally unacceptable to the Soviet Union and other countries. The Soviet proposals, Dyson recalls, were "realistic", "more practical and more durable" than the Baruch Plan, yet the US government "was in no mood to examine carefully the merits of the Soviet proposal" (p. 172).

Dyson himself was invited as an expert to participate—directly or indirectly—in the

Soviet-American talks, and has every reason to write that the US diplomacy position was in most instances unreasonable. Most frequently, agreement was impossible because of the US side's immoderate demands for verification and inspection. This was, for example, the case with the 1963 nuclear test ban treaty, which was not extended to underground tests because of the US refusal on the plea that the verification measures were "inadequate". "The verifiability", Dyson points out, "is only one desirable, and not the most essential, of a satisfactory agreement." Giving priority to verification was, in effect, tantamount to legalisation of the "gathering of intelligence". Moreover, the author indicates, "too much verification gives rise to incessant false alarms", with the automatic devices registering phe-

nomena having nothing to do with those they are designed to monitor.

References to technicalities provided a pretext for the refusal by the US Senate to ratify the SALT-2 Treaty in 1979. "Once again, a reasonable treaty was nibbled to death by people raising small technical objections," the author concludes.

Dyson is concerned over the danger of weapons for mankind. Still, the book ends on a note of optimism: if we take responsible attitudes and launch a worldwide movement "to get rid of these weapons which in the long run endanger everybody and protect nobody", "then there is hope for us and our grandchildren" (p. 313).

Y. PIADYSHEVA

What Is Behind the "Grand Strategy of the Atlantic Alliance

H. Kissinger, H. Schmidt, J. Schlesinger, J. Francois-Poncet, E. Davignon,
Grand Strategy for the Western Alliance, Boulder—London, Westview Press,
 1984, 72 pp.

A heavy burden of problems facing the North Atlantic bloc lies on the shoulders of the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University, Washington, under the pattern of labour division among the think tanks in the USA. For more than twenty years now, the Center, which has retired diplomats, army officers and intelligence agents of top caliber as well as scientists and analysts on its payroll, has been arranging conferences and symposia to air views on the present and future of NATO. The conference held in Brussels in 1984 was followed up by a book which attracted interest largely because of the names on its cover, which include a former West German chancellor, former US secretaries and French ministers, and a vice-president of the European Economic Community. The authors set out to develop and discuss "a grand strategy for the Western alliance". The book could, of course, be classified as a so-called propaganda anthem of NATO, especially because US Senator Sam Nunn calls it "a vital and prospering European Community" in his foreword, and former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger considers it to be "one of the most successful alliances in history". The conferees could not, however, keep up their buoyant optimism for the public consumption.

In the view of Jean Francois-Poncet, former French Foreign Minister, the name

of the Brussels conference, "The Future of NATO and Global Security", is at variance with what the conferees actually discussed. A more accurate name he suggests for the conference would be "Atlantic Disagreement". To underscore his point, Francois-Poncet asserts: "It is obviously true that the transatlantic mood is bad; it is also true that we have a strange and uncomfortable feeling of drifting apart, in many fields, of Europe and the United States. And there is obviously great potential for disagreement in the future" (p. 57). Elsewhere in his paper, the French politician distances himself from the "Soviet military threat" myths which the US delegates were trying hardest to blow out of proportion. On his part, Senator Nunn deplored the "different" reaction to "Soviet threat" in Western Europe, and the fact that the governments of some NATO member countries were supporting the Soviet peace initiatives and were speaking out for defence, refusing to join US foreign trade sanctions.

Both Kissinger and Senator Nunn pounce upon the USA's NATO partners for what they call domestic weakness which is, they claim, "the Soviet assault on the postwar political balance in Europe".

In his analysis of the situation within the imperialist camp the former US Secretary of State voices his concern over the budgets of the capitalist powers which "came

under increasing public scrutiny and assault". In his words, "since the early 1970s, no strategic weapons system has been deployed in the United States without debilitating controversy and protracted delay". Today, more than ever before, the architects of the Atlantic policy are faced with a task of paramount importance—neutralising popular opposition to war plans and the arms race that swallow up a major portion of the budgets and to the NATO countries' common social strategy condemning the poor sections of their populations to "eke out amidst riches". Kissinger and other participants in the conference were vexed that the contemporary peace movement was obstructing NATO policies.

The US role in NATO has always been a sore problem for the alliance. Former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt conceded US leadership of the Alliance, with a few reservations, calling on Washington "to understand and to take into consideration... the strategic interests and views of the other NATO partners in North America and in Europe, as well as those of Japan" (pp. 30-31). In other words, Schmidt and other Atlantic politicians who share his views would like the USA to abandon its master-servant attitudes and consult its allies on all cardinal issues before pulling its partners down with it.

Helmut Schmidt and other West Europeans are particularly worried about the US budget deficit. The former Chancellor remarks ironically that if a country (he means the US) spends yearly \$ 200,000 million more than it earns, "this has to have some effect on its economy and employment figures" (p. 36). Also, he continued, it has fixed the highest loan interest rate "that the world has not seen since the birth of Christ". An unbiased observer, Schmidt concludes, will see that the high interest rate of US banks is behind the "depression" in Western Europe, South America and most of Asia.

The high interest rate and the overvalued dollar are drawing a heavy influx of foreign capital to the USA, helping, for the time being at least, to give new life to the US economy at the expense of others. The foreign capital attracted by the high interest rate provides, in large measure, the source, from which Washington finances its arms buildup. The continuing rivalry between the Western countries in the production and marketing of conventional weapons,

EEC Vice-President Etienne Davignon emphasises, dictates the need for interference by political leaders and adoption of political decisions. While calling for "practical cooperation" in this area among all Common Market members and the USA, Davignon insists that "cooperation" among arms manufacturers, coupled with other measures, must lessen "European psychological difficulties" (pp. 67, 71).

As was to be expected, the former US Defense Secretary and then Secretary of Energy, James Schlesinger, extolled the US contribution to the NATO defence effort, which does not stand comparison with what NATO gets from the US allies. He does not seem to be impressed by the fact that the West European countries place under NATO command some 40 per cent of their warships, 50 per cent of the aircraft, and 90 per cent of the manpower (p. 43). He demanded that the US allies increase their military spending, quite in line with the US imperialism's invariable policy of drawing the NATO countries into the arms race, including the one in outer space, as is evidenced by the Pentagon's efforts to get West Germany, Britain and other Western countries involved in research under the "strategic defense initiative". This must be seen as Washington's attempt to push forward its own economy and blunt the economic onslaught of its allies, who are crowding the Americans on the world markets.

There is every evidence, including the facts contained in the book under review, that despite all frictions now and then surfacing in NATO, the Western military alliance, which was set up to achieve aggressive objectives, is seeking ways to reduce and patch up the differences among its members. Hence the essence of the "grand strategy for the Western alliance" which envisages conducting a military policy and whipping up the arms race, although with a more equitable division of expenses and influence within the alliance, coordinating efforts against the USSR and other socialist countries and putting up a common front against antiwar movements. On closer scrutiny, therefore, the "grand strategy" leaves the United States' allies no choice save pulling chestnuts out of fire for US imperialism and sacrificing the West European countries' national interests.

I. KULKOV

Washington's Illegal Imperial Ambitions

M. M. Avakov, Y. M. Melnikov, Y. M. Rybakov et al., *US Flouting of international Law*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya Publishers, 1984, 200 pp. (in Russian).

The USA has always pursued its great-power policies by trampling upon the recognised principles and norms of international law. Today, too, Washington's disregard for any principles of interstate relations it does not like has become a major component of the US Administration's foreign policy. US attitudes to many international problems are surveyed from the political and juridical perspectives in the monograph written by a group of experts at the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

The authors set out to expose, first and foremost, US violations of the United Nations Charter, the basic international document of our time which proclaims, among other things, the principles of non-use of force in international relations. By armed interference in the internal affairs of other countries, such as Grenada and Nicaragua, by supporting Israel's expansionist policies in the Middle East, and assisting Afghan dushman gangs and Pol Pot hangmen the United States undermines general peace and security; it is working up the international situation to an explosive pitch.

The authors regard US attempts to block the development of normal economic relations between socialist countries and some Western countries as acts incompatible with the principles of respect for the sovereignty of states and their equality on the international scene. The rough pressure the USA is bringing to bear on its allies amounts to a breach of the sovereignty and economic independence of the European capitalist countries. According to the authors, "the economic war the USA has in recent years been waging against many countries of the world has developed symptoms of economic terrorism" (p. 165). A characteristic neglect for political and legal norms is revealed in the US Administration's contempt for international treaties to which the USA is a party, although honest compliance with the commitments a country assumes upon itself is among the underlying principles of modern international law. The US leaders, especially after the Republican Administration have assumed power, launched upon unilateral violations of numerous commitments in the political, economic, military, scientific, technological, cultural and other fields (pp. 52-56). This practice is used most frequently in respect of the agreements on arms limitations and disarmament, a problem that concerns

all mankind. Here, too, the USA has disrupted talks on the limitation of military activity in the Indian Ocean, on arms trade, antinissile systems, general and complete ban on nuclear weapons tests, and on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe (p. 60).

The authors convincingly show that the plans currently being drawn up in the USA to militarise outer space are unlawful and go against the letter and spirit of both the principles and norms of international law and provisions of the international space law which prohibit uses of outer space except for peaceful purposes.

The book provides instances of US disrespect for international law regulating the activity of states in the World Ocean. In the first place, this applies to the illegal operations of the US naval forces which are used by the US Administration for political blackmail and diktat in various areas of the globe, or for direct aggressive actions, as was the case in Lebanon and Libya.

International exchange of information is yet another field where the USA shows no deference to principles. While avoiding under different pretexts to be involved in cooperation on the basis of agreement, it is using the mass media to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and to launch ideological subversion against socialist nations in the worst spirit of "cold war".

In our view, the authors are not at their best throughout the book. For instance, they give less attention to the juridical aspects of the transnational corporations activities than they deserve, and Chapter 9 provides only a sketchy picture of the struggle that is being fought against "international terrorism". The book would be a good deal better had the authors dealt in more detail with US aggressive policies towards Nicaragua and given over a chapter to this theme.

These minor deficiencies do not detract from the value of the monograph. The authors' most important conclusion is that the campaign to compel the United States to strictly comply with the principles and norms of international law it has undertaken to observe is part of the struggle that is being waged for the peaceful future of our planet, and for the freedom and independence of nations.

Professor M. LAZAREV,
D. Sc. (Law)

Realities Underrated

S. Brown, *The Faces of Power. Constancy and Change in United States Foreign Policy from Truman to Reagan*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1983, XVI+672 pp.

Although Professor Seyom Brown is a prominent American politologist and teaches political science at Brandeis University, now he turns to history, analysing in a meticulous chronological order the foreign policies of US Presidents since the Second World War. The "faces of power" are the faces the alternating Democratic and Republican administrations present to the world, their common policies which he named "constancy". Not infrequently, his "faces of power" are painted with an apologetic brush, with the explicit intent of justifying the acts of aggression committed by various US administrations. However, his attempt to take a critical look at the postwar history of US diplomacy which, in the view of the liberal school of politology, passed up a realistic chance of adapting the country to present-day realities in the world evokes interest.

The author draws on a vast body of facts to show that the USA could have avoided many of the mishaps and failures in the international scene had not its foreign policy been moulded mostly by military power and had not the White House dealt with other countries basically, or even exceptionally in some instances, from positions of strength. In his view, the United States should pursue a foreign policy that upholds US "national interests" by reliance on peaceful cooperation with other states and "the willingness of each to act in accordance with the desires of the other", rather than staking on muscle (p. 1).

Particularly noteworthy is Brown's treatment of the last decade in international politics and Washington's "contribution" to it.

In the professor's view, James Carter's tenure (1977-1981) was a time of lost opportunities as regards the consolidation of the tenuous normalisation of international relations, including those between the USSR and the USA. He disowns the accusations hurled against the former President from the right that his Administration neglected the arms buildup and loathed power politics where it was most needed. Quite the opposite, the author notes, the Carter Administration lacked the political will to stand up to pressure from the rightist, militaristic wing of the American establishment that called for a tougher line towards the USSR.

Brown follows step by step the gradual erosion of positions of US State Secretary Cyrus Vance, who favoured a pragmatic approach to relations with the Soviet Union and resolution of existing problems through negotiation, and the entrenchment of Zbigniew Brzezinski, President's National Security Ad-

viser, who epitomised the policy of worldwide confrontation with the USSR (pp. 452-454, 461). He supports his arguments with such evidence as the US refusal to ratify the SALT-2 Treaty, the imposition of an embargo on grain sales to the Soviet Union, and the establishment of the interventionist Rapid Deployment Force. The combined pressure of the confrontation-seeking lobbies was bending Carter towards an increasingly hostile attitude to the USSR, although he, the author surmises, did not always have his heart in the decisions he was forced to take (pp. 552-553; 562). Whatever the case, the hardliners set the pace in Carter's entourage.

As a result, Brown concludes, "the Carter Administration, now adopting many of the foreign policy views of its earlier critics, helped reinforce the backlash which removed it from office" (p. 563).

Turning to the present Republican Administration, the author finds its foreign policies in the early 1980s similar to those the USA pursued in the early postwar years dominated by anti-communism and anti-Sovietism at the time of Harry Truman and John F. Dulles. The similarity is revealed in the United States policies being again imbued with the spirit of extreme anti-communism, which makes the current federal government "more ideological than any of its predecessors" (p. 603).

The author points out that the US strategy towards developing countries is based on shaky foundations. Washington officials look at US relations with the Third World from the perspective of anti-communism and confrontation between "good" and "evil". The Administration's policy based on this misconception leaves out the entangled underpinnings of conflicts in the Middle East, in Africa and in Latin America. As a result, it leans on reactionary political forces in these areas (pp. 583-584).

Brown cites a few examples to reinforce his point that a policy based on anti-Sovietism and confrontation is counterproductive to US national interests. The validity of a foreign policy, he writes, "is determined by its consistency with the facts of domestic and international life". This consistency lacking in Washington's present policies, they cannot "service the security and well-being of the people of the United States". The Administration's hopes of achieving "overall superiority" over the Soviet Union are as far from realisation as ever because "the Reagan Grand Strategy ran into trouble from the start" (p. 570). The author believes that today's US military strategy, which is pivoted

on the deployment of first-strike nuclear weapons, needs a drastic overhaul. He is most worried by plans to militarise outer space and his warning that "slogans and star-wars fantasies could not reduce the urgent need for the new and deeper thinking about U.S. foreign relations" (p. 628) is highly relevant. He reinforces his warning with a call for a radical revision of US foreign policy. The US leadership's refusal to substantially review both the general direction of its foreign policies and every-day practices could have unpredictable implications for the world as well as the United States itself (pp. 570, 603).

US political science is writhing under the prevailing pressure of the militarists who are

bent on purging common sense from social sciences and putting them in the service of the military-industrial complex. Nevertheless, a number of scholarly publications which offer a critical assessment of the present administration's efforts to step up the arms race and attain a strategic superiority over its opponents is growing.

Indeed, these publications are consonant with the demands voiced by broad segments of the US population to breathe common sense back into the foreign policy thinking in the top echelons of power. Brown's monograph must be named among them.

P. SPASOV

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST EMULATION ★ GREAT BRITAIN'S MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX ★ SAUDI ARABIA ★ SPRINGBOARD FOR AGGRESSION ★ UNIDO—A NEW SPECIALISED UN AGENCY

International Socialist Emulation

Direct ties between the work collectives of associations, enterprises and organisations of the CMEA member countries are playing an important role in accomplishing the tasks of all-round intensification of social production in conditions of socialist economic integration. These ties contribute to the successful attainment of the goals set in state plans, the expansion and deepening of collaboration in production cooperation, operative fulfilment of international agreements, exchange of advanced experience, more effective use of the production potential by the fraternal countries.

International socialist emulation is an efficient means of raising the effectiveness of direct ties maintained by the work collectives of the fraternal states. Emulation between related enterprises and associations, which, incidentally, maintain close production ties, is one of the most widely spread forms of these multifarious activities. It is not only enterprises that compete but also their subdivisions (shops, sections, work teams) and individual workers. For instance, the Kiev association Khimvolokno and the Georgi Dimitrov chemical plants in Bratislava have been emulating for more than a decade. They exchanged a wealth of useful experience in the course of their labour competition. The experience of Soviet reelers helped Bratislava chemists increase the output of quality items by one per cent, which amounts to 360,000 korunas annually. The mechanised method of thread packing allows the workers in Kiev to save 200,000 rubles a year. Trade union activists have passed on this achievement to other related Soviet enterprises.

Another important form of international socialist emulation is competition of enterprises connected by specialised and cooperative deliveries (emulation of cooperating plants). In this case the competing parties direct their efforts, first of all, towards making timely deliveries of high quality export goods, and providing their partners in other fraternal countries with the most favourable conditions for highly productive and uninterrupted work. The many years of fruitful cooperation of the Volzhski motor association AvtoVAZ with the socialist community

countries enterprises can serve as a good example of this trend in emulation.

AvtoVAZ is expanding its specialised deliveries along cooperative lines, sharing its advanced experience in the field of labour and production organisation, as well as technological information, with the production collectives in the socialist countries. For instance AvtoVAZ fruitfully cooperates and competes with the Bakony metal wares and electrical equipment factory, which supplies the Volzhski enterprise with ignition distributors, windscreen wipers and other items. Specialised and cooperative deliveries are constantly expanding.

International socialist emulation plays a major role at integrated construction sites where people from various countries are working. Sound progress has been made at such jointly built projects as the Soyuz gas pipeline, the Mir power grid, the Ust-Ilimsk pulp-and-paper mill in the USSR, the Erdmet ore-dressing plant in Mongolia, nickel plants in Cuba and others. International socialist emulation has greatly contributed to the success achieved by the multinational collective of the fraternal countries: these people have constructed a unique Urengoi-Pomary-Uzhgorod gas pipeline ahead of schedule.

To coordinate the activities of the participating parties at the jointly constructed projects, the countries concerned set up international headquarters to assist in construction. They evaluate the progress made, inform the public, disseminate modern experience in labour and production organisation to find the most expedient ways of accomplishing the tasks set. These headquarters worked out such totally new forms of cooperation among workers and specialists from the fraternal countries as international work teams composed of workers from two or more socialist countries and fraternity work teams which exchange skilled workers to make an on-the-spot evaluation and share advanced experience.

No one enjoys special privileges in the competition within an international work team, and the winner is selected by the international council of the work team, elected by its members. These work teams

are now one of the major means of resolving scientific and technological problems at the Jaslovská Bohunice atomic power station and the Prague underground in Czechoslovakia. A work team is composed according to the complexity of the tasks and requisite labour inputs.

In recent years, socialist emulation among workers at border-crossing railway sections and stations, and the personnel of companies servicing international airlines, steamship lines, commercial ports, cargo and passenger ships which run between the socialist community countries, has been gaining momentum. The main tasks facing the international socialist emulation of the socialist countries' teams of transport workers are to ensure a timely attainment of the planned targets for shipping foreign trade cargoes, to cut the time required for locomotives' and wagons' turnover at the border stations, to ensure security of cargoes in loading and unloading operations, to ensure safety and punctual flights, to upgrade passenger servicing on international routes, and to make more rational use of the aircraft.

For more than a decade now the work collectives of Novorossiisk Tnapse and Sochi commercial ports and the ship crews have been actively cooperating and competing with the sea transport workers of Bulgaria, Cuba and Vietnam.

For instance, in 1983, the Novorossiisk sea port workers serviced 164 ships flying the Bulgarian flag, having saved 892 hours of stop-over time.

At present, accelerated scientific and technological progress is acquiring particular importance which calls for expanding cooperation among R&D and scientific and production associations of the socialist community countries. By developing direct ties and organising socialist emulation, the R&D and production collectives of the fraternal countries are making substantial progress in the development of their economies. This is most vividly exemplified by the international ties of the Moscow Experimental Research Institute of Metal-Cutting Lathes (ENIMS) with lathe-making centres of the European fraternal countries, which help to determine the most promising trends in putting out lathes and their units, making test samples, elaborating unified specifications and carrying out standardisation.

In recent years, the work collectives of the fraternal countries have established a fine international tradition—to mark the major events by assuming additional socialist obligations. In 1984-1985 international socialist emulation to mark the 40th anniversary of the Victory and the deliverance of peoples from Nazism as well as work shifts dedicated to forthcoming congresses

of the Communist and Workers' Parties have gained particular scope in the socialist community countries.

"Our workers guarantee high quality product for the USSR", "Prompt delivery of high quality products to our friends", "Timely cooperative deliveries are a matter of our honour"—those were the slogans under which international emulation in honour of the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory was unfolding in Bulgaria. The sense of internationalist duty and conscientious attitude to their commitments allowed Bulgarian specialists to honour their obligations and accomplish the half-year programme of export deliveries by May 9, 1985.

Last year the Hungarian "4th of December" Combine received the title of an "advanced enterprise in international socialist labour emulation", and in 1985 its workers fulfilled their obligations in honour of the 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in honour of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary and the Victory over Nazism. Recently, its staff assumed socialist obligations in honour of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The initiator of this drive was the Soviet-Hungarian friendship work team from the wire hot-rolling shop.

Socialist obligations adopted by the workers of the Czechoslovak Cierna-nad-Tisza transshipping base in Slovakia in honour of the forthcoming 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union became a symbol of faithfulness to socialist attitude to labour. Slovak railway men processing the bulk of the cargoes exchanged by the two countries assumed an obligation to overfulfill their plan for the year and cut the stop-over time of each cargo train by one hour. The workers of the Soviet border station, Chop, who for many years have cooperated with their Czechoslovak friends, also began to participate in emulation.

International emulation to honour the 40th anniversary of the Victory and the 10th anniversary of the liberation of the South has acquired great scope in Vietnam. High obligations were adopted by the farmers of the Taining and Song Be provinces who are ploughing with Soviet assistance new lands and setting up new rubber plantations.

Thus, at a new stage of socialist economic integration the development of international socialist emulation and the expansion of direct links between work collectives are an important reserve for accelerated socio-economic development and intensified production in the fraternal countries.

V. ANDREYEV

Great Britain's Military-Industrial Complex

War advocates and reactionaries led by US imperialism have launched an unprecedented arms race and built a giant military-industrial complex which, they hope, will give them the muscle to accomplish their criminal plans. Britain has been assigned a no minor role in this militaristic set-up. British leaders are active in NATO, which they regard as a principal tool of their foreign policies, one that helps them to pursue their interests abroad. In its campaign to strengthen the arm of the North Atlantic alliance, London is developing a stake in closer ties with US imperialism, in the first place. Despite a degree of "Europeanisation" in its foreign policies, including its military policy, Britain is taking great pains to maintain "special relations" with the USA. Hence the surprising identity of views the ruling quarters in both countries entertain towards the socialist community, the hand-in-glove cooperation in actions both are taking against peace forces and progressives, and the zealous involvement in the arms race, including the buildup of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, according to British press reports, Washington and London have signed a secret agreement, under which Britain undertakes, in danger, to hand over a number of military facilities, including 9 air bases and 16 hospitals, to the Pentagon. Not surprisingly, Britain was the first among the Western countries to respond favourably to Washington's invitation to take part in the "star wars" programme.

While holding its arms open to Washington, Britain is courting other NATO countries as well. It is known that British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Geoffrey Howe admitted that "all Europe's achievements would be in vain if common defence was neglected". Despite differences on some issues it has with France, the two countries are cooperating in the aircraft and missile industry and in the production of nuclear weapons. Britain is intensifying, though without much fanfare, its military and political contacts with West Germany and is particularly active in reviving the Western European Union.

Britain's rulers are persistently gearing their country's economy towards increasing militarisation. In the past few years the British military budget has grown by nearly 30 per cent. In the 1984/85 fiscal year, allocations on military programmes topped £17,000 million, and claimed 5.4 per cent of Britain's gross domestic product. In this respect, Britain is only trailing the United States. In the early 1980s, Britain's war industry employed nearly 700,000 workers. This situation was appropriately described by Malcolm Chalmers who said that the present government is giving defence a much

higher priority than any of its recent predecessors, both Labour and Conservative.

With these generous infusions the arms manufacturers are stepping up their output. Between 1978 and 1982, a bleak period in the British economy, the ten leading arms-oriented companies increased their sales by 70 per cent, to £13,300 million, their total profits rising by 40 per cent topping £1,200 mln.

Modern weapons must be replaced rapidly to be effective and incorporate the latest in science, particularly in electronics and new materials. The Tory government is unstinting in this respect, too: more than £2,000 million, nearly a half of what the government spends on science, was appropriated for military research in 1984/85 fiscal year. About 40,000 scientists and technicians are working on new weapons development.

Britain is one of the leading exporters of weapons and military equipment and licences to manufacture them. In this field, too, it is third after the US and France. In the 1984/85 fiscal year, the arms business is expected to reward the country with £2,600 million, or 4 per cent of all its earnings abroad. Characteristically, much of the lethal weapons and equipment is sold to reactionary regimes, including the racist Republic of South Africa.

The Defence Ministry's *White Paper* published in the early 1980s, in the wake of the Falkland war, sounded a warning that more money than planned would be spent on defence. A solid share of the British military budget (up to 40 per cent) goes to procure equipment, hardware and weapons. Rearming the British submarine fleet with Trident-2 missiles and building four new submarines is to cost the British Treasury, according to informed sources, some £11,000 million, a far from final figure. £7,800 million has been allocated on equipment procurement. Although this is the largest programme, many more keep the arms manufacturers' order books full. For example, the production of antisubmarine helicopters costs £1,200 million, at the 1983/84 prices, one nuclear-powered submarine fetches a price tag of £200 million, and a new frigate, £100 million.

This year, the Ministry of Defence has signed contracts with more than 10,000 companies, most of the orders being pocketed by a few dozen major businesses, such as the leading aerospace companies—the government-owned British Aerospace, and private Westland Aircraft, Short Brothers and Rolls-Royce. Aerospace is the most militarised industry in Britain, more than 60 per cent of its products being war-oriented.

Electronic products, which generally account for 25 per cent of the cost of warships, 30 per cent of that of aircraft, 40 per cent

in the case of tanks, and 50 per cent in air defence systems, are mostly supplied by Ferranti, Racal Electronics, Plessey, Marconi Elliot and Thorn-EMI, which pick up the lion's share of the Defence Ministry's orders. Conventional weapons are produced by the Royal Ordnance Factories, armour by Elvis and Vickers, and military vehicles, by British Leyland, the biggest auto producer in the country.

The greatest share of military expenditure is claimed by the British navy, its chief contractors being the government-owned British Shipbuilders company, with some 30 per cent of its output being intended for military applications, followed by the less powerful Vickers Shipbuilders, Vosper Thornycroft, etc., which build atomic submarines, helicopter- and missile-carrying destroyers and frigates, and cruisers carrying Hurrier naval aircraft on board.

Aside from these companies which are heavily committed to arms production, some giant industrial companies (for example, ICI and British Petroleum), for whom arms manufacture is a minor offshoot, are engaged in the war business. Although in formal terms, General Electric, specialising in electrical engineering, is not on the list of arms producers, it has a hand in virtually every major military project.

Britain's arms manufacturers and its top ruling echelon always talk a common language on issues related to the buildup of the country's military-industrial complex, especially under Conservative tenure. Still, to have their order-books filled, many arms manufacturers offer seats on their boards to former Defence Ministry officials, generals and admirals, who have not lost "useful" connections with their previous employers. According to the progressive *Labour Research*, Rolls-Royce, Racal Electronics, Westland Group, Ferranti and others are the most consistent buyers of services.

In the past five years, for example, nearly 40 top officers of the Royal Air Force abandoned their Defence Ministry chairs for places in private industrial firms. Generally, intensive blood transfusion between the defence establishment and industrial companies is a characteristic British phenomenon. The latest example, in January 1985, Peter Leven, former Personal Adviser to Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine and subsequently head of the mushrooming United Scientific Holdings arms business, was appointed Chief of Defence Procurement in the Defence Ministry, while his company seat is to be occupied by a high-ranking Defence Ministry official.

The Conservative government went as far as returning nationalised arms companies to private ownership—it has auctioned off the controlling interest in Ferranti, most shares in the British Aerospace, and is soon to put British Shipbuilders up for sale. Characteristically, denationalisation hits the most profitable corporate divisions. *British Business*, writes that the first part of British Shipbuilders to go are the navy shipyards which yielded a profit of £44 million in 1983, a spectacular achievement over the civilian divisions, which were £49 million in the red. A similar decision has been taken on the Yarrow Shipbuilders firm: in government quarters the deal has been described as "an 'excellent start' to the process of returning the warship yards to the private sector".

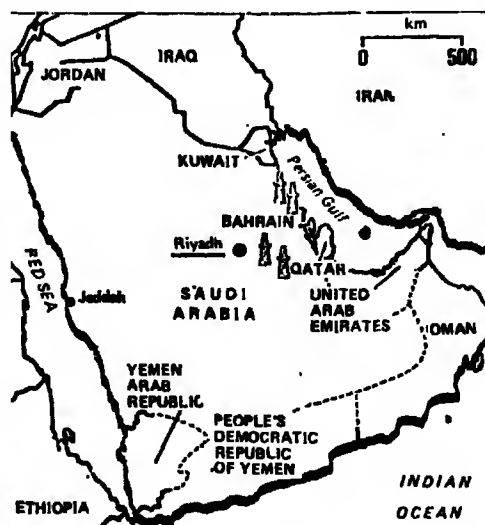
The enormous military expenditures are placing a heavy burden on the British economy, which is already balancing on the verge of crisis. The needs of the military-industrial complex are being met from the meagre social budgets. In the next three years, the Conservative government intends to cut the so-called government services (except military spending, of course) by 9.4 per cent.

M. BELYAEV

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia is the largest state of the Arabian Peninsula with a territory of about 2.15 million square kilometres. Its south and south-eastern borders are not strictly defined. According to a UN report, in mid-1982 the population figure was 9.7 million, including about one and a half million foreign specialists attracted by "petrodollars". The largest cities are: Riyadh—the capital of the country (according to the statistics, in 1984, its population reached 1.2 million); Jeddah (the main port, commercial centre, residence of diplomatic representatives) with a population of 560,000; the sacred Muslim cities Mecca and Medina (the summer capital), situated on the Red Sea coast; Taif, the commercial centre of the eastern coast; Dammam, the agricultural centre. The state language is Arabic.

The present borders of Saudi Arabia have existed since 1926 when Ibn Saud, the head of the Najd area, completed the prot-



racted struggle for unification under his rule of Arab principalities on the Arabian Peninsula and founded there the Kingdom of Hijaz and Najd with its dependencies. In 1932, the Kingdom received its present name. On February 16, 1926 the Soviet Union recognised the new state and established diplomatic relations with it and was the first of the great powers to do so. At present, neither Saudi Arabia nor the Soviet Union has each other's diplomatic missions.

Saudi Arabia is an absolute theocratic monarchy. The King is simultaneously the secular and the religious head (Imam), the Prime Minister, the Supreme Commander of military forces and the Supreme Judge. The country has no constitution, political parties are banned. Since June 1982 the state has been headed by King Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz. The King appoints ministers and supervises the work of the Council of Ministers which is at the same time the legislative and executive body. The government is formed mainly of the royal family members. Prince Abdullah ibn Abdul Aziz is the First Deputy Prime Minister and Commander of the National Guard, Prince Sultan ibn Abdul Aziz is Second Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and Aviation; Prince Saud al-Faisal is Minister of Foreign Affairs. The King appoints special councils which submit recommendations on different issues. The royal family controls every aspect of life in the country.

During the years of its existence as an independent state Saudi Arabia has not changed its social-political system and has preserved its conservative character. In March 1980 a special committee to prepare the system of rule, based on Islamic principles, headed by Nayef ibn Abdul Aziz, the Minister of the Interior, was organised with the aim of strengthening the basis of the existing system of power. The formation of the Royal Consultative Council, made up of 50 to 70 appointed members, is under way.

The economy is based on the oil industry which accounts for over 90 per cent of the state revenues. Saudi Arabia is the third (after the USSR and the USA) oil-producing country in the world and the biggest producer among the OPEC countries. In 1984 oil production amounted to 231 million tons (somewhat less than in previous years and can be explained by the government's attempt to maintain high world prices on crude oil and oil products). Oil revenues comprised \$ 102,000 million in 1981 and \$ 70,500 million in 1982. The main importers of the Saudi oil are Japan (25 per cent), France (9.6 per cent), the USA (8.4 per cent) and Singapore (5.7 per cent).

Due to its great oil revenues Saudi Arabia has recently managed to start a number of costly projects of industrialisation of the country and the extension of its infrastructure. Considerable sums are invested in oil processing, electricity generation, transportation, the system of water supply, to name but a few. (Water desalination projects alone are planned to draw over \$ 11,000 million

in 1980-1985.) At the same time, a considerable portion of "petrodollars" is spent outside the country. The banks of Saudi Arabia have acquired great importance in the capitalist monetary and financial system. Net foreign investments of Saudi banks make up about \$ 150,000 million.

The revenue from agricultural production is only 4.2 per cent of the gross domestic product, though it employs about one-third of the working force. Some \$ 2,300 million were allotted to agriculture according to the third five-year plan (1980-1985).

Saudi Arabia is the member of the UN, the League of Arab States (LAS), the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and a number of other international and regional organisations, and a member of non-aligned movement. In the field of foreign policy the Kingdom's special concern is the problem of inter-Arab relations, the situation in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf, the development of cooperation between Islamic states.

Saudi Arabia stands for a comprehensive political settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the decision of the 1982 Fez Arab summit (Morocco), and supports the convocation of a conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned. Taking a neutral stand on the war between Iraq and Iran, the Kingdom calls for its immediate end and for political settlement of all disputes between the conflicting sides. Saudi Arabia supports the mediatory efforts of international and regional organisations to settle the conflict and takes an active part in the work of "the committee of seven" at the League of Arab States.

Riyadh is doing much further to strengthen and develop political and economic cooperation on a regional basis between the Persian Gulf Arab states. The Kingdom was an initiator to organise the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (CCASG) in 1981, which united six countries of this region (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Oman). Saudi Arabia has come out against the deployment of foreign military bases in the Persian Gulf and thinks that the problems of ensuring security in the region must be solved by the countries themselves situated there.

A key element of Saudi foreign policy is its relations with the developed capitalist countries, the USA in particular. The monopoly for American companies in the creation and development of the oil and gas industry, the leading branch of the country's economy, is responsible for close cooperation between the two states. Over 40 per cent of industrial enterprises now under construction in Saudi Arabia are built with US assistance. The United States is the Kingdom's leading trade partner. Military cooperation between the two countries is also developing on a large scale. The Kingdom receives annually \$ 3,000 to \$ 4,000 million worth of US weapons. Four thousand US military experts work in Saudi Arabia and a great many Saudi servicemen are trained on US military bases.

Washington is counting on Saudi Arabia in its military-political plans in the Middle East and looks upon it as a partner in escalating the US military presence in this part of the world.

The Saudi Arabian leadership supports the initiative to create nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, adheres to the non-aligned countries' common stand on such

important modern issues as the struggle for peace and international security, stopping the arms race, disarmament, the elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination, and the establishment of a just international economic order.

A. YEGOSHKIN,
M. TAMARIN

Springboard for Aggression

The aggressive plans of NATO devote much attention to streamlining the bloc's organisational structure and the operational make-up of its armed forces. According to the Treaty concluded, NATO's "zone of responsibility" covers the territories and waters of the bloc's member nations as well as the Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer. This huge region of our planet has been divided by NATO strategists into theatres of war (the European and the Atlantic theatres) which are, in turn, subdivided into theatres of operations and the US-Canada and the English channel regional strategic planning groups. As to the bloc's armed forces, they are either already under the respective NATO commands or earmarked for them in the event of war.

The European theatre of war plays a crucial role in translating NATO's ominous plans into reality. Even John F. Dulles, a founding father of the bloc, wrote that the Pentagon's top brass saw the *raison d'être* of NATO to lie in turning Europe into a theatre of war covered by the strategic planning on the part of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff. The significance of Western Europe as the principal springboard of aggression against the Warsaw Treaty countries has since increased manifold. This is not fortuitous, for the zone of responsibility of the supreme NATO command in Europe encompasses the territories of the European NATO countries (except Great Britain and Portugal) and Turkey, as well as the Mediterranean, the Sea of Marmara and the southern part of the Black Sea. It is precisely this zone that directly abuts on the Warsaw Treaty states. And finally, the European command is the only one in NATO which even in peacetime has allied forces under its control. They comprise formations and units of ground troops and air forces, supplied by member nations to its operational command.

The significance of the European theatre in US plans is also evidenced by the fact that since the bloc's inception only US generals (at present, Gen. Bernard W. Rogers) have been appointed as NATO Supreme Allied Commanders, Europe (SACEUR Headquarters, in Casteau, Belgium). Subordinated to SACEUR are major theatre commands for Northern (AFNORTH) and Central (AFCENT) and Southern (AFSOUTH) Europe as well as NATO mobile forces and the allied air-defense system in Europe.

The Central European theatre is the main one among all European theatres of operation. Its strategic importance as an advance post for the forces of aggression and militarism hinges primarily on its advantageous geographical position, for it is immediately adjoining the borders of the GDR and Czechoslovakia. The theatre's countries boast a highly developed economic basis, considerable material supplies and reserves of manpower as well as a ramified communication system.

US first strike nuclear weapons are stationed in the Central European zone. Since December 1983, they have been fielded in the FRG territory which will have 108 Pershing 2 and 96 cruise missiles. Last March, under the pressure brought to bear by the USA, Belgium agreed to have 48 cruise missiles installed in its territory. Another 48 missiles are slated for deployment on Dutch soil. It should be emphasised that with the outbreak of an aggressive war the entire US first-strike nuclear potential, stationed or to be stationed in Europe, will be assigned to SACEUR.

Central Europe, where, in the view of NATO strategists, the course and outcome of combat actions against the countries of the socialist community will be decided, boasts the largest concentration of armed forces equipped with most sophisticated conventional arms and nuclear missiles. At present, about 800,000 men are stationed there, with over 6,000 tanks, above 1,700 combat aircraft (almost half of them are nuclear capable), and up to 2,000 field pieces. Stored in the armouries, most of which are located in the FRG, are 80 per cent of US tactical nuclear weapons and a huge quantity of warfare agents and other weapons of mass destruction. In a so-called "crisis situation", this military might, enormous as it is, will be considerably augmented by calling up reservists and airlifting troops from the continental USA and from Great Britain.

NATO ground forces in the Central European theatre are subdivided into the Northern and Central Army Groups. The Northern Army Group (NORTHAG) comprises 12 divisions (four West German, three British, three Dutch and two Belgian), with the total manpower reaching 235,000. The Group is under British general Martin B. Farndale (its headquarters is in Mönchengladbach, the FRG).

The central army group consists of US

(four divisions), West German (seven divisions) and Canadian (one brigade group) troops. Its commanding general, Glenn K. Otis of the US (CENTAG headquarters is in Heidelberg, the FRG), has over 320,000 men under his command.

US troops constitute the nucleus of the NATO forces in the Central European theatre of operations. The Pentagon seeks to maintain a high level of combat readiness of this largest contingent of US troops beyond America's national borders. It is the first to be provided with the latest combat equipment and armaments. For example, many tank and mechanised battalions will soon be equipped with the M-1 Abrams tanks and M-2 and M-3 Bradley combat vehicles. The Patriot SAM complexes which will be armed in future with higher-yield warheads are being deployed. A second set of combat hardware is being accumulated for dual-based divisions, i. e. those which are in peacetime stationed in the continental USA but in a "crisis situation" will be transferred to Europe. Ground troops are completing their transition to a new "Division-86" organisational structure, which will enhance still further their combat capabilities.

The Bundeswehr's significance for the NATO allied forces in the Central European theatre keeps growing with every passing year. The FRG has assigned to NATO all its ground forces (eleven divisions), five Heimatschutz (Home Defense) brigades as well as a major part of its air forces. As a result, the Bundeswehr accounts for 50 per cent of ground troops, 30 per cent of the air forces and 50 per cent of all air-defence ground units of the NATO total strength in Central Europe. The NATO command attaches special attention to the Bundeswehr which is known for its high degree of organisation, discipline and combat readiness. In particular, according to the West German newspaper *Die Welt*, the FRG armed forces, in the Pentagon's opinion, are the only truly combat-ready and reliable military force in Europe. According to the *Unsere Zeit* daily, under the programme of Bundeswehr development for 1985-1999 it is going to receive in the coming years hundreds upon hundreds of new tanks of the *Leopard-2* type, *Tornado* aircraft, helicopters, reconnaissance strike complexes and other combat hardware. The programme's total costs run into 600 billion German marks.

British troops constitute a large portion of the allied forces in Central Europe. It is here that the British Rhine Army (BRA) is stationed, which, according to the British secretary of state for defence, M. Heseltine, is "a vivid demonstration of our commitment to defending NATO advance lines". The Army's present strength is 55,000 men.

The programme which is under consideration now provides for a substantial renewal of the armaments and equipment of mechanised battalions. The British Army on the Rhine has begun to receive new Challenger tanks, LAW-80 antitank grenade launchers,

SP-70 artillery guns. Referring to the words by Gen. J. Stanier, Chief of British General Staff, the *Times* of London writes that a new multiple rocket launcher will soon be introduced in the BRA considerably expanding the capabilities of the long-range artillery and increasing its firepower. In a bid to maintain the moral and combat state of the personnel at a high level, its command keeps sending servicemen to the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands for a stint of combat duties there.

It should be stressed in this regard that the mastering of warfare techniques in conditions closely resembling war constitutes the key element in NATO's aggressive preparations in Central Europe. Military manoeuvres and exercises are held there almost on a continuous basis, making it possible to master new types of combat equipment and armaments, specify plans for preparing and launching combat operations, and examine new forms and methods of using armed forces in a modern war. A particular danger inherent in NATO exercises lies in the fact that they are held in close proximity to the borders of the socialist countries while their scale is such that it is becoming ever more difficult to tell exercises from a real deployment of NATO forces.

An analysis of the Central European theatre of operations would be incomplete without mentioning the French troops (50,000) stationed on FRG territory, which prior to France's withdrawal from the NATO military organisation in 1966 formed part of the Central European theatre. Nowadays, its armed forces de jure are not included into NATO troop concentrations, but the French ruling quarters, nonetheless, continuously, and of late ever more frequently, stress the country's commitment to NATO and France's intention to live up to its commitments, including the use of its combat troops together with the bloc's allied forces in the case of war. The most recent example has been provided by Gen. F. Ude, Commander of the French forces in the FRG, who in his interview to the France Press Agency said that in 1985-86 a series of manoeuvres will be held in the FRG with a view to mastering possible joint operations of the armed forces of France, the Bundeswehr and NATO. In the words of the general, this is essential in order to ensure a possible involvement of the French forces in NATO operations in the event of a crisis.

The deployment of the bulk of the NATO allied forces in close proximity to the borders of the socialist countries, the continuous buildup of the combat capabilities of the NATO troops, and the character of their operational and tactical preparations attest to the fact that the Central European theatre of operations constitutes an advance post and a main springboard for an aggression against the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries.

V. KOUZAR,
Captain of the Navy

UNIDO—A New Specialised UN Agency

The United Nations Industrial Development Organization, which is now a leading centre of international economic cooperation, was granted the status of a specialised UN agency this June. The UN General Assembly resolution of 1967 on the establishment of UNIDO specifies that it was to "promote and accelerate the industrialization of the developing countries". In addition, it was entrusted with responsibility for coordinating all activities in this field within the UN framework.

The new international organisation faces many urgent tasks. These include, first and foremost, assistance to developing countries in building, expanding and retooling industrial enterprises, improving management, assisting in conveying new technologies and training national personnel.

In the past decade, UNIDO implemented more than 10,000 projects. The scope of these projects as well as the branches of economy connected with them are extremely diverse. UNIDO participates in building inexpensive housing and setting up small industrial enterprises in leather and wood-working industries as well as building sophisticated and costly plants in the ferrous and non-ferrous metal industries.

Progress in industrialisation entails an acute shortage of technological information in most of the developing countries. Here, too, UNIDO assists the young states primarily through its Division for Industrial Studies under the UNIDO Secretariat, which carefully selects data from the flow of information coming from all over the world and embracing nearly all sectors of industry.

The present aspect of UNIDO as it is now was shaped largely due to its Second General Conference held in 1975 in Lima, the capital of Peru. The Conference adopted two policy-making documents—the Lima Declaration and the Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Cooperation, both of which specified UNIDO aims and tasks. The Declaration states in part that by the year 2000, the developing countries' share in the world industrial output should reach 25 per cent as against approximately 11 per cent in the late 1970s. In addition, UNIDO was assigned the task of more effectively coordinating the activities of various UN bodies concerned with industrial development. For this purpose, UNIDO concluded agreements on cooperation with the secretariats of

UNCTAD, UNESCO and WHO. The number of joint projects, consultations and conferences of groups of experts has increased.

The decisions of the Second General Conference had also largely affected UNIDO organisationally. The Plan of Action contained a proposal to turn UNIDO into a specialised agency independent of the UN administratively and financially. This proposal resulted from the fact that UNIDO depended too much on the UN central bodies and lacked sufficient independence in financial, staff and other matters. To implement this recommendation, new UNIDO constitution was drafted, and it was decided that the organisation would be granted the status of a specialised agency following its ratification by all the 80 member-states. This was done last June, when Ethiopia approved the constitution.

Imperialist states, the US above all, never ceased trying to turn UNIDO into a tool of their economic expansion.

For instance, Western representatives insist that UNIDO's assistance in the recipient countries be channelled into small-scale private enterprise and into extraction of minerals meant for export. They view UNIDO activities as a means of penetrating the developing countries' markets, and whenever their plans fail, they boycott UNIDO programmes and suspend the supply of modern equipment and technology to the young states.

The developing nations' cooperation with socialist countries proved highly instrumental in overcoming some of the negative tendencies in UNIDO's policies. The socialist countries, the Soviet Union among them, actively participate in UNIDO programmes. The USSR trains specialists and supplies equipment for the developing nations and Soviet research institutions carry out analyses of raw materials' samples and do other research for the recipient countries.

The Soviet Union believes it is essential that industrialisation in the newly-free countries should consolidate the state sector and economic planning with active participation of the working people. These steps, as well as the establishment of a new international economic order, are the most effective way of solving the complex socio-economic problems facing the developing countries today.

A. GAVRYUSHKIN

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CURBING THE ARMS RACE AS A CRUCIAL PROBLEM OF TODAY

G. S T A K H

The USSR welcomes the 27th Congress of the CPSU as a fuleman of peace throughout the planet. The Leninist foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, aimed at removing the nuclear threat hanging over mankind, has been also set forth in a clear and precise language in the new edition of the Party's Programme and is perceived by all sober-minded people as a programme of action for curbing the arms race, for peace and social progress of the peoples.

The main route towards solving the cardinal task facing today humanity as a whole, i. e. how to remove the danger of war, passes through the cessation of the arms race, primarily that in nuclear weapons, and the prevention of its spreading to outer space. In combatting the menace of war, the Soviet Union has been undertaking vigorous and purposeful actions, which serve as an example of high responsibility for the destinies of the world. The present turning point in international relations, when mankind has to make a choice between survival and extinction, requires responsible actions and bold practical decisions, first of all on the part of the countries whose international prestige is impressive and whose influence on the state of world affairs is indisputable. The present stage calls for a new approach to the international situation and a new way of thinking taking into account the realities of world developments. Now, as never before, it is vitally important to expand the contribution made by all states, big or small, irrespective of their economic potential, to putting an end to the arms race and improving the situation in the world.

Going at full swing, the powerful propaganda machinery of the United States and other NATO countries, as is known, has been instilling in the peoples' minds false notions about the reasons for the present-day strained and explosive situation in the world. Echoed in every possible way, daily and nightly, are anti-Soviet stereotypes concerning a "Soviet military threat", the USSR's "lack of self-restraint" in building up its military muscle, a sort of Soviet "responsibility for regional conflicts" whose continuation allegedly obstructs agreements on terminating the arms race, and so on. All those propagandistic tricks are intended to justify, in the eyes of the peoples, the buildup of nuclear, chemical and other armaments, the militarisation of outer space, and the policy of material preparations for war, which are carried out by the governments of the US and other leading NATO countries.

What is then the real, genuine reason for the world to have approached an extremely dangerous line? Why is it that the question which has been now raised to its full stature is whether a nuclear catastrophe will occur or not and whether it will be possible to preserve civilisation and life itself on earth or they are doomed to perish in a nuclear conflagration?

With every passing day, millions upon millions of people in various parts of the globe become more and more aware that the causes for the heighten-

ing of tensions and the danger of war and for the aggravation of socio-economic and environmental problems of the regional or global magnitude reside in the policies of Washington and some of its closest allies which rely on securing military supremacy, viewing military dominance in the world as a springboard of sorts for executing a social revanche and foisting their will and practices upon other states and people.

This is the gist of the course which Washington proclaimed in detail and began implementing at full speed in the early 1980s. It rests on an unprecedented buildup of the military might and a yen to erode the established nuclear parity which is the most important basis for security and stability in the world. A "nuclear rearmament" programme, providing for a sharp increase in the US strategic potential, has been carried on since October 1981.

An extreme danger today is posed by Washington's desire to try and obtain military superiority by executing a "technological leap forward" through the development of a fundamentally new type of weapons, i. e. the space-strike systems. This is the meaning of the "strategic defense initiative" (SDI), or the "star wars" programme, proclaimed by the US President in March 1983.

Under the programme, work is under way at an accelerated pace to create a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements. In other words, apart from its powerful nuclear sword, Washington seeks to obtain a "space shield" behind which it would be in a position to blackmail the USSR and, should a need arise, to launch a nuclear attack with impunity, without fears of retaliation. Thus, properly speaking, a new and extremely destabilising element of US offensive forces is being developed. These fundamentally new systems with a virtually instantaneous global action can be effective as offensive weapons as well.

Should such weapons appear in the United States, this would sap the military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA which was achieved by the early 1970s, and would pose a grave threat to the security of the USSR and other socialist countries. The Soviet Union understandably cannot permit that. As has been repeatedly stated by Soviet leaders, the Soviet Union would have to take reciprocal measures in terms of both offensive and defensive armaments, without excluding space-based defensive weapons. There will be no US monopoly in outer space. The strategic equilibrium would be restored but at a higher level of military confrontation. It is only self-evident what this would mean in practice. The "star wars" programme would trigger an uncontrolled arms race in all areas and the squandering of tremendous moral and material resources on a truly stratospherical scale.

Another thing is obvious too. The introduction of strike weapons in outer space, including anti-missile and anti-satellite armaments with their qualitatively new characteristics and combat uses, would necessarily diminish the stability of the strategic situation in the world and would increase the risk of outbreak of nuclear war. With its actions designed to translate the "star wars" programme into practice, Washington pushes mankind closer to a nuclear holocaust.

The sinister nature of the "star wars" programme also reveals itself in the fact that it has already chosen its first target, namely the 1972 Soviet-US Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems which is of unlimited duration and which, as is widely recognised in the West as well, serves as a cornerstone of the entire process of limiting strategic offensive and defensive arms. The development by the USA of a comprehensive space-based ABM system is at variance with the Treaty and would signify its elimination, firstly, because in violation of Article 1 of the Treaty work is under way to create an ABM system for the whole territory of the USA and its allies and, secondly, because the development of space-based ABM defenses means an infringement of its Article 5.

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Obsessed with the idea of military supremacy, the US Administration does not wish to take into account a political and objectively significant military and technical reality which was thoroughly considered by the parties and set forth in the ABM Treaty, namely the recognition of an inseparable link between offensive and defensive weaponry. The USSR and the USA have agreed, and recorded their agreement in the ABM Treaty, that only mutual restraint in the domain of ABM systems could slow down the arms race and permit to make headway in the limitation and reduction of strategic offensive arms. The significance of that objective linkage has by no means lessened now that conditions have appeared for creating an ABM system based on the latest technological accomplishments. Rather on the contrary, the enhanced combat capabilities of space-based missile defense systems can but accentuate the everlasting importance of that interlinkage.

While neglecting this in hopes of securing a sort of monopoly in space BMD, the US Administration opens the gates for an uncontrolled buildup of strategic forces and other nuclear means. The contentions by the newly-born champions of "star wars" concerning the defensive nature of the SDI programme which, if realised, would allegedly permit to do away with nuclear armaments and give rise to a "non-nuclear deterrence potential" based on non-nuclear defenses rather than the threat of mutual nuclear annihilation, are nothing but propagandistic devices whose true objective is to justify the implementation of the most aggressive and dangerous military doctrine ever hatched by Washington.

Desiring to reverse the dangerous course of events, to stop the arms race and to prevent it from spreading to outer space, the USSR has proposed and is implementing a broad constructive programme of measures which, once realised, would improve the international situation and sharply lower the nuclear war threat.

Upon the USSR initiative, new Soviet-US talks on nuclear and space arms have been under way in Geneva since March 1985. The talks deal with matters the solution of which would determine the whole future development of international affairs. The question now is whether it would be possible to prevent outer space from turning into a sphere of military rivalry and, consequently, to forestall a new spiral of the arms race and to put a lid on a further buildup of nuclear arms or whether mankind be permitted to come impermissibly close to the fatal line of the holocaust of nuclear war.

In January 1985 in Geneva the heads of the foreign policy departments of the USSR and the USA negotiated fundamental provisions related to the subject and the objectives of the talks and a method of solving the issues to be discussed there. According to the agreement reached, the talks are to work out effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in outer space and terminating it on earth, limiting and reducing nuclear armaments, and strengthening the strategic stability. All the issues under negotiation are to be examined and solved as a complex and in their inter-relationship.

The USSR has come to the Geneva talks with a firm intention to reach an honest and mutually acceptable agreement. The Soviet side does not merely pay lip service to its willingness to come to terms but from the very outset it has tabled at the forum specific proposals regarding all the three negotiating areas.

As to the key issue of the talks, i.e. the prevention of an arms race in outer space, the USSR has proposed to outlaw the entire class of space-strike systems and to come to agreement precluding the development, beginning from the research phase, testing and deployment of such arms while the existing weapons of this type, i. e. anti-satellite systems, should be destroyed.

In linkage with the prevention of the militarisation of outer space, the USSR has proposed to reach agreement on a substantial reduction of strategic armaments in terms of both delivery vehicles and the total of warheads thereon. It has been concurrently proposed to renounce the development and deployment of new types of weapons or stringently to limit such programmes.

The USSR has proposed far-reaching measures in the sphere of medium-range systems in Europe, as well. It has also reaffirmed its readiness to negotiate such a major move as fully ridding Europe both of medium-range and tactical nuclear arms.

At the same time, in the course of the Geneva talks the USSR has made significant steps designed to contribute to their success and to create a favourable climate for them. At the outset of the Geneva dialogue the Soviet Union proposed a moratorium on nuclear and space armaments for the entire period of the talks. Apart from that, the USSR spoke in favour of a moratorium on medium-range missile deployments and, consequently, on measures taken in response to the stationing of additional US missiles in Europe. The USSR backed those proposals with a unilateral action of goodwill, discontinuing since April 1985 the deployment of its medium-range missiles and the escalation of other reciprocal measures in Europe.

Those Soviet proposals have laid a good foundation for productive work at Geneva. Why then has there been no headway at the talks throughout the three past rounds? What hampers it is the position of the United States.

Contrary to the Soviet-American agreement on the subject and the objectives of the talks, Washington has dodged the examination of issues related to space-strike systems. It prefers to talk only about the benefits resulting from the US acquisition of a "space shield". While refusing to negotiate the prevention of an arms race in space, US representatives have spoken in favour of seeking some sort of "framework for a more stable mix of offensive and defensive forces" or, in other words, rules of a kind in the domain of space arms race. Nor has Washington moved at the talks a single new proposal on the other two issues under discussion, namely strategic armaments and medium-range systems. The USA has merely reiterated an old and knowingly unacceptable position advanced by it at the previous negotiations which it itself disrupted.

It is not hard to understand the reasons for this turn of events. The USA has no wish to erect obstacles for itself in implementing the "star wars" programme and other projects providing for a stepped-up buildup of nuclear armaments.

In order to break the impasse at the Geneva talks, the USSR has submitted new concrete proposals on the entire gamut of issues relating to space, strategic and medium-range nuclear arms.

Their gist was expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to Paris on October 2-5, 1985. The Soviet Union proposed to come to agreement on a total ban on space-strike systems for both sides and a truly radical reduction, by 50 per cent, of nuclear arms capable of reaching each other's territories. As to the medium-range nuclear systems and in order to facilitate agreement on their early mutual reduction, the USSR suggested that an appropriate agreement be concluded independently, without a direct link to the problem of space and strategic armaments. Moreover, an idea was put forward concerning a direct dialogue with France and Britain as regards the European balance of nuclear forces. It was proposed to work out accords on a set of interim measures called upon to facilitate an early and meaningful conclusion of the Geneva talks.

In combination with the previous Soviet initiatives, these proposals constitute a whole programme of constructive realistic measures the implementation of which would bring about a genuine breakthrough in the evolution of

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international relations and a stronger strategic stability and confidence in the world. Thereby the USSR has yet again shown in practice its desire to see early equitable and honest agreements in Geneva. These large scale Soviet moves have elicited approval and support of many states and broad political and public quarters in the USA and West European countries. It is universally acknowledged that their realisation would help to take the world out of the blind alley of the arms race on the Earth and to prevent its spreading to outer space.

What has been the response of official Washington to the Soviet proposals? Their scope and attractiveness are such that Washington could not simply turn a blind eye thereto.

Initially, statements could be heard in Washington to the effect that the Soviet proposals had some "rational seeds" or that they merited "further discussion" or could be a "point of departure at the talks". Yet, those manoeuvres were followed by a mass "onslaught" against the Soviet peace initiatives. The top-ranking officials in the US Administration set about falsifying and discrediting the Soviet initiatives in a bid to distort their substance, to present them in a wrong light, and to detract from their significance. They even resorted to impermissible techniques of interstate debate such as outright lies and the rigging of facts concerning the USSR's strategic nuclear armaments and the medium-range weapons in Europe.

For example, contrary to the objective data checked and rechecked by the two sides and embodied in the 1979 SALT-2 Treaty (there have since been no changes in the quantities of Soviet strategic forces), the USSR is asserted to enjoy an edge—and a considerable edge at that—in those armaments. Juggling with numerical data, counting in those types of weapons which are not relevant at all, ignoring such "trifles" as the nuclear systems of Britain and France, and resorting to other clumsy tricks, they try to prove that the USSR enjoys a manyfold superiority in the medium-range armaments in Europe in terms of both delivery vehicles and warheads. As an outcome, a conclusion is drawn that the USA "lags behind" the USSR in military-strategic terms and has, in the first place, to build up its nuclear potential and only then to get down to disarmament. This is why the Soviet proposals about true reductions in the strategic offensive armaments and medium-range systems of the two sides were declared to be unbalanced and "taking no account of the US security interests".

The advocates of the "star wars" programme are especially zealous in their attempts to substantiate the legitimacy of US actions in developing the space BMD system and space-strike weapons. In the light of the sentiments of its NATO allies and rather influential quarters within the USA itself in favour of preserving the ABM Treaty, Washington has advanced, in addition to the already known propaganda stereotypes, some "new" or "renovated" ones. True, the US Administration has decided so far to stick to a more "moderate" interpretation of the Treaty according to which the USA intends to carry out research, testing and development of the BMD system under the SDI programme, leaving in abeyance a decision on whether to deploy such a system or not. The purpose behind those false arguments is to lay a "legal" basis of sorts for implementing all the stages of practical work within the SDI framework.

Washington is certainly aware that, pursuing a course at sapping the ABM Treaty and developing space-strike weapons, the USA eliminates thereby at the Geneva talks the very basis for a possible agreement on reducing strategic offensive armaments. The deployment of anti-missile weapons in outer space would trigger a radical change in the strategic balance of forces. This is why drastic reductions of strategic offensive arms are unfeasible without an agreement renouncing space-strike systems. Consequently, the US Administration carries the brunt of responsibility for the lack of progress at the Geneva talks on those organically interrelated issues.

Making a travesty of the Soviet position, the Washington propagandists try to make things look as if the USSR demands that all space research should be banned. In reality, the USSR, as has been explained by Mikhail Gorbachev in his interview to the *Time* magazine, is in favour of the ban on space-strike weapons embracing all the phases of the development of that new class of weaponry. This does not nullify, however, the rights and possibilities of states in carrying out only fundamental research in space.

As to the truly peaceful space research, the Soviet Union as a trailblazer in this field has been consistently in favour of comprehensively expanding scientific knowledge of outer space and utilising most sophisticated space-related technical facilities in the interest of solving multifarious earthly problems and raising the peoples' well-being. The USSR regards outer space as a highly promising area of international cooperation.

Judging by what has been published in the Western press, the "counterproposals" moved by the USA in October 1985 in response to the large-scale Soviet initiatives on the eve of the Soviet-American summit in Geneva provided no indications of its turn towards a constructive approach to the Geneva talks either. The main drawback of "new" American "counterproposals" is the unwillingness to negotiate the aversion of the arms race in outer space.

The accords reached at the Soviet-American summit on the need to expedite the Geneva talks on the basis of the January agreement, as regards the aims and subject-matter of these negotiations, are creating tangible opportunities for making progress at this forum, provided the USA approaches the Geneva accords with responsibility and thoroughness displayed by the Soviet Union.

As before, the USSR is doing its utmost to find mutually acceptable solutions at Geneva. Despite the fact that the Soviet and the American proposals on reducing nuclear arms are at odds on a number of issues, the Soviet side is prepared to go halfway, provided there is a ban on strike nuclear weapons. The preservation of outer space from weapons is of paramount importance for reaching agreements on a radical reduction of nuclear arms. Naturally, it will take time and calls for reciprocal constructive efforts. It also requires an appropriate political and psychological climate at the negotiating table and around it. Showing its desire to reach accord in Geneva, the Soviet Union, prior to the summit, carried out some major unilateral actions aimed at producing more vigorous and rewarding negotiations.

Apart from the moratorium on medium-range missile deployments declared by the USSR earlier, the number of Soviet SS-20 missiles now on combat alert in the European zone has been reduced to 243, that is to the level which existed in June 1984 when the additional Soviet deployments were begun to reciprocate the fielding of US medium-range missiles in Europe. The additionally deployed SS-20s have been taken off combat alert while the fixed structures for those missiles have been dismantled in a short period of time. It should also be added that the older and very powerful SS-5 missiles in the Soviet Union have been completely scrapped while the SS-4s are being removed from inventory at present. This means that all in all the number of medium-range missiles in the European zone of the USSR is now by far less than 10 or even 15 years ago. Yet, while ignoring this show of goodwill by the USSR, the United States has persisted in building up its nuclear arsenal in Western Europe.

Given the acute nuclear confrontation and the previously growing level of distrust in USSR-USA relations, it is hard to overestimate the significance

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of the Soviet unilateral obligation, in effect since 1982, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The USA has not yet followed the good example of the USSR.

The whole world has set high store by the moratorium on orbiting anti-satellite weapons, declared by the Soviet Union in 1983. Yet, the USA has not followed suit in this case either. On the contrary, in response it carried out in August 1985 a test of its new anti-satellite system, ASAT, against a real target in space. Thus yet another chance to take a useful step in preventing the introduction of weapons into outer space was missed.

In order to facilitate success at Geneva, the USSR has more than once proposed to take some preliminary measures which could be agreed upon well before the finalisation of an agreement on the entire set of issues relating to space and nuclear armaments.

Of particular significance would be an agreement between the USSR and the USA to suspend all work on developing, testing and deploying space-strike weapons, including anti-satellite systems. The importance of such a measure is self-evident if we take into account the cardinal role which the prevention of the militarisation of outer space plays in reaching agreement on the entire complex of interrelated issues pertaining to space and nuclear arms.

The USSR has repeatedly proposed concurrently to freeze the already available nuclear armaments at their present qualitative level, to restrict as far as possible their modernisation, and to discontinue the development, testing and deployment of new types and systems of such weapons. As regards the European continent, it has been proposed, as a top-priority measure, to put an end to medium-range missile deployment in Europe.

The cessation of nuclear weapons tests is among important preliminary measures firmly advocated by the Soviet Union. The Soviet unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests, in effect until January 1, 1986, provided a good basis for a negotiated and early implementation of such a measure. The USA's joining the moratorium on nuclear explosions would open up a road towards a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. The USSR reaffirms its readiness immediately to agree to a treaty ban on all nuclear weapons tests to be of indefinite duration.

The decisions taken by the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, held in Sofia on October 22-23, 1985, have been a major event in the struggle of the world's forces of peace for terminating the arms race and for disarmament. In the statement For Elimination of the Nuclear Threat and a Change for the Better in European and World Affairs, adopted by the meeting, the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states have underlined that they regard the cessation of the arms race and the transition to disarmament as a most crucial task of today.

Advocating a reduction in the level of military confrontation in Europe and a stronger European security, the participants in the Sofia meeting have taken a firm stand in favour of stopping a further stationing of nuclear arms on the continent and working for their reduction. They have reaffirmed their resolve to seek to ensure that Europe be completely free of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical.

The Warsaw Treaty member states have expressed their full support for the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of Europe and also for the efforts of the governments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia to establish a zone free from chemical weapons in Central Europe. They have reiterated their proposals, addressed to the NATO countries and still fully relevant, to hold direct talks on: concluding a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace between the states party to the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO member states, a treaty that would also be open to all European and other interested countries; non-increasing and reducing military expenditures; and ridding Europe of chemical weapons.

The Warsaw Treaty member states have spoken in favour of an earlier agreement at the ongoing Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, proposing to begin with a reduction of Soviet and American troops; they have also come out for the Stockholm Conference elaborating in the near future substantial mutually complementary measures, both political and military, to build confidence and security in Europe.

The participants in the Sofia meeting have called upon the USSR and the USA to take, on a bilateral basis, several priority measures as a good example for other states. In their view, it would be in the interests of halting the nuclear arms race if the USSR and the USA assume a mutual obligation to refrain from stationing any nuclear weapons on the territories of states where there are no such weapons, not to build up the nuclear arms arsenals, and not to replace such weapons in countries where they have already been installed with new ones.

The participants in the Political Consultative Committee meeting have urged that the USSR and the USA also serve as an example for others in checking the non-nuclear arms race. They have proposed that the two great powers undertake not to develop or produce new types of conventional weapons comparable in their destructive power with weapons of mass annihilation; and freeze, as of January 1, 1986, the numerical strength of their armed forces, including those outside their national territories. In the view of the participants in the meeting, a mutual non-increase of the military budgets of the USSR and the USA, starting from the next fiscal year, would be an effective measure restricting armaments in all areas.

The decisions taken at Sofia have provided graphic proof that the allied socialist states constitute a powerful dynamic factor promoting a solution to the cardinal issue of today—that of stopping the arms race and of disarmament. Advancing specific proposals designed to limit the arms race and to promote disarmament, the Soviet Union and other socialist states are convinced that it is possible to lower the level of military confrontation and to achieve a reliable security and lasting peace.

An overwhelming majority of peace-loving countries side with socialist states in their efforts to terminate the arms race. Contrary to the exertions by official bourgeois propaganda in the USA and other Western countries to find all sorts of justifications for their stepped-up militaristic preparations, the demand is being strongly voiced by the powerful forces of the antiwar movement, broad public, mass political parties and organisations, realistically-minded politicians and public figures, and authoritative experts in military sciences and contemporary military and political strategies to freeze the nuclear arsenals, to halt the arms race, and not to permit the introduction of nuclear and other weapons into outer space.

The sentiments of the broad public in the USA and other Western countries, which demand that the nuclear arms race be discontinued and that preparations for "star wars" be prevented, are evidenced by the growing criticism of the Washington's policy of militarising outer space, the protests against that militaristic programme voiced by prominent American scholars, and the refusal by many British, West German and other West European scientists to participate in the development of space facilities under that programme.

An overwhelming majority of the UN member states participating in the 40th General Assembly Session more firmly than ever before brought the weight of their authority behind the demands to promptly solve the most acute problem of today, i. e. how to curb the arms race on earth and to prevent it from spreading to outer space. Calls for limiting the arms race and implementing practical disarmament measures were a centerpiece of

the statements at the Session. Those calls have found their reflection in close to 70 resolutions dealing with various specific aspects of that problem, which have been submitted by socialist and non-aligned countries to the Session and adopted by it. The decisions propose such measures as prevention of an arms race in space, complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, freeze on the nuclear arsenals, implementation of a programme of gradual nuclear disarmament, undertaking by all states not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, prevention of the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction, prohibition, elimination and non-proliferation of chemical weapons, and others.

Given a growing threat of the arms race spreading to outer space, the USSR's proposal on International Cooperation in the Peaceful Exploration of Outer Space in Conditions of its Non-Militarisation has met with broad support at the UN General Assembly. In the opinion of many delegates, unlike the militaristic "star wars" programme the Soviet initiative outlined prospects of peaceful cooperation in space to the benefit and in the interests of all the peoples.

Both the statements by an overwhelming majority of the delegates and the resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly Session vividly manifest the sentiments of the entire world community that demands prompt practical actions and tangible measures capable of ensuring a turn towards arms limitations, disarmament, and a peaceful outer space.

According to the new edition of the CPSU Programme, the USSR proceeds from the assumption that, however grave the threat posed by the policy of the aggressive circles of imperialism to peace, **world war is not fatally inevitable. It is possible to avert war and to save mankind from catastrophe. This is the historical mission of socialism, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world.** The CPSU and the Soviet state have consistently and untiringly fought in the international arena for achieving that most humane and most important objective. This is borne out by major specific and practical actions recently undertaken by the USSR and resolutely supported by other socialist states and all the forces of peace throughout the world.

This is also evidenced by the Soviet-American summit meeting held in Geneva on November 19-21, 1985, which paid priority attention to the problem of limiting the arms race and preventing armaments from spreading in outer space. Although the parties failed to find there solutions to crucial issues related to the task of ending the arms race and strengthening peace, they were able, however, to record their unanimous views on some points of principle which directly bear upon the fulfilment of that task.

Therefore, the Geneva summit allowed to make some progress. The Soviet Union, as was stated in the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the results of the Soviet-American summit, will spare no effort to put into life the accords reached, and expresses hope that the USA would display an equally responsible approach. As before, much depends on whether the USA will be prepared to follow the example set by the USSR and meet it halfway.

The political outcome of the Geneva summit lies, in particular, in the fact that it has served further to enhance the interest of the international public in removing as early as possible the dangers inherent in the continuing race in nuclear and conventional armaments. It has become even more obvious for all that the current stage of international relations characterised by a greater interrelationship and interdependence of states requires a new way of political thinking and a new realistic policy.

DEEPENING ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AS THE MATERIAL BASIS FOR THE CMEA COUNTRIES' FURTHER COHESION

*B. D Y A K I N,
B. M E D V E D E V*

Attainment of the strategic goals of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the CMEA countries and the tasks of strengthening the positions of socialism in the international arena call for a steady deepening of socialist economic integration, which provides a material basis for the economic consolidation of the community countries. Deeper integration is also necessary to help resolve a task that is now facing most CMEA countries: the task of switching their economies to a primarily intensive road of development.

Since the 26th Congress of the CPSU, which is known to have formulated new tasks in extending the USSR's external economic ties with the fraternal countries, socialist economic integration has reached a new level, primarily marked by an enrichment of the qualitative content of their cooperation, rather than its quantitative expansion, which shows that their integration has entered a new stage of development.

The major distinctive feature of the new stage is an intensification of the integration process itself, expressed in closer interaction between the national economic complexes of the CMEA countries at every level of economic administration and management, starting from the very top (the whole national economy) and reaching down to the basic economic unit (association and enterprise).

The integration is intensified primarily as a result of the wider practical use of the methods and instruments of concerting economic policies on matters of mutual interest; ever more coordinated development of the crucial branches of the economy; and introduction of new forms of cooperation, such as direct links between enterprises, associations and scientific-research organisations of the integrating countries, establishment of joint firms working on the principles of economic calculus (*khozraschyot*), and so on.

In their integration efforts, the CMEA countries have always tended to expand their cooperation. That tendency is well illustrated, in particular, by the ratio between the growth rates of the CMEA countries' mutual trade and their aggregate social product, which was 2.4 to 1 in the period from 1971 to 1983. The faster growth of foreign trade as compared with that of the aggregate social product entailed a significant increase in its share

in the aggregate social product, which rose from 3.7 per cent in 1971 to 8.9 per cent in 1983.

The mutual exports of the CMEA countries as a whole went up from 4.3 per cent of their total national income in 1970 to 11.5 per cent in 1983, and the ratio between the growth rates of these two indicators was 2.7 to 1. In 1983, mutual exports accounted for 16.4 per cent of the CMEA countries' gross output in engineering and the metalworking industry, whereas in 1970 the figure was 6.1 per cent. The share of mutually exported fuel, mineral raw materials and metals in the gross output of their heat, electric-power, fuel and metallurgical industry went up from 7.3 per cent in 1970 to 20.9 per cent in 1983. The share of mutually exported chemical products, fertilisers and synthetic rubber in the gross output of their chemical and rubber-asbestos industry went up from 3.9 per cent in 1970 to 5.9 per cent in 1983; and the share of mutually exported manufactures and foodstuffs in the gross output of their consumer industries (group B) went up from 2 per cent in 1970 to 3.9 per cent in 1983.

Another interesting point is that the share of mutually exported fuel, raw materials and metals in the objects of labour consumed increased from 1 per cent in 1970 to 2.9 per cent in 1983. Since raw materials, basic and auxiliary materials, fuel and energy stand out in the structure of objects of labour, the mutual supplies of these items are very important for fully meeting the needs of the CMEA countries' economies.

The deepening internationalisation of the processes of expanded reproduction in the community countries takes concrete forms, whose purpose is, in particular, to maintain interstate economic proportions in natural-material and value terms. By way of concerted planning activity, the CMEA countries directly regulate the cooperation of their national economic complexes, in the course of which expanded proportions are established between the industries producing instruments and objects of labour and those consuming means of production. A dynamic equilibrium has been established and is being maintained between production and productive consumption, and ever more is being done to balance out production and personal consumption.

Thus, in the mid-1980s, deliveries from the USSR go to meet 70 per cent of the other CMEA countries' import requirements in electric power, 80 per cent in oil and oil products, and 98 per cent in natural gas (in 1984, Soviet exports of these commodities totaled 23,600 million rubles). In 1984, the USSR's share in the mutual trade of the CMEA countries was 39.4 per cent. At the same time, supplies of machinery and equipment from the other CMEA countries accounted for roughly 17 per cent of the total capital investments in the USSR's active production assets; in 1984, the USSR imported 16,700 million rubles' worth of engineering products (while its exports amounted to 6,300 million rubles). Let us add that the share of mutual trade in the CMEA countries' overall foreign trade in 1984 came to 59.2 per cent (as compared with 53.6 per cent in 1980), which is well below the share of satisfaction of their import requirements via mutual deliveries of the most important types of industrial output.

So, the past few years have seen a serious increase in the international possibilities for meeting the CMEA countries' national-state requirements in a number of key types of output produced both in Department I and Department II of social production. Hence, guaranteed expanded reproduction in the CMEA countries calls for greater integration efforts, primarily in the form of all-round cooperation between the national economic complexes of the socialist states.

Cooperation between the national economic complexes of the CMEA countries, whose material basis is their specialisation, helps to internationalise all the main components of the reproduction process: the reproduction of material values and of labour power (although to a lesser

extent), perfection of interstate production relations of the socialist type, and also the conditions for realising a sizeable part of the aggregate social product turned out by the community countries, including an exchange of goods produced in both departments of social production. Thus, consumer goods supplied to the USSR by other CMEA countries come to about 16 per cent of its national assets, and if one takes into account the import of foodstuffs, the figure will be even higher. This makes it possible to somewhat expand the variety of those goods on the USSR's domestic market.

The vast importance of integration for accelerating the CMEA countries' socio-economic development and the ever greater economic effect yielded by their mutual cooperation induce the community countries and the CMEA's competent organs to look for new forms, ways and means of intensifying their integration and to apply these in their integration practice. In tackling the common tasks of raising the efficiency of social production, the socialist states use the potentialities and advantages of cooperation and integration, which, being the crucial factor with regard to the national economy of each community country, is also their common instrument for raising the level of the productive forces and improving the performance of their national economic complexes.

Greater emphasis on the intensive factors, forms and methods of deepening socialist economic integration helps to attain faster growth of the final results of production as compared with the growth of outlays, i. e. to raise the efficiency of material production and the whole process of expanded reproduction. For the national economy as a whole, the final result of production is the physical volume of the national income structured on definite lines, which make it possible to resolve the task of current consumption and accumulation in the best possible way. Maximisation of the final economic result should be correlated with the volume of production resources, which is limited in each period of time, and should ensure the utmost satisfaction of social and personal requirements.

The importance of socialist economic integration, however, lies not only in the growing satisfaction of the national requirements of individual countries through their involvement in the international socialist division of labour. The most essential thing is that in the rapidly changing internal and external conditions of reproduction the economic integration of the community states increasingly promotes the active formation of prerequisites for intensifying their economic development and raising the efficiency of social production.

In the present period, the CMEA countries are in effect going over to a qualitatively new stage of integration, oriented towards the solution of long-term (rather than current) problems of socio-economic development, objectively conditioned by the frontal technological revolution in the productive forces. The deepening integration of the community countries also reflects the need to realise the objective tendency towards a further internationalisation of their economic life.

The intensifying integration of the CMEA countries is a major factor in accelerating their transition to a mostly intensive road of economic development and raising the efficiency of social production. The intensification of social production is in principle measured by the result yielded per given volume of resources, and occurs whenever that result grows faster than the volume of expended resources. The structure of these resources can change owing to their interchangeability, whose potentialities are particularly expanded in the course of integration. In other words, a reduction in the expenditure of some resources (such as financial resources allocated by the society to obtain the required volume of out-

put with a view to its structure and quality) should exceed the possible increase in the consumption of other resources (say, fixed production assets). Intensification and a rise in the efficiency of social production also presuppose better use of resources, that is, higher returns on these resources. At the same time, intensification calls for an increase in the work load per working person and a qualitative renewal of the technical and production base of reproduction.

The common strategic line of the CMEA countries, projected by their Economic Summit Conference in Moscow in the summer of 1984, is to accelerate the transfer of their economies to a mostly intensive road of development. One of the major directions in realising that line is the utmost economy of all types of resources. That problem was discussed, in particular, at the 40th Session of the CMEA (Warsaw, 1985), where it was noted that there were still considerable reserves in the matter of reducing the material and power intensity of production. In order to mobilise these reserves, the Session adopted a programme of cooperation between the CMEA countries in the economy and rational use of material resources up to the year 2000, which includes 117 concrete measures, notably, measures under the general agreement on multilateral cooperation in the use of natural gas as motor fuel for transport facilities, measures to save and recycle secondary resources, and also to raise the technical level of material and energy-intensive lines of production.

The work to coordinate the national economic plans of the CMEA countries for 1986-1990, which went far beyond a mere projection of ways to continue and extend the established patterns of mutual supplies of goods and services, was also meant to intensify economic integration and enhance its influence on raising the efficiency of social production in the fraternal countries.

In implementation of the decisions adopted by the CMEA's Economic Summit Conference, the plans were coordinated with due account for the agreed priority lines of cooperation and the need for closer linkage between scientific-technical and production cooperation. Steps were taken to coordinate the economic policies of the countries concerned in many areas of socio-economic development, including capital investments in agreed fields and projects. An essential element of these coordination efforts was to map out measures aimed at a further increase in 1986-1990 of the output and mutual deliveries of certain types of machinery and equipment whose purchase in the markets of the developed capitalist countries is being artificially restricted by the USA and some other Western states.

In order to resolve the complex tasks of increasing the contribution made by socialist economic integration to raising the efficiency of social production in the CMEA countries, close and steady, but at the same time, sufficiently elastic links should be established:

- between the development of the scientific and technical potential and the need to raise the level of the material and technical basis of the national-state economic systems, to apply STR achievements on a wide scale and make efficient use of these in the national economy, with particular emphasis on innovations which have a revolutionising (rather than evolutionising) impact on social production;

- between the branches of the extractive and the manufacturing industries;

- between the industries producing and consuming the latest and most progressive instruments of labour, which help to save resources and are ecologically harmless;

- between the branches of the agro-industrial complex, so as markedly to increase the volume and improve the structure of the socialist countries' food stocks;

— between the industries of group B in order to provide these with high-quality raw materials, progressive equipment, etc., which will make it possible to increase export resources and widen the range of consumer goods available on the domestic market of each CMEA country.

The scientific and technical potential and the production apparatus, which are components of the national economic complex, virtually form the profile (type) of specialisation and provide a material basis for co-operation between these complexes of the CMEA countries. The intensifying influence of integration on these components of the complex strengthens their interaction and crossinfluence, so paving the way for their coalescence, for a rise in the efficiency of research and development, and thus also for a higher technical level and better consumer properties of the instruments of labour. Integration gives both components an additional impulse towards concerted development and offers a possibility for the external realisation of the advantages of such development, and that is ultimately bound to raise the efficiency of social production.

One of the major prerequisites for intensifying the CMEA countries' integration lies in the growth and qualitative perfection of their export potential. And that, in turn, depends on the productivity and quality of labour in the corresponding industries and also on the degree of sophistication of the means of production used in these industries. That is why in order to increase the role of socialist economic integration in raising the efficiency of social production, the CMEA countries devote much attention to switching export lines of production to the latest machinery and technology, including flexible technology with the use of automatic systems, and also to cooperation in the development and manufacture of precisely such means of production.

Much could also be done to increase the export potential of the community countries by using the selective approach in programming export-import flows, with emphasis on priority lines in scientific and technical research and in production, to be agreed with foreign consumers (or suppliers).

More intensive integration also helps to build up export stocks by making it possible to develop manufacturing industries with sufficiently full account for the wishes of foreign consumers, their demands as regards the quality of goods. It helps to boost the output of short-supply products in engineering, in the chemical, light and other industries, to organise additional production of spare parts, components and assembly units, and systematically to renew the product mix (range of goods). As a result, foreign-exchange earnings go up.

Socialist economic integration as an intensifying process has been doing a great deal to even out the development levels of all the CMEA countries. This indicates that their integration activities are ever more diverse, embracing virtually every field and area of human activity and turning into a factor which determines the basic indicators of the internationalisation of the socialist way of life. The high socio-economic effectiveness of the influence of integration on the national economy of the community countries is expressed in the growing reproducibility of rational proportions, the steady and dynamic balance and the guaranteed optimality of economic growth.

More intensive integration not only helps to strengthen and deepen the mutual ties of the CMEA countries, but also to invigorate their involvement in the world division of labour.¹ The community countries are

¹ From 1971 to 1983, the CMEA countries' foreign trade with other countries multiplied 5.5-fold. In that period, the correlation between that part of their foreign trade and the aggregate social product increased by 3.9 points, and the CMEA countries' share in the global foreign trade turnover increased by 0.65 points.

ever more active on the world market, coming out with products of key importance and taking steps to increase their involvement in world trade in order to raise that indicator to a level which would correspond to their total scientific, technical and industrial potential. Ever fuller inclusion in the world division of labour will help to increase economic efficiency in each of the CMEA countries.

In order to accelerate the intensification of the CMEA countries' integration activities, and also to determine the most essential ways in which it helps to raise the efficiency of social production, it is necessary to keep a systematic statistical record of the developing specialisation of the national economic complexes, using appropriate indicators for that purpose.

The level of specialisation can be judged from the share of exports in the aggregate social product or the national income produced, and also from the share of exports in the volume of production or the share of imports in the volume of consumption. An analysis of the dynamics of these indicators shows a steadily growing specialisation of the CMEA countries' national economic complexes, and thus also their deepening involvement in socialist economic integration. Thus, from 1971 to 1983, the share of mutual exports in the aggregate social product of Bulgaria multiplied 2.3-fold, and came to 16 per cent in 1983; the corresponding figures were 3.3 and 15.7 for Hungary, 2.1 and 9.6 for the GDR, 2.3 and 31.0 for Mongolia, 1.4 and 3.7 for Poland, 1.6 and 3.4 for Romania, 2.4 and 2.4 for the USSR, 2.5 and 12.5 for Czechoslovakia, and 2.4 and 4.3 for the CMEA countries as a whole.

The type of specialisation is a qualitative indicator showing the involvement of the CMEA countries in the international socialist division of labour. It is determined with the help of an export or import coefficient, usually calculated for different commodity groups or individual commodities. That coefficient is the ratio of exports to imports for a given group of commodities.² From 1971 to 1983, the export specialisation coefficient for the CMEA countries as a whole rose most significantly in the commodity group that includes fuel, mineral raw materials and metals: from 1.24 to 1.46 (the coefficient was highest in the USSR, where it rose from 3.2 to 4.79, and lowest in Bulgaria, where it declined from 0.30 to 0.24). For chemical products, fertilisers, synthetic rubber, building materials and other goods, that coefficient went up from 1.25 to 1.40 (in the USSR, it declined from 2.30 to 2.10, and in Hungary it rose from 0.3 to 0.53); for consumer manufactures, it went down from 1.04 to 1.01. Over that period, the import specialisation coefficient for machinery, equipment and transport facilities did not change and amounted to 1.10; and for raw materials and their derivatives (non-food), raw materials for the production of foodstuffs, and foodstuffs, it rose from 1.15 to 1.43 (from 1.18 to 3.80 in the USSR, and from 0.25 to 0.34 in Mongolia).

The intensifying integration of the CMEA countries also manifests itself in its growing influence on the national economic complex of each of these countries, which is confirmed by the growth of the following indicators:

— the ratio of mutual exports to the national income produced. From 1971 to 1983, it went up by 19.2 points in Bulgaria, 30.9 in Hungary, 14.5 in the GDR, 12.1 in Poland, 3.0 in Romania, 4.1 in the USSR, 18.4 in Czechoslovakia, and 6.6 in the CMEA countries as a whole;

² If the coefficient is over 1, its quantitative magnitude characterises an export-oriented type of specialisation; and if it is under 1, it shows an import-oriented type of specialisation. The import coefficient is the ratio of imports to exports.

-- the ratio of mutual imports to the national income consumed. In 1983, that ratio was 27.0 points up on 1970 in Bulgaria, 33.3 in Hungary, 17.3 in the GDR, 12.7 in Poland, 1 in Romania, 3.7 in the USSR, 17.7 in Czechoslovakia, and 6.3 in the CMEA countries as a whole;

-- the volume of mutual trade among the socialist community countries per head of the population. From 1971 to 1983, it increased by 419 per cent in Bulgaria, 405 in Hungary, 284 in the GDR, 456 in Cuba, 304 in Mongolia, 255 in Poland, 260 in Romania, 369 in the USSR, 257 in Czechoslovakia, and 333 in the CMEA countries as a whole;

-- the volume of mutual exports per person employed in the sphere of material production. In 1983, that indicator was 5.0 times up on 1970 in Bulgaria, 5.9 in Hungary, 3.7 in the GDR, 1.1 in Cuba (as compared with 1980), 4.3 in Mongolia, 3.7 in Poland, 4.0 in Romania, 4.8 in the USSR, 3.9 in Czechoslovakia, and 4.3 in the CMEA countries as a whole;

-- the volume of mutual exports per ruble of productive investments. From 1971 to 1983, that indicator rose by 160 per cent in Bulgaria, 397 in Hungary, 181 in the GDR, 35 in Mongolia, 264 in Poland, 73 in Romania (from 1971 to 1982), 182 in the USSR, 141 in Czechoslovakia, and 157 per cent in the CMEA countries as a whole;

-- the volume of mutual exports per ruble of fixed production assets. In 1983, that indicator was 1.7 times up on 1970 in Bulgaria, 2.8 in Hungary, 2.0 in the GDR, 1.4 in Mongolia, 2.0 in Poland, remained at 1970 level in Romania, 2.0 in the USSR, 1.8 in Czechoslovakia, and 2.0 in the CMEA countries as a whole.

All these figures prove a gradual intensification of the integration process and its growing influence on the functioning of the national economic complexes in virtually all the CMEA countries. In other words, *more intensive integration is highly conducive to the efficient utilisation of the potential created by the socialist community countries, to the rational use of all types of resources in order to resolve their socio-economic tasks and ensure their rapid progress along strategic lines.* That process has a direct influence both on the attainment of a dynamic balance between production and consumption and on the level of the satisfaction of social requirements.

The actual influence of the CMEA countries' integration activities on their economy is wider and more diverse, since the statistical data listed above take no account of the advantages of scientific and technical cooperation, the effect of production concentration as a result of involvement in integration measures, the results of the mutual extension of services and preferences, and so on.

The main element in the economic strategy of the CMEA countries at the present stage and in the foreseeable future is an all-out acceleration of scientific and technical progress and prompt application of the latest scientific and technical achievements to production. Using the advantages of integration, the socialist community countries will resolve that task primarily through interstate coordination of the basic parameters of each country's scientific and technical policy. That will enable them to elaborate a common system of priorities in this field and project guidelines for perfecting the socialist economic mechanism in the CMEA countries.

It is important to strengthen the weaker links in the science-production complex by putting the large-scale research potential on a corresponding industrial basis in order to tie in research and development with the work being done to engineer R&D and bring it up to the level of full-scale production in the conditions of international specialisation and cooperation.

It is necessary to ensure an economically substantiated allocation of funds, material resources and capacities so as best to combine research and development, on the one hand, with the introduction of new technology and its rapid spread across the national economy, on the other. With that aim in view, changes should be made in the structure of appropriations (outlays) for innovation.

Finally, it is necessary to attain higher practical returns on scientific and technical cooperation by going over from its simple forms to higher ones, oriented towards the utmost implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technical Progress in the CMEA countries for the next 15 to 20 years, adopted at the 41st extraordinary meeting of the session of the CMEA (Moscow, December 1985). As that Programme is being elaborated into a system of concrete agreements (treaties), the community countries should provide for a periodic specification and supplementation of its measures, and also for enhancing the influence of their integration activities on the economic-organisational aspects of those components of the CMEA countries' scientific and technical potentials whose purpose is to apply STR achievements to production.

Since the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technical Progress provides a basis for a concerted or, in some fields, integral scientific and technical policy, the crucial importance of the efforts to internationalise STR achievements for raising the efficiency of the division of labour and science-production cooperation tends to become even more pronounced. That makes it possible to accelerate the development of those branches of the national economy which convey the revolutionising impact of scientific and technical progress. It is time to go over from coordination of research (simple cooperation) to joint research; from a perfection of machinery and technology to the development of an essentially new system of machines, and to an increase in the share of high-technology products in mutual trade.

The realisation of the Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technical Progress and the implementation of other large-scale plans aimed to improve and expand economic interaction among the fraternal socialist countries by consistently following the decisions of the CMEA countries' Economic Summit Conference will allow, in accordance with the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, to ensure fuller utilisation of the possibilities afforded by socialist economic integration in accomplishing key national economic tasks and in consolidating the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community and of its positions in the world.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries lay particular stress on consolidating integration between the CMEA countries. For instance, as it is emphasised in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, the CPSU considers especially important consistent pooling of efforts by the fraternal countries in the key areas of intensification of production and acceleration of scientific and technical progress so as to accomplish jointly a task of historical importance, namely that of emerging into the forefront of science and technology, for further improvement in the welfare of their peoples and strengthening their security.

UNION AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE HOMELAND OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Mangalyn D U G E R S O R E N.

Member of the MPRP Central Committee,
MPR Minister of Foreign Affairs

Socialist Mongolia is celebrating milestones in the annals of the fraternal relations with the great Soviet Union—the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the MPR and the USSR of 1946 and the 20th anniversary of its successor—the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between the MPR and the USSR of 1966.

Mongolian-Soviet relations date far back to the first, turbulent years of the people's revolution in Mongolia and of the fledgling Soviet power in the homeland of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The union and fraternity between the first people's system in the East and the first socialist state in the world was destined to become the prototype of the new kind of interstate relations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

A solid foundation of a class-based union, fraternal friendship and mutual assistance between People's Mongolia and Soviet Russia was laid by Lenin, the leader of the world proletariat, and D. Sukhe Bator, the founder of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the leader of the people's revolution. The Agreement on the Establishment of Amicable Relations Between Mongolia and the Russian Federation of November 5, 1921, elaborated with their personal participation, embodied the spirit of the profoundly natural and ineluctable process initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The union and cooperation between the two countries were conditioned by the interests of the common revolutionary struggle against international imperialism and were dictated by the objective law of the merging of the socialist revolution of the working class and the national liberation struggle of enslaved countries and peoples. It was in the struggle against the feudal system and foreign occupation that the Mongolian arats acquired for the first time in their history mighty political, ideological and material support on the part of Soviet Russia.

It was as a result of the class-based alliance with the triumphant Russian proletariat and through its internationalist assistance in the struggle against the common enemy that the anti-imperialist, antifeudal revolution of July 11, 1921 emerged victorious in Mongolia. The above-mentioned Agreement on the Establishment of Amicable Relations between the two countries was signed four months later. It was permeated with the spirit of the time of the legendary battle of the working masses of Soviet Russia against the united intervention of the imperialist powers and internal counter-revolution, of joint struggle against the common enemy on the territory of Mongolia. Underlying it were specific provisions on political, diplomatic and military cooperation between both sides to defend the

world's first socialist state and the gains of the people's revolution in Mongolia.

This cooperation was above all of decisive importance for deepening the people's revolution and consolidating the international and domestic situation of the country and effecting its advance along the road of non-capitalist development.

In the 1920s and 1930s a large number of treaties and agreements in foremost spheres of economic and cultural development in Mongolia were concluded between both countries. The USSR's assistance and cooperation on their basis played a tremendous role in enabling Mongolia to overcome its economic dependence on foreign capital, create and develop new branches of the economy, and carry out sweeping social transformations in the country.

Caught in capitalist encirclement, the USSR and the MPR could not but take into consideration the dangerous consequences of the drastic worsening of the international situation beginning in the early 1930s, and the stepped up military preparations by Nazi Germany and militarist Japan. In these unfavourable conditions the Central Committees of the two countries' Parties and the Mongolian and Soviet governments took every necessary measure to repel a possible aggression on the part of the imperialist forces, and increasingly consolidated the bonds of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the peoples of the two countries. Owing to the worsened international situation the continued strengthening of our military and political cooperation as well became particularly important.

As is known, in the 1930s the Soviet government expended great efforts to prevent a world war, to create a system of collective security in Europe and Asia. However, at that time the forces of reaction and war, like today, rejected, ignored or tried to discredit the Soviet proposals, and stepped up the preparations for a war in order to recarve the world, hypocritically trotting out the "communist menace" myth for the purpose.

The real military danger in the Far East particularly intensified in the early 1930s, when the Japanese militarists, with the connivance of the other imperialist powers, occupied Manchuria (Northeast China). Right after this the Japanese military openly began preparing for an incursion into Mongolia so as to turn its territory into a bridgehead for an attack on the Soviet Union.

With a direct threat to the freedom and independence of Mongolia looming overhead, the MPR and the USSR concluded on November 27, 1934 a gentlemen's (verbal) agreement envisaging measures to forestall the danger of military aggression and to furnish mutual aid in the event one of the sides was attacked by a third country. This was a serious warning to the Japanese militarists, who were intent on extending their aggression in Central Asia. However, the militarist circles of Japan, rejecting the insistent peace efforts of the MPR to settle the border conflicts provoked by Japan, continued to concentrate their troops near its eastern border, and stepped up armed provocations against Mongolia. Taking this circumstance into consideration, the Mongolian government in January 1936 turned to the Soviet government for assistance in ensuring the country's defence.

True to its allied and internationalist duty, the Soviet government stated in February 1936 that in the event of a Japanese invasion of the MPR, the Soviet Union would help Mongolia defend its independence just as it had helped it back in 1921.

Following a proposal by the Mongolian government, a Protocol on Mutual Assistance between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for a Period of Ten Years was signed in Ulan Bator on March 12, 1936. This Protocol envisaged that in the event

of a threat of invasion of the territory of the USSR or the MPR by a third state both sides would jointly take every measure to ensure the security of their territory, and in the event of an armed attack on one of the contracting parties, they would "furnish each other all manner of assistance, including military". At the request of the government of Mongolia and in accordance with the Protocol, Soviet military units were temporarily moved into the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic, and arose to the defence of its borders shoulder to shoulder with the Mongolian fighting men.

The veracity and timeliness of the measures taken by the Mongolian and Soviet governments were corroborated by the events that followed. On May 11, 1939 the Japanese militarists launched wide-scale hostilities against the MPR in the area of Halhyn-gol.

In a fierce battle, which lasted some four months, the Soviet-Mongolian troops dealt a crushing blow to crack units of the Japanese army. The first major armed clash between the old and the new worlds after the intervention of the imperialist powers against Soviet Russia ended in a complete victory for the new world. This victory was of great importance morally and politically, as it proved anew, at the height of the preparations for the imperialist war, the invincibility of the forces of socialism. Incidentally, the Japanese generals then admitted the low morale of the Japanese soldiers as one of the main reasons for the defeat. But what morale could be had by people who had become an instrument of the policy of aggression. This lesson, which was soundly confirmed by the results of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people, should be learned by all aggressors for all times. However, the practical significance of the rout of the Japanese interventionists was that the lesson they received at the Halhyn-gol served as a restraining factor for the Japanese militarists during the Second World War, when they elaborated plans for an aggression against the Soviet Union. The victory at the Halhyn-gol was a major blow at both Japanese militarism and the forces of imperialist reaction.

The victory of the Soviet and Mongolian troops was a brilliant chapter in the annals of the close Mongolian-Soviet friendship and again demonstrated the invincible strength of the class alliance of the two socialist countries and the indomitable fidelity of the Soviet Union to the ideas and principles of proletarian internationalism. It tremendously consolidated the state independence of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The internationalist essence of our relations stood a fresh test during the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people. Treacherously attacking the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Nazi Germany set itself the goal of eliminating the Soviet social system, destroying socialism, and halting and turning back revolutionary renewal in the world which had been begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

At the outset of the war the MPR, true to the ideals of socialism, decisively arose to the defence of its tried-and-tested friend and ally—the USSR. On June 22, 1941, the Presidium of the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Little Hural, and the MPR Council of Ministers adopted a declaration in which they confirmed the MPR's fidelity to the Protocol on Mutual Assistance and issued an appeal to the Mongolian people to give all their energies for the defence of the homeland of the October Revolution and extend moral, political and material support to the Soviet people. The people of Mongolia selflessly worked under the slogan "All for the front, all for victory!" With money donated by the Mongolian working people the Revolutionary Mongolia Tank Column and the Mongolian Arat Air Squadron were formed and handed over to the Red Army, and the MPR covered the expenses for the maintenance of the personnel until the end of the Great Patriotic War. Some 400,000 horses were sold and some 30,000 horses donated for the needs of the Red Army.

The aid the Mongolian working people furnished the Soviet Union during the war years was modest in terms of quantity, but it vividly manifested their fraternal friendship and their awareness of their internationalist duty as regards the heroic Soviet people, and the world's first socialist state.

Particular mention should be made of the fact that during the war years the Soviet Union, despite the maximum mobilisation of resources for the needs of the front, continued to extend selfless assistance to Mongolia in the political, economic and cultural spheres and in strengthening its defence capability. As in the past, fraternal support was rendered on the diplomatic front. The Soviet Union bent every effort to consolidate the sovereignty and independence of the MPR by extending recognition of the latter internationally. The most graphic illustration of this is the fact that at the Crimea Conference of the leaders of the three Allied Powers in 1945 the Soviet Union advanced as one of the main terms of the USSR's entry into the war against Japan recognition of the status quo, i. e. the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic. This term was accepted and formalised in an agreement, signed by the three Allied Powers—the USSR, the USA and Great Britain—on February 11, 1945.

The joint military operations by the armed forces of the USSR and the MPR to eliminate the last hotbed of war in the Far East demonstrated anew the peaceable and internationalist essence of the policy of the two countries.

Guided by a desire to "attain universal peace as soon as possible and also to do its part for the cause of the United Nations", the MPR followed the USSR and entered in August 1945 the war of liberation against Japan, which had for many years been a constant threat to the freedom and independence of Mongolia.

The relations of alliance, friendship and cooperation between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples thus withstood with honour many tests in conditions of hostile encirclement, and were consolidated by blood jointly spilled on battlefields and by selfless labour to build a new society.

Union and friendship with the USSR made for a steady strengthening of the MPR's sovereignty and a growth of its authority and prestige in the world arena. With the historic victory over the forces of fascism and militarism and the formation of the world socialist system favourable conditions were created for the peaceful development of our countries and broad vistas were opened for the continued deepening of political, economic and cultural cooperation between them.

The juridical underpinnings of postwar Mongolian-Soviet relations were laid by the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance Between the MPR and the USSR, concluded in Moscow on February 27, 1946. This Treaty and the Agreement on Economic and Cultural Cooperation, signed on the same day, elevated Mongolian-Soviet relations to a new level. They underlay the cooperation of the two countries in accomplishing the strategic tasks of the socialist stage of development in the MPR, and in effecting further sweeping socio-economic transformations in the country and ensuring the ultimate triumph of the MPRP's general line for the country's transition from feudalism to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalism.

Drawing on the selfless assistance of and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, the Mongolian people have, by their hard work under the wise stewardship of the MPRP, successfully accomplished the tasks of extending the state sector, cooperating agriculture, carrying out a cultural revolution, and establishing socialist production relations in the economy and turning the MPR into an agro-industrial society.

By 1966, when the successor of the Treaty of 1946—the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between the MPR and the

USSR—was signed, Mongolia entered a new phase of its development—the period of the conclusion of the construction of socialism's material and technical base. Signed on January 15, 1966 in Ulan Bator, this Treaty inherited and developed still further the aims, principles and fine traditions of the relations between the two countries. It reflected the qualitative changes that had taken place in Mongolian domestic and foreign affairs. The socio-economic shifts essentially boiled down to the implementation of the teaching of the great Lenin about the possibility for the transition of formerly backward countries to socialism, bypassing capitalism. The MPR became a socialist state of workers, the cooperated arats and the working intelligentsia.

Major shifts have also taken place in the MPR's international standing. Its entry into the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in 1962 became a new chapter in the relations between the MPR and the socialist community countries. Prospects opened up before the country for extending multifarious economic cooperation within the framework of the international socialist division of labour.

Mongolia's relations with the young independent states based on community of aims of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism began to develop rapidly. Relations with Asian countries were enhanced.

Mongolia's entry into the UN in 1961 was a major victory for the MPR's foreign policy of peace. Its many years of struggle for its legitimate right were crowned with success with the support of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union first and foremost. The policy of discrimination towards the MPR pursued by the Western countries for many years failed. As a result of all these shifts Mongolia took its place in the international arena, which provided it with an additional opportunity to pursue still more vigorously its peaceable and internationalist foreign policy.

The new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance inaugurated a historic stage in the broadening and deepening of relations between the MPR and the USSR. The two countries confirmed their resolve to continue consolidating their unshakeable traditional friendship and developing all-round cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance based on the principles of socialist internationalism.

The MPR and the Soviet Union agreed that they would go on developing and deepening economic and scientific and technological contacts both on a bilateral level and within the framework of multilateral cooperation among the socialist countries, including along CMEA lines, and broadening cultural, scientific and other ties.

The implementation of the provisions contained in this document is increasingly bringing out the creative power of the USSR's selfless assistance and of the all-round cooperation between the MPR and the Soviet Union for the benefit of the Mongolian people, and the forms of the drawing together of the two countries in creating a communist civilisation are appearing in ever bolder relief. Over the past 20 years our cooperation has reached qualitatively new summits and stands out for its widescale, dynamic and all-embracing nature. Over these years upwards of 600 industrial and economic facilities have been constructed or renovated in Mongolia with Soviet financial and technical aid. The highest form of cooperation—the building of joint enterprises and facilities—has begun. One outstanding example is the Erdenet copper-molybdenum ore dressing combine, one of the largest in the world. Such new industrial centres and cities as Erdenet, Baganur and Khutul, as well as many large agricultural complexes, are eternal monuments of the great Soviet people's assistance to and cooperation with Mongolia.

There exists an entire system of agreements on economic, scientific and technological, social and cultural cooperation between the MPR and the USSR. Their implementation is playing a major role in the accomplishment of the socio-economic strategy of the Party and government. Particular mention in this connection should be made of the significance of the Long-Term Programme for the Development of Economic and Scientific and Technological Cooperation Between the MPR and the USSR for the Period Ending in the Year 2000, which was signed in August 1985. The signing of this Programme as a result of a meeting between Jambyn Batmönh, General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the MPR, and Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, imparted a fresh impetus to the interaction between the two governments to further upgrade cooperation between the two countries in accordance with the letter and spirit of the historic Treaty.

The peaceable and internationalist essence of the international activity of the two countries is extensively reflected in the 1966 Treaty. A number of its articles provide for the coordinated implementation by the MPR and the USSR of a socialist foreign policy course. These provisions are based on the experience of the actions of both sides in the international arena. The Soviet Union has extended decisive political and moral assistance to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the wars against the American interventionists and their accomplices, who tried to destroy by force of arms the revolutionary gains of the peoples of these countries. The MPR furnished these countries consistent political backing and whatever assistance it could. The USSR and the MPR likewise acted when international and internal reaction encroached upon the socialist gains of the Hungarian, Czechoslovak and Polish peoples.

The Treaty formalises the provision that the MPR and the USSR will extend mutual assistance in ensuring each other's security and defence capability in accordance with the tasks of steadily buttressing the defence might of the socialist community. It is also envisaged that when necessary the sides will undertake all requisite measures, military included, to ensure the security, independence and territorial integrity of both countries. This provision is of great importance for the MPR first and foremost, having become a permanent element in ensuring its peaceful development on the road of building socialism.

Under Article 6 of the Treaty, both countries take an active part "in the spirit of sincere cooperation in all international undertakings" aimed at "the preservation and strengthening of international peace and security, the attainment of general and complete disarmament, and the final elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations". Toward these ends consultations are envisaged on all international problems pertaining to peace and international cooperation.

Particular mention should be made of the provision on the side: 'resolve to continue efforts to preserve and strengthen world peace and security, to consistently pursue a policy of maintaining and consolidating amicable relations and cooperation among the states of Asia, and to jointly advocate the prevention and elimination of the threat of imperialist aggression in this region.

The Soviet Union and Mongolia have always acted precisely in this spirit from the very outset. The two countries have come out in defence of the independence and territorial integrity of China, when it was subjected to Japanese militarist aggression beginning in the early 1930s; by routing the Kwantung Army they greatly contributed to the liberation and revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people. The Mongolian and So-

viet peoples decisively sided with the peoples of Southeast Asia in their struggle against Japanese occupation.

It should be noted that the measures jointly taken to strengthen the security of the two countries have always served the interests of preserving peace and forestalling the threat of aggression in Asia. Such was the case before and during the Second World War, when Japanese militarism in alliance with the forces of fascism was preparing for war against the Soviet Union and Mongolia. The joint steps presently being taken to boost the defence capability and security of the MPR are a response to the actions of forces which miss no chance to call into question the sovereign existence of the MPR. They are also conditioned by the worsened situation in the Far East and the Pacific as a consequence of the stepped-up military preparations of the USA, Japan and their accomplices.

The Mongolian People's Republic, like the Soviet Union, consistently supports the constructive proposals and initiatives aimed at strengthening peace and security in Asia. Such actions encompass virtually the entire Asian and Pacific region. These are the Soviet proposals on confidence-building measures in the Far East and on the expanses of the seas and oceans washing the Asian continent and on the convocation of an international conference on an all-embracing and just settlement of the Middle East problem, the proposal by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea on turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation, the proposal of the DPRK to turn the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, the initiative of India and Bangladesh to set up an organisation of regional cooperation in Southern Asia, the decision of the forum of South Pacific states to declare this region free of nuclear weapons, etc.

The proposal of the MPR that a convention on non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among the Asian and Pacific countries goes hand in hand with the aforementioned initiatives. It is geared to the practical implementation, in the region's conditions, of the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation adopted at the Bandung Conference of the Young Independent States of Asia and Africa in 1955, at the height of the imperialist cold war policy.

Imbued with the ideas of friendship and fraternity between the two peoples, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between the MPR and the USSR serves to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the socialist community countries and to ensure peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world.

The Mongolian People's Republic is a component of the world socialist system. Closely coordinating its efforts in the international arena with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, it consistently advocates a just solution of topical international problems, the cessation of the arms race, and a lasting and stable peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

The Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and its tireless efforts aimed at halting the arms race, preventing the militarisation of outer space, eliminating the nuclear threat, and safeguarding peace and the progress of humankind.

The Mongolian government believes that the implementation of the constructive Soviet proposals advanced by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev of late, specifically, during his visit to France and at the Geneva meeting with the US President, could be instrumental to a dramatic improvement in the international situation and consolidation of an atmosphere of trust and detente. Due to the goodwill and persistent efforts of the Soviet side at the Geneva meeting some progress has been made. The world public approved the reciprocal confirmation in the joint statement of the inadmissibility of launching a nuclear war and seeking to attain military superiority, the confirmation of the

need to speed up negotiations on nuclear and space weapons in their inseparable interconnection. Accords reached at the meeting in the part concerning the improvement of the Soviet-American relations are of everlasting significance for lessening international tensions.

The positive shifts, which have been made in Geneva, must be consolidated and developed on the basis of a responsible and realistic approach by both sides to the realisation of the accords reached. That is the way the Soviet side acts. In particular, it is vividly confirmed by Mikhail Gorbachev's report to the regular session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the decision of this highest body of Soviet state power on the results of the Soviet-American summit.

Meanwhile, the world public is anxious over the reports coming from Washington which indicate that the most reactionary sections of the military-industrial complex of the USA continue to stake on power politics and take steps to implement the plans of further accelerating the arms race and militarising outer space. The West European "ultras" entertain similar ideas. All this indicates the necessity to double the efforts of all peaceloving forces aimed at averting the threat of a nuclear war and mitigating international tensions.

As was stressed at the November summit meeting of the Warsaw Treaty states in Prague, the fraternal countries are fully resolved to coordinate their efforts and to do everything they can to achieve a turn to the better in the European and world affairs.

"The Mongolian People's Republic," stated Jambyn Batmönkh, General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the MPR, "is determined to continue making whatever contribution it can to the common struggle of the socialist countries for universal peace and security and to the attainment of the goals and tasks of our joint programme of struggle for peace."

True to the goals and tasks of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between the MPR and the USSR, the Mongolian Communists and working people will do all in their power to consolidate the unshakeable Mongolian-Soviet friendship and deepen the all-round cooperation between the two countries. They realise that this is for the benefit of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples and for the strengthening of the economic potential, unity and cohesion of the socialist community countries.

"Our overriding task," read the documents of the 18th MPRP Congress, "is to continue steadily consolidating and deepening the relations of friendship and cooperation with the CPSU and the Soviet people. Unity, friendship and fraternity with the Soviet Union are a reliable guarantee of the country's progress towards building socialism." The best way to implement this instruction of the Party is for Mongolia to unswervingly fulfil all its commitments in bilateral agreements, take maximum advantage of the tremendous creative potential of the extensive Soviet assistance and Mongolia's all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, and fully exploit the capacities and advanced technological methods at the disposal of each enterprise built with Soviet assistance.

Parliaments and the Preservation of Peace

L. T O L K U N O V,

Chairman, Soviet of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet;
Chairman, USSR Parliamentary Group

The great French satirist, François Rabelais, once said that a man's reason is mightier than his fists. As applied to the realities of our time, the saying assumes new dimensions. Nowadays it is a matter of whether the collective reasoning of humankind will prevail over the "nuclear fist" threatening to destroy the whole world. It is a matter of saving modern civilisation.

The world has reached a precarious point, with international tensions assuming an unprecedented scale. The arms race is spiralling. Of particular concern is the threat of its spilling into outer space, which would further destabilise the strategic situation, turning outer space into a new source of mortal danger for humankind.

Anyone capable of soberly assessing the course of events realises that the growing tensions and military threat are engendered by imperialism's policy, above all that of the USA, which strives to achieve military superiority, so as to impose its will on other peoples and states.

In this intricate and explosive situation the main aim pursued by the socialist countries and all peace-loving forces has been and continues to be eliminating the threat of a nuclear war, lowering the ceiling of military confrontation, and developing interstate relations in the spirit of peaceful coexistence and detente. Ideological differences should not interfere in interstate relations to undermine their stability. The calls for a "crusade" against communism beef up mistrust and tensions; they are used as chief arguments in the ideological dispute between the two worlds. Therefore, now, as never before, all states and forces should vigorously work towards a normalised international climate.

• The unshakable will to defend peace is at the core of the documents put before the public for discussion after the October 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in anticipation of the 27th Party Congress. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries advanced a realistic and constructive programme of resolving the pressing problems of peace, above all the disarmament issue. At the Sofia meeting of October 22-23, 1985 the Warsaw Treaty member countries appealed to all governments and peoples of Europe and those of other continents to concert their efforts in the struggle against the threat of annihilation hanging over the world and to settle all, even the most complex international problems, by political means through negotiations and a constructive dialogue taking into account the legitimate interests of the sides.

Parliaments and parliamentarians are called upon to contribute to fulfilling this mission of historic importance. Whatever the social composition of a legislative body, or the country where it is functioning, the voter gives his deputy a message to spare no efforts in accomplishing the task of preserving peace. Of course, in many capitalist countries some of the deputies, possessed by anti-Soviet and anticommunist fever, betray this mandate by generously feeding the war budget with fabulous sums of

money "saved" at the expense of school breakfasts and unemployment benefits. The US Congress is highly responsible for accelerating the arms race. The West German Bundestag approved plans to deploy Pershing and cruise missiles in the country. The ruling parties of some other Western countries have added fuel to the fire of confrontation on the world scene.

There is no disputing the fact that the executive bodies play first fiddle in the foreign policy of all capitalist countries. And this is the general trend. However, it would be erroneous to deny outright the role the parliament plays in this mechanism due to the specifics of its social and party composition. This viewpoint reveals the great potential and responsibility of the parliaments for preserving and strengthening peace, for it is precisely the parliaments that approve legislation on issues of war and peace.

Recent years have seen greater involvement by parliaments in discussions on foreign policy issues in a number of countries—the USA, the FRG, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Belgium and others. The obscurity of the picture cannot conceal the fact that the parliaments, mirroring the acute struggle in their countries around foreign policy problems and a more complicated international situation in general, are striving in some instances to regain former privileges and expand the functions of control over the executive power in this field. The parliamentarians are attempting to expand their powers in three main directions—through the legislative, supervisory and budgetary functions performed by the parliament.

Experts discern the parliament's decision-making in foreign policy and its general political and ideological activities. In the first area it is constricted by narrow limits, while in the latter it is actually gaining ground, under certain circumstances. The FRG parliament, for example, approved the deployment of American medium-range missiles in the country, but the activities of the political forces within its walls, the forces countering "rearmament", promoted the countrywide movement against the NATO militaristic plans.

Clearing all hurdles, the voice of the public resounds in the parliaments, even if it does not take shape as laws or enactments. The ideas of a nuclear freeze, enjoying wide support among the American public, have quite a few proponents in the US Congress. Not long ago the West German Bundestag discussed an inquiry of the Social Democratic Party of Germany concerning the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes—an idea backed by the Green Party as well. There persists strong opposition in Holland's Parliament to the plans of deploying American cruise missiles there. The Spanish Cortes reverberates with the public demand to stay away from NATO. The number of Japanese MPs opposing the violations of the country's constitutional provisions prohibiting the militarisation of the country is steadily rising, and sentiments against US military bases are running high in Greece's Parliament.

The cornerstone of the multifaceted activities carried out by the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, the USSR Parliamentary Group and the deputies representing the working people in the supreme legislative body of the country is the lofty goal of strengthening peace and bridling the arms race. The Supreme Soviet totally uses its high prestige and international influence to tip the scales in favour of peace and cooperation among nations.

A call for peace is expressed in the Appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the Parliaments and Peoples of the World of June 23, 1981 and the Appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the CPSU Central Committee to the Parliaments, Governments, Political Parties and

Peoples of the World of December 22, 1982. On June 16, 1983 the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution entrusting the Soviet government to appeal to the governments of all nuclear states to simultaneously freeze all their nuclear arsenals in quantitative and qualitative terms. In the resolution of December 29, 1983 the USSR Supreme Soviet expressed grave concern over the sharp deterioration of the world situation engendered by the growing militarisation and aggressiveness of imperialist forces, first of all those in the USA, and reaffirmed the consistency of the Soviet policy of strengthening peace and cooperation.

Great interest in parliamentary circles was evoked by the Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the Peoples, Parliaments and Governments of All Countries on the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the End of the Second World War. It was noted in other countries that the Appeal once again showed the Soviet Union's readiness to maintain peace, conduct a dialogue and work for constructive solutions of all problems relevant to the preservation of peace in the world.

The world public was immensely impressed by Mikhail Gorbachev's report at the recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the unanimously adopted decision "On the Results of the Soviet-American Summit Meeting in Geneva and the International Situation". In this document the USSR Supreme Soviet expressed the hope that all governments, parliaments and peoples will multiply their efforts in the struggle against the arms race, particularly for averting it in outer space, and for the cause of peace and international security.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which carries out, in the period between sessions, functions entrusted to it by the Constitution as a supreme body of state power, paid unabating attention to the foreign policy issues.

Meetings and talks in the course of state visits abroad by delegates of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the visits of heads of other countries to the Soviet Union, were of a particular importance. Since March 1981 heads of foreign states paid more than 40 official and unofficial visits to the Soviet Union. In their turn, the USSR leaders paid about 30 official and working visits to other countries. The negotiations resulted in the signing of interstate treaties, agreements and other joint documents.

Top-level meetings and talks are the most effective venue for discussing and settling international problems. They allow for a closer look at each other's positions, laying down a principal foundation of a peaceful order on the Earth, and for successfully advancing bilateral relations. Recently it was once again confirmed by the visits to the USSR by the heads of state of Nicaragua, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Syria, Libya, Madagascar, and Ethiopia. In October 1985, during his visit to France, Mikhail Gorbachev, addressing the National Assembly, expounded new Soviet foreign policy initiatives which have received the broadest international response.

A friendly visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Bulgaria and his negotiations with Todor Zhivkov in October 1985 became a vivid manifestation of fraternal friendship between our parties and peoples and served as another important stimulus for upgrading all-round Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation and elevating it to a qualitatively new level.

It would be inopportune to overlook the importance of direct contacts between the parliaments of various countries for consolidating peace and understanding between them. Back in February 1955 the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a Declaration stating that it attaches exclusive significance to developing relations between states, large or small, on principles which would correspond to the interests of cooperation in conditions of

peace and tranquility. The Declaration stressed the great responsibility placed upon the parliaments as bodies approving legislative acts on issues of war and peace geared to preserving and consolidating peace on earth.

The Declaration invigorated ties with foreign parliaments. With every passing year these ties are gaining in scope and becoming more profound, lasting and effective. Since 1955, over 250 official parliamentary delegations from more than a hundred countries visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet. Delegations from the USSR paid reciprocal visits to many countries. Visits to the USSR by numerous parliamentary delegations from abroad and the visits paid by most of the delegations of the USSR Supreme Soviet resulted in the signing of joint documents assessing the state of bilateral relations and reflecting the common approach to the urgent problems.

Equally indicative is the fact that despite the exacerbated situation in the world the scope of the Supreme Soviet's ties is expanding, rather than shrinking. In the 1981-1985 period the USSR exchanged, for the first time, parliamentary delegations with Angola, Spain, Iraq, the Cape Verde Islands, the Seychelles, the Philippines, and Ecuador. The USSR Supreme Soviet delegations paid their first visits to Benin, Madagascar, Mozambique, Peru, Thailand and Togo. After a protracted interval the USSR and the People's Republic of China exchanged delegations.

Quite obvious is the growing interest displayed by foreign parliamentarians to the Soviet Union's achievements and experience, and its peaceable foreign policy. Guests from other countries came in flocks to this country in 1985. Suffice it to recall that parliamentary delegations from Bulgaria, Luxembourg, Japan, Austria, Yugoslavia, the FRG and Representatives and Senators from the USA came to the USSR that year. Their Soviet counterparts informed the parliamentarians on the structure and basic activities of the Supreme Soviet, the progress made by this country in all fields, on the USSR's principled and consistent course towards peace, disarmament, goodneighbourliness and all-round cooperation.

These delegations were received by Andrei Gromyko, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The parties held a fruitful exchange of views on urgent international problems and bilateral relations. It was stressed that the Soviet state's efforts are geared to tackle the most pressing task of our time, that of bridling the arms race, improving the international situation and achieving a turn for the better in European and world affairs.

The draft new edition of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union proclaims the line of strengthening relations between the USSR and other socialist countries including the development of contacts between their legislative organs. Guided by this principled stand, the USSR Supreme Soviet pays particular attention to expanding its ties and sharing experience with the supreme legislative bodies of the socialist countries. Fraternal cooperation of parliamentarians makes it possible to coordinate efforts in accomplishing the tasks of building socialism and communism, the struggle for peace and disarmament and the elaboration of a concerted line in international affairs and jointly repealing imperialism's forays. For example, at one of their meetings the parliamentarians of the fraternal countries appealed to the parliamentarians of the world and to the public at large to raise their voice against the interference of the USA and some other Western countries in Poland's internal affairs, against the attempts to prevent Poland from extricating itself from the crisis it was facing and to prevent using the events in this country to intensify East-West confrontation and undermine detente and peaceful cooperation.

Regular meetings of the leaders of the parliamentary groups of the socialist countries have become a good tradition. A regular consultative meeting of the leaders of the Parliamentary Groups of the socialist countries was held in Berlin on February 20-21, 1985. It stressed the importance of Soviet initiatives in preventing a nuclear war and achieving nuclear disarmament, including a pledge by all nuclear powers, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, to freeze them, and to generally and completely prohibit nuclear weapons tests. The participants in the meeting stated that in the present-day complex international situation the parliaments and all parliamentarians bear particular responsibility in the struggle for peace, disarmament and all-round security. It was emphasised that the socialist countries' parliamentarians should take a vigorous stand in this field.

The parliamentarians of the countries-participants to the Warsaw Treaty Meeting on May 14, 1985 in Budapest on the occasion of its 30th anniversary, stated that for over the 30 years the Treaty has been reliably protecting the historical gains of socialism, the development of the comprehensive cooperation of the allied countries and is instrumental in maintaining peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The participants stated that the parliaments and the parliamentarians can and should make a tangible contribution to the struggle for averting a global nuclear war, the development of constructive dialogue and cooperation, and for creating an atmosphere of trust and improving the international climate. The Warsaw Treaty parliaments appealed to the parliaments and parliamentarians of Europe and the entire world to rise above all discord, become partners in the struggle against nuclear extermination, and to establish extensive cooperation for the sake of general peace and security.

Parliamentary exchanges between the fraternal countries are becoming more frequent and rewarding. In recent years, delegations of the USSR Supreme Soviet visited a number of socialist countries. In November 1984, a delegation headed by Vladimir Dolgikh, visited Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. In Hanoi matters of developing the Soviet-Vietnamese relations, expanding contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the SRV National Assembly, as well as international problems of mutual concern were discussed in an atmosphere of fraternal solidarity and concord.

A comradely exchange of views on the domestic and foreign policy of both countries, bilateral relations and the situation in the world took place in Laos. The mutually beneficial exchange of opinions between the parliamentarians of the USSR and Kampuchea revealed the desire on both sides to consolidate cooperation between the two states and peoples.

Last September, a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Viktor Nikonov, visited Hungary. Bilateral relations are developing successfully and are characterised by mutual understanding and complete trust, sincere concern for mutual progress, and by reciprocal assistance. The visit further strengthened the fraternal ties.

The same month, a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Lev Zaikov, went to the German Democratic Republic. The visit showed that the USSR and the GDR have established and are developing relations of fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation, including ties between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the GDR People's Chamber, their commissions and other bodies. A new meeting of the parliamentarians of the two countries served to further consolidate the fraternal bilateral bonds, elevating them to a qualitatively new level.

In October 1985, a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by the Chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme So-

viet, paid a reciprocal visit to the People's Republic of China. The delegation had numerous meetings and talks in Peking, Guangzhou, Hangzhou, Shanghai. Everywhere in this vast and unique country we stressed the consistent course of the Soviet Union toward seriously improving relations with the People's Republic of China. Both sides noted with satisfaction that in recent years the two countries have expanded their relations in the economy, trade, science, technology and culture. The level of political contacts between the two countries is rising. Interparliamentary exchanges are an important venue for these ties. They will considerably enhance the process of normalising relations and deepening mutual understanding between the USSR and the PRC.

Our interlocutors were satisfied to note the recent progress in Soviet-Chinese relations, and welcomed the renewal of the interparliamentary ties after a break of almost 30 years. They noted that, despite some differences in the legal and functional aspects, there exist many similarities between the state power bodies of the USSR and the PRC. In this connection they exhibited a lively interest in various facets of the activities of the USSR supreme and local authorities, and underlined the value of the Soviet experience for their practical work. In particular, they were interested in the activities of the standing commissions of the Supreme Soviet and the functions of the local Soviets.

In its turn, the Soviet delegation was interested in the structure, the principles of the functioning and work of the PRC central and local bodies of power. In discussing the tasks facing the supreme bodies of state power of both countries the participants invariably emphasised their contribution to the establishment of a lasting peace, in averting the threat of a nuclear war, and preventing the militarisation of outer space.

There are grounds to believe that the contacts between the parliaments of both countries will not only continue, but become deeper and more replete, and will play a constructive role in further normalising the Soviet-Chinese relations, in deepening mutual understanding and developing all-round cooperation between the two neighbouring countries.

Ties with the parliaments of the Asian, African and Latin American countries occupy an important place in the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Since March 1981 the Soviet Union has been visited by 32 parliamentary delegations from the developing countries, and 36 delegations of the USSR Supreme Soviet travelled to these states. Last year parliamentarians from Indonesia, the Philippines and Tunisia paid visits to the USSR, while Soviet parliamentary delegations visited Algeria, Kuwait and Argentina. An official delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Ivan Kapitonov, visited Mexico in September 1984.

A vivid manifestation of the support of the just cause of the Arabs was the sending of delegations to Algeria, Jordan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Morocco, Syria and Tunisia on working, special visits to expound the principled stand of the Soviet Union on a Middle East settlement. The public of the Arab countries hold a high opinion of the consistent Soviet course in Middle East affairs and the USSR's practical steps aimed at stopping the aggression. It was stressed that the visits of Soviet parliamentarians to the Arab countries at such a critical moment for the Arab nation were really helpful in mobilising the peoples for the struggle with the Israeli aggressor.

The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme states that "the CPSU proceeds from the assumption that historical contention between the two opposite social systems, into which the world is divided today, can and must be settled by peaceful means". It is in the interest of all peoples that interstate relations be directed into the channel of peaceful competi-

tion and equitable cooperation. That is precisely the noble mission of the visits, paid by the leaders of the Party and the state, and parliamentary delegations to the capitalist countries.

An official visit to Great Britain by a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, in December 1984 was a milestone in the USSR's interparliamentary ties with the capitalist countries. This visit continued the practice of the interparliamentary exchanges between the USSR and Great Britain. It made it possible to get acquainted with the life of that country, to meet its parliamentarians, the members and head of the British government, representatives of the business community, to exchange views on ways of overcoming the present dangerous turn in the international situation, as well as to discuss the prospects for bilateral Soviet-British relations in various fields.

During all these meetings the Soviet delegation stressed the USSR's line for improving interstate relations, and emphasised that in politics and diplomacy there is always room for reasonable compromises, there exists a wide realm of possibilities for developing and strengthening mutual understanding and trust on the basis of close or coinciding interests. And such coinciding interests of the Soviet Union and Great Britain, the the Soviet and the British peoples, do exist, the most important of which is the preservation of peace. The Soviet delegation clearly stated the readiness of this country to invigorate Soviet-British relations on a wide range of issues. If the British side takes a similar position, progress will be made. As was stated by the head of the Soviet delegation, "we are for a dialogue between West and East, for negotiations, but for negotiations which will not become a screen, as was the case before, for building up the arms race, including nuclear weapons. We are for negotiations in conditions of equality, taking into account mutual interests, observing the principle of equal security".

During the October 1984 visit to Japan of a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Dinmukhammed Kunayev, both sides expressed satisfaction with the resumption of Soviet-Japanese parliamentary contacts. They noted the role and responsibility of the parliaments of the two countries for ensuring peace, especially in the present-day complex international situation, as well as for improving and developing relations between the USSR and Japan.

At the invitation of the US House of Representatives a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Vladimir Shcherbitsky, visited the USA in early 1985. The Soviet delegation invariably stressed that in the present international situation legislators of the two countries should avail themselves of every opportunity to avert the war threat, and to save civilisation from annihilation. The head of the Soviet delegation said that the Supreme Soviet believes that positive shifts in Soviet-American relations and, better yet, their total normalisation are not only important in themselves but would benefit the general international climate. The Soviet and American parliamentarians discussed the key problems of our time: preventing the militarisation of outer space, limiting and discontinuing the arms race.

Although the interlocutors disagreed on some points, the main result of the meeting is that both sides have come to a common conclusion concerning the high responsibility of the parliamentarians of the USSR and the USA for the preservation of peace and bridling the arms race.

In April 1985, a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Mikhail Zimyanin, visited the FRG. This visit was a new link in the chain of contacts maintained by the two countries on the basis of the Moscow Treaty signed on August 12, 1970. In the course of discussions with the West German statesmen the Soviet delegation stressed the idea that the potential for trust and cooperation accumulated by both countries should

be preserved and no effort spared in bringing the peoples of the two countries closer together on the road to strengthening mutual understanding and goodneighbourliness.

In the summer of 1985 a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Boris Ponomarev, visited Spain. Both sides expressed the view that the development of Soviet-Spanish relations is beneficial for both countries, and can contribute to the stabilisation of the situation in Europe, and the general improvement of international relations. As the sides noted, contacts between the parliaments of the two countries are an important component of Soviet-Spanish relations. They also stated that in spite of differences on other problems the positions of the two states are close on a number of issues; first of all on the need to stop confrontation and return to detente.

A tangible contribution to the fight for peace is made by the Parliamentary Group of the USSR, which is traditionally composed of all the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet. As distinct from the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is the highest body of state power, the Group is a public organisation. It acts on its own statute adopted by its general assembly, but in contrast to other Soviet public organisations the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet alone can become its members.

The Parliamentary Group participates in the work of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) which it joined in 1955. The IPU, which was established back in 1889 and presently unites 104 national parliamentary groups, declared its goal to encourage personal contacts between the members of all parliaments and their joint efforts so as to secure and maintain the wide participation of all the states concerned in the cause of creating and developing representative institutions, as well as in the cause of strengthening international peace and cooperation.

It was at the initiative of the USSR Parliamentary Group that the bodies of the Inter-Parliamentary Union examined and discussed such burning international problems as detente, disarmament, the elimination of the remnants of colonialism, as well as issues of international economic cooperation, environmental protection, etc.

All these urgent problems are discussed by the regular IPU conferences. Seventy-four such conferences have been held. In recent times the IPU has paid ever more attention to the problems of bridling the arms race and of disarmament, including nuclear and chemical weapons, prevention of the militarisation of space. These themes prevailed in the work of the last conferences—the 73rd in Lomé (Togo) in March 1985 and the 74th in Ottawa (Canada) in September 1985. They formed the core of the documents adopted by the conferences.

The Soviet foreign policy initiatives aimed at reducing international tensions, warding off a nuclear war, stopping the arms race, nuclear arms first of all, on Earth and preventing its spillage into the outer space, occupied a distinguished position at the Lomé Conference. The Ottawa Conference witnessed even more heated debates centered on this problem. The overwhelming majority of the delegates expressed their uneasiness over tensions in the world and came out for measures checking the arms race and averting a nuclear war. Therefore, it was not surprising that interest was displayed by the participants in the Soviet proposals on preventing the militarisation of outer space, freezing and eventually reducing nuclear arsenals, prohibiting nuclear weapons tests, and pledging non-first use of these weapons. Soviet proposals on the peaceful exploration of outer space and discontinuation of any nuclear explosions evoked a lively interest.

The USSR Parliamentary Group initiated five interparliamentary conferences on the matters of ensuring security in Europe. The last, the fifth, conference took place in Budapest in May-June of 1983. It evaluated the contribution made by the parliaments of the states participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe towards deepening detente and achieving genuine progress in the field of disarmament, and also by guaranteeing the fulfilment of the Helsinki Final Act.

In the final resolution the participants of the Conference appealed to the parliaments and governments of the European countries, the USA and Canada to take effective steps leading to halting the arms race, to military detente and disarmament. The section of the resolution dealing with economic and other issues contained an appeal to remove political and economic obstacles in East-West trade, to expand cooperation in economy, science, technology and environmental protection. It stressed that the world economy can make headway only if the arms race comes to an end and the threat of erupting military conflicts is brought to nil. The resolution also embodied the provisions geared towards expanding cooperation in humanitarian and other areas according to the Helsinki Final Act.

The USSR Parliamentary Group assisted the Inter-Parliamentary Union in engaging in the urgent problems of our time. The inter-parliamentary conference on the environment held in Nairobi (Kenya) at the end of 1984 can serve as a good example. The agenda of the conference contained a number of the most important problems engendered by the alteration of the environment in the last decade. The inherent danger of the arms race, diverting tremendous material and labour resources from creative goals, environmental protection in particular, was elucidated in the Soviet representative's report. The Soviet report was particularly pertinent in stating that a nuclear war would inevitably entail considerable alterations in the planet's climate and its ozone layer, in other major ecological systems, leading to catastrophic consequences.

The inter-parliamentary symposium on disarmament in conventional weapons held in Mexico last May played a positive role. The participants clearly expressed the opinion that the arms race in this field is also fraught with danger for universal peace.

The Parliamentary Group of the USSR maintains extensive ties with parliamentary groups and parliamentarians from other countries. Its members visited many countries and had useful meetings with the parliamentarians of these countries. In its turn, at the invitation of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR, the Soviet Union is visited by an impressive number of foreign parliamentarians. Particularly active are the ties of the Parliamentary Group with the parliamentary groups of the socialist countries.

To develop ties with foreign parliamentarians, sections were formed within the Parliamentary Group. At present, there are 14 such sections: Soviet-African, Soviet-Arab, Soviet-Austrian, Soviet-Belgian, Soviet-British, Soviet-Cypriot, Soviet-French, Soviet-Greek, Soviet-Italian, Soviet-Japanese, Soviet-Latin American, Soviet-Turkish, Soviet-West German, and the section on the problems of peace and disarmament.

Thereby, the intention to defend peace has become the cornerstone of the activities by the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Parliamentary Group. The clear-cut foreign policy course of the Soviet Union meets the aspirations of hundred of millions of people on all the continents, and enjoys their understanding and support. The duty of all deputies and citizens of any country is to spare no effort in protecting humanity from the horrors of war, so that lasting peace and reliable security become an inseparable part of our life as are the sun and the air.

SOVIET-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS KEEP DEVELOPING

The past year saw major political, social and economic changes in Brazil, the largest country in South America. Tancredo Neves and José Sarney, nominees of the opposition to the military regime, which had ruled the country for over twenty years, won the presidential elections on January 15, 1985. José Sarney was elected President. The civilian administration made efforts to consolidate the bourgeois democratic processes, to overcome the monetary and economic crisis and reduce unemployment.

The changes in the country's domestic policy were reflected in the foreign policy activity of the Republic's government. Minister of Foreign Affairs Olavo Setubal, for instance, noted during his Moscow visit last December that a promising process of democratising the country's political and public activities was under way. In interstate relations Brazil is increasingly resolved to adhere to the principles of the sovereign equality of nations, self-determination and non-interference, to be faithful to the cause of peace and disarmament. It is only natural that all these processes, specifically the changes in foreign policy as a whole, have inevitably caused positive shifts in Soviet-Brazilian relations.

The two countries have fairly sound relations of long standing. The diplomatic ties between them were established in the spring of 1945. They were broken, though, in 1947, in the heat of the cold war, and were restored only in November 1961.

The military regime which stayed in power in Brazil from 1964 to 1985 maintained proper formal relations with the USSR, and displayed interest in expanding them mainly in trade and the economy. Still, definite progress was made in other areas of the bilateral relations. There was a marked growth of political contacts at the turn of the 1980s: the leaders of the USSR and Brazil exchanged messages in 1979, 1982 and 1984, and political consultations between the ministries of foreign affairs of the two countries on the agenda of the regular sessions of the UN General Assembly have been held regularly since 1972.

Interparliamentary ties, too, have been developing well. Brazil was visited by representative delegations of the USSR Supreme Soviet in April 1980, July 1982 and May 1984, and delegations of the National Congress of Brazil made official visits to the Soviet Union in December 1980 and December 1983. The visit in May 1984 by a delegation of the Governors of Brazilian States of Amazonas and Pará to the USSR played a positive role in establishing contacts with the local bodies of power.

The coming of the civilian administration to power gave a fresh impetus to the relations between the two countries. In March 1985, Brazil was visited by a Soviet delegation headed by Pavel Gilashvili, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In April last year the 40th anniversary of diplomatic relations was marked in a big way in both countries, and when the 40th Anniversary of the Great Victory over Nazi Germany was celebrated last May, war veterans from Brazil for the first time visited the Soviet Union.

In 1985, political consultations between the foreign ministries, bilateral trade, economic cooperation, cultural and sports ties, and contacts between public organisations of both countries were growing rapidly.

At the meeting between Eduard Shevardnadze, the USSR's Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the one hand, and José Sarney, President of Brazil, and Olavo Setubal, Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the other, held last September in New York at a regular session of the UN General Assembly, the President reaffirmed Brazil's intention to promote relations with the USSR in all areas.

On the whole, the relations between the two countries today are marked with greater trust and are becoming more concrete. However, considering that conditions are favourable for the advancement of bilateral relations, it became more evident that their scope was too narrow for the vast economic and political potentials of the USSR and Brazil.

The realistic and constructive approach of the USSR to the promotion of relations with Brazil is based on the understanding of the fact that Brazil is a large and rapidly advancing state winning ever greater influence in the world community. The USSR has expressed preparedness to proceed in its relations with Brazil as far as Brazil itself so desires. This evoked a positive response in Brazilian ruling quarters which have arrived at the conclusion that their country cannot play a role befitting it in the modern world unless it brings its relations with the USSR in line with its influence and prestige in the world arena. These ideas have been repeatedly expressed in statements by official Brazilian spokesmen who usually backed them up by reaffirming interest in organising a high-level official visit to Moscow. The government's position was met with approval by many Brazilian politicians and National Congress deputies.

However, the new trends in foreign policy are not to the liking of all. Influential forces at home and abroad, intending to keep this process within its former limits which have long been too narrow to meet the interests of both countries, have opposed a normal development of relations with the USSR. Despite numerous obstacles put up by these forces, the Sarney government decided to send its Foreign Minister Olavo Setubal on an official visit to the USSR. Moreover, the ruling quarters of the country stressed its political significance. The *Folha de São Paulo*, a major Brazilian newspaper, wrote in this connection that Olavo Setubal would go down in history as the first Brazilian Foreign Minister to visit the USSR. His visit, the paper stressed, was part of the government strategy to ensure the country's international prestige, a goal which cannot be attained without taking into account the opinion of such an important partner as the USSR.¹ Another newspaper, *Correio Brasiliense*, pointed out, referring to foreign ministry sources, that "the purpose of the visit is to promote relations with Eastern Europe, especially with the USSR, and is an initiative arising from the changes in the country's government."²

The Soviet visit by Olavo Setubal early in December 1985 proved to be a milestone in the evolution of Soviet-Brazilian relations. During his stay in Moscow Olavo Setubal was received by Andrei Gromyko, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and had talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. During the talks, which were held in a constructive spirit, the sides discussed pressing international problems, questions of Soviet-Brazilian relations, their future and some other issues.

As the discussion centred on the situation in the world, the sides expressed profound concern over the remaining international tensions, the arms race, especially the nuclear one, and stressed the need for all states, whatever their socio-economic systems, to work jointly for strengthening universal peace and security.

The Soviet side noted the importance of using the favourable condi-

¹ *Folha de São Paulo*, Dec. 8, 1985.

² *Correio Brasiliense*, Dec. 8, 1985.

tions offered by the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva for going over from the present state of dangerous confrontation to a constructive search for ways of improving the international climate by cutting back the arms race and starting real disarmament. It was stated that the USSR would do everything in its power to accomplish these tasks and the Soviet comprehensive proposals on the prevention of space militarisation, combined with a reduction of nuclear arms, were set forth. It was stressed also that the USSR was prepared to reach understandings which would substantially diminish the nuclear menace and help safeguard peace and create an atmosphere of mutual trust among states.

As they came to discuss "hot spots" of tension, the Foreign Ministers of the USSR and Brazil expressed concern over the presence of conflict situations and seats of tension in various regions of the world. Olavo Setubal dwelt on the situation in Central America and stressed the role played by Brazil and other Latin American countries, specifically the members of the Contadora Group and the group supporting it, in the search for a fair political settlement in the region. The Soviet side, for its part, pointed out that a solution to the problems facing Central America was to be sought in a political settlement without interference from outside, taking into account the legitimate interests of all countries in the region and fully respecting their sovereignty.

Much attention at the talks was attached to the situation in the south of Africa. The sides stressed in this connection that they rejected any form of colonialism being preserved in the south of Africa and reaffirmed that they denounced the policy of apartheid, regarding it as a threat to peace and international security. They spoke for granting independence to Namibia without delay, in keeping with the relevant UN resolutions.

Olavo Setubal set forth his country's position on the problem of foreign debts, including Brazil's debt. The unfavourable international economic situation, he stressed, has given rise to grave difficulties for Brazil, whose debt had approached the \$100,000 million mark, and for many other Latin American and Third World countries. The sides stressed in this context that international economic relations should be restructured on a fair and democratic basis which would enable all the countries fully to enjoy their right to economic and social development.

Much attention was devoted at the talks to Soviet-Brazilian relations and ways of promoting them further. The Soviet side expressed satisfaction with the state of relations between the USSR and Brazil which are becoming increasingly diverse, and emphasised their desire to continue to promote mutually beneficial cooperation on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The practice of extending political contacts and the exchanges of parliamentary delegations, which contributed considerably to the promotion of understanding between the peoples of the two countries, were commended at the talks. The Brazilian Foreign Minister, for his part, noted the friendly character of relations between Brazil and the USSR and spoke in favour of their continued extension.

During the talks the sides confirmed their intention to place political dialogue on a regular basis and to extend the bilateral exchange of views. Both Foreign Ministers signed the Memorandum on Mutual Understanding establishing a mechanism for consultations on international problems of mutual interest. They favoured the idea of using the opportunities available for expanding economic cooperation, perfecting the mutual trade pattern and diversifying relations between the two countries. An understanding was reached on a joint publication of a collection of documents dealing with the history of relations between the USSR and Brazil.

Olavo Setubal took part in opening a scientific documentary exhibi-

tion on the expedition made by Russian Academician Grigori Langsdorf to Brazil in 1821-1829. The exhibition was organised on the occasion of the Minister's visit to the USSR and co-sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Diplomatic History Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It displayed diaries and scientific works by the members of the expedition and also publications by Russian, Soviet, and also Brazilian and other foreign scientists on the Russian expedition to South America.

On returning home, Olavo Setubal voiced his satisfaction with the visit to Moscow which had been prompted by the wish of both countries' governments to raise bilateral relations to a higher level. "In my opinion," said Brazil's Foreign Minister, "this goal was attained during my visit to the Soviet Union."

The official visit by the Foreign Minister of Brazil to the USSR was given broad coverage in the Brazilian press. In a dispatch from Moscow, J. Lapos, a special correspondent of *O Estado de São Paulo*, a major Brazilian newspaper, described Setubal's visit to the USSR as "historic".³ The newspaper *Correio Brasiliense*, published in Brasília, spoke in much the same vein. It stated that "the new civilian government is expanding relations with Moscow, developing and strengthening political, public, cultural and economic ties".⁴ Noting that Setubal's visit to the USSR proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual goodwill, the newspaper *Jornal do Brasil* wrote: "The days of the cold war, when Brazil could find only unkind words for Moscow, now seem remote in the past. The current changes in the relations between the two states are largely called for by the international situation and the role Brazil wants to assume in the world arena. Brazilian policy is geared to the future. The country is working for independence and wants to have relations with all states."⁵

Expansion of economic, political, cultural and other contacts between the USSR and Brazil is the order of the day for both states. But what must become the principal sphere of their relations is joint action for peace on earth, disarmament and prevention of an arms race in space. President José Sarney of Brazil stated that his people share the Soviet people's concern about the dangerous state of international affairs. Noteworthy is his assessment of the USA's "strategic defense initiative". "Let us preserve the boundless sky," said the President at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly, "as the frontier which must not be violated by a single type of armaments." There is no doubt that joint efforts of the USSR and Brazil which have considerable authority in world affairs will make an important contribution to the cause of peace and international security.

The first official visit by the Brazilian Foreign Minister to the USSR proved to be an outstanding event in the history of Soviet-Brazilian relations and helped establish contacts on a high governmental level. It has expanded the legal-contractual basis of bilateral relations, placed the ties between the two countries on a new and higher level, and has opened up new vistas for their continued growth. At the same time, it is obvious that, despite the political will displayed at the talks in Moscow and the increased intensiveness and dynamism of Soviet-Brazilian relations, a good deal of time and consistent effort will be required to accomplish the tasks of further expanding and diversifying the relations between the USSR and Brazil.

V. VANIN

³ *O Estado de São Paulo*, Dec. 11, 1985.

⁴ *Correio Brasiliense*, Dec. 11, 1985.

⁵ *Journal do Brasil*, Dec. 13, 1985.

INDIA'S NOBLE DAUGHTER

Andrei G R O M Y K O

A collection of reminiscences of Indira Gandhi who was assassinated on October 31, 1984, has been prepared by the committee to commemorate Indira Gandhi. Among the contributors are prominent state, political and public figures from many countries. Below is a slightly abridged version of the article sent to Delhi to be included in the collection.

Indira Gandhi... We in the Soviet Union see her as a symbol of India, a land rich in age-old wisdom and striving ahead toward the future, a great ancient and ever young civilisation in constant quest of virtuous ideals, tranquil and patriarchal on the surface, but in fact dynamic and intolerant of evil, violence and oppression. She personified the India that threw off the British colonial yoke and built a new life, raising its voice in the world against the threat of war, the India for which the Soviet people have always felt sincere friendship and respect.

This may be the reason why Indira Gandhi was so widely popular and so very loved in the Soviet Union. This attitude emanates from deep within the people's hearts. Many parents all over the country have named their daughters Indira, a previously uncommon name.

I knew Indira Gandhi personally, having met her in Delhi, Moscow and New York. I have talked to her in private, and in narrow and broad audiences. Every meeting left a deep impression. This lithe, delicate woman with a sincere and gentle smile, large lively eyes and a wisp of gray hair, exuded strong willpower, perceptive intelligence and firmness of character.

She possessed extraordinary charm, an ability to win the sympathy of her interlocutors and to set the right tone of the conversation from the outset. She never strove for effect and yet every meeting with her was indelibly etched in one's memory. You emerged with a lingering feeling that this was an upright person of precise analytical intellect.

I have had many conversations with her. She could speak in a calm and even manner about any problem, whether it be of domestic policy, Soviet-Indian relations, or the international situation, and she analysed it skilfully and precisely. With an apt word, sometimes an aphorism, she was able to reveal an interesting angle to whatever was being discussed. She was always able to get to the root of the problem and, proceeding from there, offered a logically sound solution.

On several occasions I have listened to her address various audiences. Her superb skill as a speaker was highly respected in India: her words reached the hearts of her listeners.

I am reading and comparing Indira Gandhi's statements made at the beginning of her career and in the later years. The difference perhaps is only in the broadened range of the problems covered. In her many years as Prime Minister she acquired a rich treasure of knowledge and enormous experience, handy in the challenging work of any statesman. But always, from the beginning of her road—the road of a major state leader—right through to her last day she was a person who held firm convictions on life and the future of India.

To remember Indira Gandhi today means looking back into the past and encompassing, in one's mind, the centuries-old history of her nation.

She loved her country and could not imagine herself without it. She was dedicated to its transformation. From her tender years the suffering of her people made her soul ache.

She was brought up by the wise Rabindranath Tagore. Under his tutelage she came to know the rich history and originality of her land.

The great humanist, Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India, had a great formative influence on his daughter. She resembled her father in many ways.

Like the popularly revered Nehru, she measured her thoughts by the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. She was born on November 19, 1917, several days after the October Revolution, and was fond of noting that she was the same age as the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Like the calm and courageous Nehru, she was not given to a show of emotion. She expressed herself clearly and succinctly. On many occasions I noted to myself that she would rather understate than overstate. And yet, on whatever matter she pronounced her opinion, she invested it with weight and coherence. I think her reticence goes back to the inherent and innate modesty of the Indian woman. She seemed to embody the best qualities characteristic of her country's women.

Jawaharlal Nehru was the architect of the policy of peace of sovereign India. Indira Gandhi was a worthy successor to her remarkable father and political mentor. There is something more to this continuity than just family tradition.

It would be no exaggeration to say that together with Jawaharlal Nehru, his daughter will occupy a niche in the history of independent India. Indira Gandhi tried to do everything possible to make her country strong and self-reliant, preserving and multiplying the rich heritage of one of the oldest civilisations while ridding it of poverty, backwardness, and the burden of outdated structures and traditions.

It is no secret that under her leadership (which lasted a little over a decade and a half) India became largely self-sufficient in food and embarked on rapid industrial growth. Thanks to its course for self-sufficiency, India under Indira Gandhi became one of the few developing countries where foreign capital investment accounts for an infinitesimal part in the financing of the national economy. Looking back on the past, the novel features of present-day India stand out more clearly.

To remember Indira Gandhi today means to see the present situation of her vast country which was greatly changed by the efforts of the nation led by this great woman.

India's achievements are well-known. Here I would like to draw attention to the role Indira Gandhi played in promoting contacts between India and the Soviet Union. She was a consistent adherent of friendship and cooperation between the two countries. Back in the years of the Second World War when Nazi Germany treacherously attacked the USSR, Indira Gandhi came out resolutely in support of the Soviet people's struggle and became an activist of the Friends of the Soviet Union Society. She paid several visits to Moscow and other Soviet cities making her first trip as early as 1953. Her name is closely linked with the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and India which raised the relations between the two states to a qualitatively new level.

I was directly involved in that event. Recalling those hot August days in 1971 (I was authorised to sign the Treaty on behalf of the Soviet Union), I must note the sincere popular support of the document not only among the Soviet and Indian peoples but also outside our countries. The few weak voices opposing Soviet-Indian friendship sounded unconvincing even then.

Today, fourteen years later, the valuable practical results of the Treaty are more evident than ever. We can see its positive impact on world development.

This Treaty is aimed at the future. It determines the main directions of Soviet-Indian cooperation. Peace, friendship, cooperation—words from the Treaty's title—reflect the character of the goals the USSR and India set before them on the world scene and in their bilateral relations. This was the first treaty ever between the USSR and a developing country not socialist-oriented. It is not directed against any third country or group of countries. It contains an article that reflects the positive Soviet attitude toward India's traditional policy of non-alignment.

For Indira Gandhi cooperation with the Soviet Union was not a matter of mere expediency. She repeatedly stressed that the USSR has always been on the side of India in times of its difficulties.

The path on which our countries have travelled together in the years following the signing of the Treaty, has been marked by major achievements in every area of cooperation. Our bilateral cooperation today is characterised by dozens of new projects being built in key industries, impressive and fast-growing trade, highly effective joint scientific and engineering projects, active ties in the fields of culture, science, health, education, tourism and sports. Much of the credit for the uninterrupted functioning of the whole range of Soviet-Indian relations goes to the regular summit level contacts between the two countries in which Indira Gandhi took part. The Soviet Union and India were engaged in constant and invariably effective dialogue at the summit level. Every personal meeting between Soviet and Indian leaders became an international milestone.

The desire of the great daughter of the Indian people to develop friendship with the USSR provided a vivid example of the unity of the forces of world socialism and the national liberation movement. Mikhail Gorbachev has noted: "The peoples will forever remember the names of the great Indian leaders, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi, closely linked both with the history of India and with the history of the national liberation struggle on all continents."

The government of Rajiv Gandhi is demonstrating by its activities the continuity of the course of Indira Gandhi. The official friendly visit to the Soviet Union by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, during which he reaffirmed adherence to the peaceful and anti-imperialist policy of Indira Gandhi, was fresh confirmation of the good traditions and evidence of the dynamic development of Soviet-Indian relations.

To remember Indira Gandhi today means to look into the future of mankind.

She dreamed of peace, peace for all time. I would like to stress her immense positive contribution to the struggle against war. That aspect of her activities alone secures her a place as a major stateswoman of our time. Her tireless work in the high office of Prime Minister of India is only one side of her life full of travail. But it is necessary to single out this aspect because the consistently peaceful policy of India has played and continues to play a very positive role in the global confrontation between the forces of war and peace.

Indira Gandhi's active work for peace, national liberation and social progress is universally known. People will remember her impassioned speeches against imperialism and hegemonism, against the doctrines of nuclear madness and the arms race, her wrathful exposure of exploitation and inequality, colonialism and racism.

Her work in the diplomatic and foreign policy sphere was extremely constructive and positive. She takes the credit for initiatives on preventing nuclear war and promoting disarmament, settling conflicts and easing tensions in the relations between countries, and introducing a new international economic order based on justice and equality. One may recall the wide response to the appeal, in May 1984, of the leaders of six countries to the nuclear powers to stop all testing, production and

deployment of nuclear weapons. Indira Gandhi was a co-author of the appeal.

Characteristically, she thought in broad terms. She was aware that the destiny of her country—India—was interconnected with the destinies of the planet. She considered the preservation of peace on Earth as a main condition of the progress of her own country. Without peace today there will be no life tomorrow, said Indira Gandhi from the rostrum of the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly. She clearly distinguished between the enemies and the friends of independent India and saw where the threat to peace came from and who could be an ally in opposing that threat. That is why her political credo was anti-imperialism, rejection of any form of national, racial, and economic oppression.

This statesmanlike vision, the ability to look ahead and chart new courses contributed to India's growing international authority and increased the personal prestige of Indira Gandhi. Her outstanding qualities put her among the leading political figures of the modern world. It is no accident that the non-aligned countries have put India and its Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, at the head of their movement.

Indira Gandhi's life was brilliant and full, but her activities as Chairwoman of the non-aligned movement is of particular significance. The leitmotif of her many-sided concerns in that movement was to strengthen its cohesion and make it more active as a weighty factor of peace and detente, ensuring its adherence to the anti-imperialist and antiwar principles that were inherent in it.

It is a measure of the high assessment of Indira Gandhi's multifarious activities that she was awarded, posthumously, the international Lenin Peace Prize. The gold medal and diploma that go with the prize were presented to Rajiv Gandhi, her son and successor as Prime Minister, in Moscow last May. This was a tribute to the memory of the wonderful daughter of the Indian people on the part of the world and the Soviet public.

She was well aware that the enemies of the Indian people were planning to assassinate her. In her last years she had often expressed concern over the situation in the country and for her own life. More than one assassination plot was uncovered. However, Indira Gandhi was not to be intimidated. Until her last hour, she considered it her civic duty to carry out the policy chosen once and for all.

In one of his remarkably profound and touching letters to his daughter written from prison, Jawaharlal Nehru expressed hope that she would grow up a brave soldier of India. She became the supreme commander leading those forces in her country that came out for peace, progress, and the unity of the country. She died from enemy bullets like a soldier in action.

Indira Gandhi held an Honorary Doctorate from Moscow University. One of the newest squares in the Soviet capital near the university campus has a flower bed with a semi-circle of birch-trees around it. On a granite stele amid the flowers is inscribed: "Indira Gandhi Square. Dedicated in 1985 to commemorate Indira Gandhi (1917-1984), outstanding state and political leader of India, a great friend of the Soviet Union."

Years will go by, the trees will grow, the city's streets will change and become busier. But the square will remain forever. It fits in well with the city image and has become its inseparable part, just like Soviet-Indian friendship has become ingrained in the consciousness of the two great peoples. Our people honour, and will continue to honour, the name of this noble daughter of India engraved in granite among birch-trees in Moscow.

REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

V. K A Z A K O V

The term "regional conflict" has been part of political phraseology over the past decades. Quite a few such conflicts have erupted in various parts of the globe: two wars of aggression waged by Britain in the South Atlantic and by Israel in the Middle East, US intervention in Grenada, Washington's unceasing acts of provocation against Cuba, brigand raids by South Africa into Angola and Mozambique, armed clashes in the Horn of Africa, bandit actions on Kampuchean borders, "undeclared wars" against Nicaragua and Afghanistan, punitive operations in El Salvador and Namibia and the dragged out and senseless Iran-Iraq war. The list is far from complete. In various parts of the world tensions have reached a high point.

What is behind this dangerous phenomenon? What are the sources of armed conflicts labelled "small-scale", though over 10 million people have died in them since the Second World War?

A look at the world map would be enough to see that most of the conflicts have taken place in major strategic points, in regions abundant in natural resources, or at the main transport crossroads indispensable for economic ties among states and even entire continents. The United States has been in one way or another involved in all these conflicts. In fact almost all regional conflicts today result as a rule from a clash of interests of the popular masses and the aggressive policies of US imperialism.

By exerting constant political, economic, diplomatic and military pressure and provoking armed conflicts, imperialism and reaction are trying not only to crush the forces of progress but also to create strongholds for maintaining and spreading their influence. This is, in fact, *one of the main elements of the global strategy of social revenge* actively employed by imperialism.

Attempts have been made to topple governments that do not suit the US imperialists, to wring from the peoples the gains won in the struggle for national liberation and social progress and thus to wrest the historical initiative away from the forces of socialism, democracy, national liberation and peace. Attempts to block the natural course of events in developing countries are mainly what creates seats of tension and presents a threat of not only local but also global nature, a threat long-term in character.

Understandably, conflict situations, including large-scale armed conflicts, arise for specific reasons in each particular case. There may be inter-imperialist contradictions, territorial claims left over from the colonial past, nationalistic or hegemonic geopolitical ambitions, and attempts by imperialism to use puppet governments for crushing national liberation movements. No mean role in kindling conflicts is played by social struggles within a country; and in such cases imperialism invariably sides

with national reactionaries. This can be seen from the long list of armed interventions and counter-revolutionary coups (from South Vietnam to Grenada) suiting the interests of US imperialism. "Tension, conflicts in the regions and even wars between states in a different part of the world," Mikhail Gorbachev stressed at the press conference in Geneva, "are rooted in the past and today's social-economic conditions of these countries and regions. To claim that all these knots of contradictions are engendered by East-West rivalry is not only wrong, but also extremely dangerous."

But whatever the cause of a conflict, imperialism has always tried to use it to its own advantage. Provoking and maintaining tensions in various parts of the globe have become part of the long-term plans devised by the Pentagon and NATO, just as are the arms race, setting up of new military blocs, and acts of direct aggression; just as are economic sanctions, open interference in the domestic affairs of other states, and the incessant "psychological warfare". The apologists of imperialism expect that all these actions taken together make it possible to "change" the alignment of forces in the world and ultimately do damage to socialism and the cause of national liberation and social emancipation, and so tip the global balance of forces in favour of imperialism.

Historical experience has proved these hopes to be futile. The main trends in social development are irreversible and the forces of reaction cannot turn back the course of world history, while their plottings come up against the mounting resistance of progressive forces the world over.

And still, one cannot fail to see that at the present time armed conflicts and seats of high tension tend to grow, spilling over into neighbouring countries and regions. Was it that long ago that Lebanon, for instance, was a peaceful and prosperous state, an island of stability in the stormy Middle East? Today, the Washington-inspired Israeli aggression has made it a centre of armed conflict in the world and no one can be sure that US-Israeli strategic engagement would not cause this seat of conflict to spread to other Middle East states.

Furthermore, under present-day conditions the growth of one armed conflict often triggers eruptions in other zones. One example: the tense situation in Central America was used as a counter-attraction by the British government when it attempted an armed expedition into the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands. As the war over that archipelago was on, the Israeli militarists launched an invasion, planned far in advance, of Lebanon. While the fighting in Lebanon was raging, South African racists stepped up the undeclared war against Angola and Mozambique. In other words, a conflict in one region of the world acts as a military-political detonator which in the present international situation, tense as it is, can cause serious complications for world peace.

Yet another characteristic of regional conflicts is that wherever they arise the USA seeks to establish its military presence there. This was the case in the Middle East and in Central America. In the early 1980s the United States set up a "regional command" for Central America and the Caribbean to create an opportunity for taking direct part in the struggle against liberation movements and progressive governments in the region. Beginning in January 1983, the Central Command, known as CENTCOM, came into existence. Its sights are set on 19 countries of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, from Kenya to Iraq and Iran, from Ethiopia to Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Rapid Deployment Force, the backbone of the troops subordinate to CENTCOM, has the task of directly interfering in conflict situations in the regions where Washington's "vital interests" are at stake. What such interference can lead to is an easy guess, especially if one remembers that US nuclear weapons are stored close to many of the conflict regions, as, for once, on the Diego

REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND WORLD SECURITY

Garcia Island. All this greatly increases the threat to life on Earth already created by the seats of extreme tension.

Regional conflicts have become most dangerous today, especially because they occur amidst the global arms race and the general growth of international tensions. The interrelationship is obvious here, all the more so since the art of warfare has been developed to the point where, as was predicted by Lenin, "not only would a war between advanced countries be an enormous crime", but would "inevitably ... undermine the very foundations of human society".¹ It is clear, therefore, that to evade the solution of cardinal problems—a radical reduction of nuclear arms and non-militarisation of outer space—and to talk about "settling regional conflicts" instead, means evading the solution of international security problems.

Regional conflicts must be settled, no doubt. But it would be a mistake to ignore the lessons of history and revive the notorious concept of "lying-in". The top-priority task of our time is halting the arms race and beginning disarmament. And to make the accomplishment of this task conditional on the state of affairs in some or other region of the world would be the same as to purposely create difficulties where they already exist.

The fact that the United States helps unleash wars in other regions, acting against the will of the peoples striving for freedom and independence is, of course, denied in Washington. But the US President himself admits that whenever other nations are threatened, in the opinion of the United States, by outside forces, which can allegedly destroy their freedom and impose on them a minority rule by force of arms, the USA helps these nations to resist that.

But the list of these "other nations" which the United States has undertaken to help, and of the conflict situations it would like to settle, is worth being studied more closely. Such a list, announced by the US President in a recent speech, includes Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia and Kampuchea. These countries have much in common. In the past their peoples languished under the yoke of foreign monopolies and tyrannous dictatorships and then drove the oppressors away and set out to build a new life along progressive lines. The former oppressors launched cruel, though "undeclared", wars against these peoples. Afghan dushmans are as inhumanly cruel as are Nicaraguan contras, the UNITA bandits and Salvadoran death squads. It is common knowledge that they all receive political, material and financial aid from the White House and act in accordance with CIA-devised plans.

Let us recall that in 1985 representatives of counter-revolutionary units held several US-sponsored "international meetings". From the White House came warm greetings to their participants, and unambiguous pronouncements like "your goals are our goals". At the same time, members of the top echelon of power in the United States offer a very peculiar interpretation of the developments in these countries.

Take Central America, for instance. "Imposition of ideology from outside" is declared by Washington to be the source of all evil there. This assertion could serve as a perfect example of self-criticism: over the past 150 years, on 60 occasions the United States has brought its own ideology into Central America with the help of its marines. It is naive of Washington to act in this way and expect submissiveness from the peoples of the region, to say the least.

The USA regards "talks between belligerents" as a starting point in a settlement. As applied to Central America, this means, for instance, that the government of Nicaragua should sit at a negotiating table with

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 422.

the heads of the contras guilty of killing thousands of Nicaraguans. The demand is clearly unacceptable and humiliating. Yet the USA thoroughly avoids what it itself suggests. It demonstrated its unwillingness to hold dialogue with Nicaragua on equal terms late in October 1985, when at a meeting with the Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States, Harry Shlaudeman, the US President's envoy to Central America, made the start of the talks conditional on a dissolution of the republic's National Assembly formed as a result of the general elections in November 1984. What the US official spokesman suggested is a mockery of logic: the government of a sovereign state is told to outlaw (sic!) itself.

If the White House were really concerned over the destinies of the peoples and if consistency were typical of US foreign policy, then Washington ought to suggest that the governments of Tel Aviv, Pretoria and El Salvador enter into negotiations with, respectively, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the African National Congress of Southern Africa, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front. But this has not been done, for obvious reasons. The USA regards the rulers of Israel, South Africa and El Salvador as its partners and allies. At the same time, the governments of the countries listed by the US leadership clearly do not suit it. It is the contras, dushmians and death squads that are in the good grace of the US ruling circles. And it is them that Washington has chosen to help.

One cannot fail to notice the political phraseology used by the White House to justify its method of settling local conflicts, phraseology which is peculiar, to put it mildly.

In Washington's opinion, the governments of those countries which have opted for a progressive path of development should, in the first place, hand over power to counter-revolutionary forces. This is called "democratic reconciliation with their own peoples". Second, these countries should return to the "world economy", which in real terms means subjection to the diktat of transnational corporations and international financial organisations like the International Monetary Fund or the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, with all the ensuing consequences. And, finally, the main thing: they should foresee a "return to the family of free states", the "family" where inequality, social injustice and neocolonialist bondage reign, the "family" in which the householder establishes its own order and maintains it with the help of military bases, aircraft carriers, and the Rapid Deployment Force.

It is only natural that regional conflicts should be settled, but one must respect the norms of international law, stop interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states and recognise the right of their peoples to determine the path of their development themselves. Then the White House would not have to place the cart before the horse and claim that regional conflicts are at the basis of the increased world tensions. Indeed, one is to be blind not to see that the real cause behind this is the US-escalated arms race, the US course for confrontation.

But the US ruling circles, by giving precedence to "regional problems" are trying to avoid a search for reasonable ways of achieving stable peace. And even though they do advance "initiatives" on putting down conflicts, they insist that this should be done on Washington's terms. Its main terms are: liquidation of national liberation movements and denial of the fact that all states, big or small, regardless of their potentials, geographic position and social system, can and should join in the search for solutions to pressing problems and in a settlement of conflicts.

Washington hardly believes in earnest that the USSR can accept these "initiatives", if one may call them so, and make any deal.

he fact that the USSR sides with the nations rebuffing the swoops of the aggressive forces of imperialism and defending their freedom, independence and national dignity is known to everybody. The Soviet Union has always rejected the imperial attitude to relations with other countries. It has never considered that the whole world is anyone's domain. The USSR is pursuing and intends to continue to pursue a clear-cut and honest policy in matters of respecting the sovereign right of each people and to choose its own way of political, economic and social development. This is registered in the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme: "Every people is worthy of living in a society which is free from social and national oppression, in a society of genuine equality and genuine democracy. It is the sovereign right of an oppressed and exploited people to free itself from exploitation and injustice. Revolutions are a natural result of social development, of class struggle in every given country. The CPSU has always believed and continues to believe that the 'export' of revolution, the imposition of it on anyone from outside, is fundamentally unacceptable. But the 'export' of counter-revolution in any form, too, constitutes a gross encroachment on the free expression of will by the peoples, on their right to independently choose their way of development. The Soviet Union is strongly opposed to the attempts to forcibly check and reverse the march of history".

It is by far not an illusory "communist threat" but the unwillingness of the US imperialists to reckon with the political realities of the world today, their disregard for the will of sovereign nations and the wish to deprive them of the right to shape by themselves their future, and a threat to their security that turn various regions into explosive seats of tension.

The USSR has always believed that all states should respect other peoples' national independence and sovereignty, refrain from the use or threat of force and observe the principles of inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, and other generally recognised norms of international relations. Slander campaigns interpreting the situation in some or other country and its policy in a distorted light are inadmissible. There can be no justification for interference in the internal affairs of other nations or for a policy of state-sponsored terrorism. No one should encroach on the sovereign right of each nation to live and work under a social and political system it has freely chosen for itself.

This view is shared by other countries of the socialist community. The member states of the Warsaw Treaty have stressed in a statement issued at the October 1985 Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Sofia their preparedness for effective interaction with all countries concerned with the aim of achieving the earliest possible settlement of conflict situations and preventing the emergence of new seats of tension in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions of the world. The Warsaw Treaty countries have declared: "Peace is indivisible and any local conflict in the present-day tense international situation is fraught with the danger of escalating into a major, even global conflict. It is necessary to resolutely put an end to the imperialist policy of force, intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and to acts of aggression, to settle conflict situations and disputes between states by peaceful means, and to fully respect the right of every people to decide its destiny independently."

The socialist countries are convinced that an all-embracing, fair and lasting settlement in the Middle East can only be achieved through the joint efforts of all the parties concerned on the condition of a complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967; provision of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to self-determination and formation of an indepen-

dent state; and provision to all states in the region the right to independent existence and development. A practical way of achieving this would be a convocation, under the UN aegis, of an international conference on the Middle East in which all the parties concerned would take part, including the PLO. The solution of the Middle East problems would be facilitated by the consolidation of the unity of the Arab countries and the Palestinian movement. The Warsaw Treaty countries have stressed that a settlement of internal Lebanese problems on the basis of national accord among the Lebanese themselves and the preservation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, as well as the earliest cessation of the war between Iran and Iraq and the stabilisation of the situation in the Persian Gulf area would help safeguard peace in that part of the world.

They welcomed the start of the talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the personal envoy of the UN Secretary General. The states of the socialist community back a just political settlement of the Cyprus problem through negotiations, support the efforts and initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at safeguarding peace and stability in the Korean Peninsula; peace and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific and the solution of problems facing Southeast Asia by political means; they are for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and for a peaceful settlement of conflicts and disputes on the basis of mutual respect for independence and territorial integrity. They also speak for a settlement of conflict situations in Latin America without outside interference, by political means ruling out intervention, threat and pressure.

The socialist countries support the proposal of Romania on the adoption by the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly of the call to the countries in conflict to immediately end hostilities and begin negotiations, and the appeal to all UN member states to settle conflicts and disputes by political means.

Realistic and thoroughly considered settlement plans and political programmes which take into account the legitimate interests of all sides in a conflict have been in fact elaborated for most acute conflict situations, wherever they can be. Mention should be made in this context of the proposals made by the countries of Indochina addressed to the ASEAN countries, of the peace initiatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the constructive stand of the Salvadoran patriotic organisations, and the proposals made by the Contadora Group.

Specific proposals with due account of local conditions are advanced for each individual case. But the champions of peace and justice have in fact a common approach to any conflict, an approach based on respect for the peoples' rights. Only on these conditions can a truly stable settlement for any region be achieved.

If no such settlement has been effected, be it in the Middle East, in the south of Africa or in Central America, the causes of that are always the same: the unwillingness of the imperialists to recognise the principle of equality of states and peoples, the wish of some countries to dominate others, exploit their natural and manpower resources and use their territories for strategic purposes. "We are not for war, we are for peace, for a search for solutions," said Fidel Castro, "and we are well aware of what consequences of a new war can be for the whole world, aware of the existing menace. We are in favour of settlements and we insist they be applied to various seats of tension; we are for an end to the hostilities between Iraq and Iran and for finding solutions to the problems of the Middle East, Central America, Angola and South Africa. Our activities in no way promote conflicts. But we shall not budge an inch in the face of threats and aggressive actions of imperialists!"

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POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS IN THE US PEACE MOVEMENT

Emily DeNitto

A record number of simultaneous demonstrations for disarmament were held across the United States to commemorate the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6, 1985. Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament, a group founded in 1985, organised 10,000 people to "Walk for Peace" through San Diego, California. Afterwards, a rally was addressed by such notables as actor Paul Newman, comedian Robin Williams and singer Melissa Manchester. People bicycled, walked and rode horses from Colorado, Oklahoma and other Texas cities to a "peace camp" at a weapons plant in Amarillo. Civil disobedience actions were held at 25 sites nationwide, artists painted 125,000 human silhouettes to symbolise the "shadows" left after a nuclear bombing and religious services dedicated to peace were held by some 2,000 congregations.

Many other events were organised, but perhaps the most symbolically powerful action was one thought up by Colorado grandmother Justine Merritt during her morning prayers. Justine Merritt conceived the idea of a band of people encircling the Pentagon with a ribbon of peace. On August 6, some 15,000 people did just that with a banner composed of 25,000 cloth panels. The ribbon wrapped 15 miles around not just the Pentagon but also the Lincoln Memorial, the Capitol and Ellipse behind the White House.

The peace ribbon is a perfect metaphor for a growing peace movement in the United States that has the Reagan Administration encircled. A veritable explosion of peace actions has erupted over the last few years, that, despite all the Administration's red-baiting and condemnations, refuses to be silenced.

There are close to 6,000 disarmament groups in the United States today. There are professional organisations dedicated to peace like Physicians for Social Responsibility and the Union of Concerned Scientists; student groups like United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War and Students Organised to Prevent Nuclear War; religious, women's, artists', and community groups, as well as the traditional peace organisations. Afro-American Representatives, organised into the Congressional Black Caucus, are consistent friends and leaders of the peace movement on the legislative level. Retired military officers and former arms negotiators organised into groups like the Center for Defense Information, often have among the most advanced positions on questions of war and arms control.

One of the most significant developments in recent years is labor's growing role in the peace movement—both on the trade union level and through broader groups that emphasise labor's importance.

The author is a progressive American journalist, a staffer of the "Daily World" newspaper (USA).

Although the International Affairs Department of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO) remains right-wing on most foreign policy issues, it is the pro-detente forces that now predominate in labor. Even AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, a member of the ultra-right foreign policy body Committee on the Present Danger, has toned down his anti-communist rhetoric.

Twenty-two national trade unions, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and the Coalition of Labor Union Women have endorsed the call for a bilateral freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons. Among them are the massive United Steelworkers of America, United Auto Workers and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. The AFL-CIO has not issued a clear-cut endorsement of the nuclear weapons freeze, but the following language was included in the foreign policy resolution passed at its National Convention in October 1983:

"On the issue of a proposed nuclear freeze, the resolution noted that a majority of trade unionists, as do most Americans, favor a verifiable bilateral nuclear freeze while others are skeptical.

"But we are united in our conviction that the nuclear arms race must be halted and reversed... with radical reductions on both sides being the objective of arms control negotiations so that the nuclear balance, and thus deterrence, can be secured at much lower levels of potential destruction."

Labor is a leading force in the popular calls for containment of the military budget, conversion of military plants into places of peaceful production, against Star Wars development and the need for US-Soviet trade agreements.

As well, labor is playing a key role in efforts for improved US-Soviet relations generally. In May 1985, Eugene Glover, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Association of Machinists, and Aerospace Workers, led an official trade union delegation to an international labor meeting in Moscow on the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism. IAM President William Winpisinger's 1983 visit to that city, where he met with the Soviet leaders was a significant factor stimulating detente.

Local trade union support for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students was another tribute to labor's work for peace and disarmament. In New York City, some 100 trade union officials raised over \$ 2,000 for the festival at a Labor-Youth Unity breakfast. A similar event was held in Chicago and, in both cities, festival youth marched in the Labor Day parades on September 2, 1985.

The development of organisations like Jobs with Peace, a group that works across the country for a transfer of military funds to job-creating, socially useful production; the related conversion movement; and Labor for Peace, a West Coast group of trade union activists, illustrate the coming together of the peace and trade union movements.

Labor's leading role in the anti-apartheid movement is a significant force for peace and against the Washington Administration foreign policy. Thomas R. Donahue, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO, Leon Lynch, Vice-President for human affairs of the Steelworkers, and Charles A. Perlík Jr., President of the Newspaper Guild, were among the first to be arrested at the South African consulate in Washington, D. C., while protesting US support for apartheid.

Thirty-two labor leaders sent a letter to South African President P. W. Botha in early 1985 calling for the immediate release of that country's trade union, student and anti-apartheid leaders and protesting the dismissal of workers on strike against police and military violence. Among the signatories were Owen Bieher, President of the United Auto Workers; Lynn R. Williams, President of the Steelworkers, James Kane, President

of the United Electrical Workers; and Kenneth T. Blaylock, President of the American Federation of Government Employees.

San Francisco longshoremen gave an unprecedented boost to the anti-apartheid movement in the spring of 1985 when they refused to handle South African goods and called to account the Pacific Maritime Association which schedules ships in and out of Pacific Coast port cities.

Representatives of over 30 unions in Massachusetts occupied the Deak-Perera offices on May Day. This and other actions forced the company to stop selling South African krugers. In New York, the multi-union Labor Against Apartheid has been particularly active, organising a highly successful conference March 1-2 followed by a US tour of South African labor leaders; putting out a regular newsletter; and helping to organise a demonstration on August 13 against apartheid's state of emergency with 35,000 people, one of the largest such actions in the country's history.

We can say this peace explosion came to the fore in 1982, when the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign came into being and, on June 12, over a million people demonstrated in New York City to end the arms race. Since that time, relentless Soviet peace proposals and unilateral initiatives—rejected out of hand by the Reagan Administration—have had a deep effect on the peace movement and US public thinking generally.

Anti-Sovietism has decreased in the past period. On April 20, 1985, hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated in key cities across the country for peace. Not only were the demands of the action more advanced than those of June 12—in addition to the freeze, the events called for cuts in the military budget, an end to US interference in Central America, and an end to support for apartheid—but the tactics were as well. Following June 12, civil disobedience actions were held at the embassies of all countries with nuclear weapons, including the Soviet Union, despite a heated debate on the issue in the coalition that organised the demonstration. On April 20, 1985, the question of where to demonstrate did not even come up—all forces wanted to direct their protest at the Reagan Administration.

Mass remorse met news of the death of Samantha Smith, the 13-year old who wrote to Yuri Andropov of her fear of nuclear war and then travelled to Young Pioneers' Artek at his invitation. The Soviet Union sent a high-ranking official to her funeral, but the Reagan Administration was notably absent, although Vice-President George Bush lives in the State where it was held, Maine. Local newspapers reflected the population's anger over this, and appreciation for Soviet sentiments. Samantha was a symbol of the US people's desire for peace and better US-Soviet relations.

Likewise, support for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students was a testament to the lessening of anti-Sovietism. Even *TV Guide*, the most widely read publication in the United States, recently featured a more objective article on Soviet television than has appeared in many years.

The Communist Party USA, active in numerous peace organisations, is met with enthusiasm and support whenever it participates in disarmament actions. That the CPUSA is often asked to be part of the coalitions that build for these actions is a tribute to the lessening of anticommunism in general.

Response to the Administration's testing of an antisatellite weapon in space on September 6, 1985, indicates a turning point in the fight against anti-Sovietism. Representative Joe Moakley, a Democrat from Massachusetts, got signatures from close to 100 Congressmen in three days, appealing to Reagan to halt the test and "give negotiations a chance". Moakley and three other Representatives joined with the Union of Concerned Scientists in bringing a law suit against the federal government for planning to conduct the test without meeting Congressional

requirements. Many involved specifically noted that it is the Reagan Administration that is initiating an arms race in outer space.

Newspaper ads and appeals currently distributed by a wide range of organisations and prominent individuals denounce the Administrations' ASAT plans and call for a serious approach to US-Soviet arms limitation negotiations. After General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev announced a Soviet moratorium on nuclear weapons tests, the major peace organisations formed a coalition to discuss a united response to all the recent Soviet peace initiatives. This marks the first time peace forces have gotten together, not just to focus on the Reagan Administration, but to welcome the role of the Soviet Union.

Still, anti-Sovietism remains an ideological weakness in the peace movement. The Administration has not yet been forced to abandon any weapons system and has succeeded in increasing the military budget with each passing year in large part because anti-Sovietism continues to divide peace forces and dilute attacks on the Administration's war drive.

The history of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign offers some insights into this problem. When the freeze movement was born in 1982, it took the nation by storm. Opinion polls indicated that nearly eight of every ten Americans favored a freeze and the freeze campaign, organising this sentiment on the grassroots level, won victories. In the fall of 1982 alone, nine States, including California, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Massachusetts, passed referenda calling for a freeze—as did close to 500 towns and counties. By May 1983 a Congressional resolution calling on the President to negotiate a freeze with the Soviet Union had passed the House of Representatives.

In the autumn of 1984, *Foreign Affairs* journal summarised a survey conducted by Daniel Yankelovich and John Doble. It concluded that "the American electorate is now psychologically prepared to take a giant step towards real arms reductions". The most significant finding was that a 61-per cent majority—a much greater percentage than voted for Reagan—favored the idea declaring a unilateral six-month freeze of nuclear weapons to see if the Soviet Union would follow suit. But at that point, the freeze had lost much of its steam. The nation's great peace sentiment no longer resulted in concrete gains, and, left floundering, lost its media appeal.

This is due to tactical mistakes on the part of freeze organisers, such as not backing up its petitions and Congressional lobbying with mass actions and refusing to take on issues related to the freeze with significant force, such as the fight against first-strike and space weaponry. The freeze has even stopped printing its newsletter, the only forum for freeze supporters from different areas of the country to communicate with one another. But such tactical mistakes come from ideological weaknesses that reflect the petty-bourgeois composition of the organisation's national staff and leadership.

On the national level, the freeze ignores the fact that the Soviet Union is foremost among nations in support of the freeze and dismisses the Soviet Peace Committee for its "lack of independence from the Soviet government".

Such capitulation to anticommunism is, in part, based on the freeze's underestimation of the US people and its narrow concept of who in US society supports the freeze. Racism and a reticence to work with trade union forces are problems that narrow the peace movement and sometimes work hand in hand with anticommunism.

There are signs of a change, however. At its last national conference, the freeze said it plans to "embrace a wider part of the American population including the Rainbow Coalition and the rank-and-file of organised labor. In Ohio, a newspaper ad calling on the US and Soviet Union to negotiate for a comprehensive test ban, was organised by the freeze and signed by hundreds of elected officials, peace, religious and other groups, including the Ohio Communist Party. When the Soviet Union declared a unilateral test ban until January 1986, Communist Party District Organiser Rick Nagin urged that the text be changed to reflect this. After some discussion back and forth, changes were made. In its final form, the ad welcomed the Soviet initiative and noted that it was the Reagan Administration that broke off test ban talks in 1980.

Several pro-detente Congressmen credit their victories in 1984 to Freeze Voter'84, the electoral arm of the freeze movement. The campaign was able to raise \$3.5 million, employ a full time staff of 200 and mobilise about 25,000 volunteers to operate phone banks, carry out mass mailings and run door-to-door canvassing operations. Of the Congressional races it targeted for special effort, its candidates won 4 of 8 contests in the Senate, and 25 of 35 in the House.

There are a number of peace groups that, in their literature and actions, make clear that it was the US that initiated the arms race, continues the arms race, and today stands in the way of arms control. Included in this category are the US Peace Council, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Women Strike for Peace.

The vast bulk of peace groups place blame on both the US and Soviet Union for the arms race, but focus their activities against the Reagan Administration's foreign policy course.

There are some forces, however, that argue that the US peace movement should focus not only on the US government, but also on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They champion dissidents as "the true peace movement" in the socialist world and their literature deals with the policies of the Soviet, Czechoslovak and Hungarian governments in much the same way that it deals with Reagan's.

Such an organisation is the Campaign for Peace and Democracy East and West. In one of the issues of its bulletin, *Peace and Democracy News*, it argues that the peace movements in capitalist countries should support any development that could lead to divisions and, ultimately, the disintegration of the socialist community of nations. Despite endorsements by leading trade union, women's, peace and academic forces, however, the group has not had a significant impact on the peace movement's rank and file.

A more potentially negative development is the formation of a group called PRO-Peace. Out of nowhere, the organisation has come up with a full-time staff of 62 people, a multi-million dollar budget and state of the art computer equipment, raising questions about what forces are supporting the group's plans.

PRO-Peace expects to hold a "Walk for Peace" from Los Angeles to Washington, D. C. from March to November 1986. The group has organised a lot of support for the project and, manipulating public opinion with its simplistic call to "take the weapons down," prospects look good for its success. But the march is only the first in a series of actions that will culminate in an "Eastern Bloc Strategy." This final strategy includes setting up "technology to reach people directly across international boundaries" in the socialist countries. Organising through this communications system, PRO-Peace expects to get East German citizens to meet the 25,000 people that it will march from Hanover, FRG, into Berlin "for peace" towards the end of the decade.

To the same extent that peace forces do not sometimes recognise their friends in the socialist countries, they often do not recognise, or underestimate, their enemies in the Reagan Administration and worldwide. The peace movement has been slow to take up anti-imperialist and interventionist issues. When the Administration invaded tiny Grenada, the peace movement did not protest in the numbers one might have expected, particularly given that nuclear-equipped ships circled the island during the attack.

On the other hand, the solidarity movement is often slow to recognise the central importance of the struggle against nuclear war and for détente.

Peace forces are now eyeing the 1986 Congressional elections as a chance to make new gains and preserve old ones. Polls have shown that, although President Reagan is liked as an individual by many Americans, his policies are not, and Reaganite Congress people will suffer for this.

Hopes are buoyed on this level by the achievements of the Rainbow Coalition, headed by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, which brought three peace demands to the Democratic Party Convention in 1984 and the victories of Freeze Voter '84.

The welcome reception the Communist Party USA's 1984 and current campaigns, with their strong peace positions, receives is another indication that peace candidates can win and Administration supporters lose come voting day.

Likewise, divisions in the US ruling class on US-Soviet negotiations and other peace issues, and divisions in NATO on such issues as support for Star Wars, make future victories for the peace movement more possible.

As Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary noted at the December 1984 Central Committee meeting, "Taken together, the new world balance of forces, the world revolutionary process, the world peace movement, the strong anti-government sentiment that grew over the past four years in many areas of the world, combined with the 89 per cent US peace majority—all these—open up new avenues of struggle and greater leverage for the US peace forces."

REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

(Continued from page 50)

The strategic course of the socialist countries is directed not towards military preparations, but towards peaceful cooperation, towards curbing the arms race and towards disarmament and towards strengthening peace and security in any region of the world by deepening mutual trust among states with different social systems. This is a course of peaceful contacts among nations, of an honest observance of the norms of international law, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. This course meets the vital interests and aspirations of the progressive forces fighting in various regions.

Proponents and Opponents of Dialogue in Southeast Asia

V. A N D R E Y E V,
V. S E M E N O V

The defeat of German fascism and the victory over Japanese militarism the 40th anniversary of which was widely celebrated in 1985 was a powerful stimulus for the national liberation movement throughout the world, including in Southeast Asia. This strategically important area (with sea and air routes which link Europe and Africa with East Asia and the Pacific passing through it), rich in mineral resources (copra, rubber, oil, gas, tin, bauxites, copper, uranium and valuable species of wood) and manpower (a population of over 350 million), had long held the close attention of British, Dutch, French and, at a later stage, Japanese colonialists. A number of new states committed to independent political and economic development emerged there after the Second World War.

They had to face, however, bitter confrontation with the forces of imperialism which tried to retain their earlier positions or even gain new ones.

It is the United States that has been particularly active, attempting to fill what it termed as a "power vacuum" in the area and take the place of former colonialists. To that end, it organised political and economic subversion, anti-government plots, and, finally, staged outright acts of aggression. The notorious SEATO bloc was established.

The main blow was directed, of course, against those who chose the road of fundamental social change and building of a new type of society. However, neither the massive bombing, nor the refined barbaric methods of warfare, nor any other means could bail Washington out. With assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the peoples of Indochina overpowered the forces of imperialism: the SEATO bloc crumbled.

The birth of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and, later, of the People's Republic of Kampuchea after the collapse of the Pol Pot regime, created a fundamentally new situation in the region. There are two groups of nations with different social and political systems—those of Indochina and those of the ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations). For all the diversity of their political, social-economic and religious features, most of them are connected by their common historical destinies. Their peoples, though not necessarily all of their governments, share common aspirations: to become real masters of their present and future, to accelerate the resolution of problems connected with national development, and, hence, with safeguarding peace, especially in their region.

However, the situation in Southeast Asia is still strained and even explosive, and relations between the nations of Indochina and those of the ASEAN are confrontational rather than normal.

What is that due to?

It is due, first and foremost, to the continuing undisguised interference of imperialist and hegemonic forces, above all, the United States of America in the domestic affairs of the region.

After the defeat in Vietnam, Washington conducted so-called quiet diplomacy for some time, preferring to keep in the shade. The White House did not place priority on American military presence in Southeast Asia, but acted through its military blocs allies in the region. It focussed instead on pressuring the member countries of the ASEAN which it has regarded ever since it was formed in 1967 as an eventual instrument of American policy in the region. That was the aim behind the substantial military and economic aid given to the ASEAN countries and every possible inducement used to encourage some of them to develop military cooperation within the Association with the purpose of turning it into a military bloc.

Under the present Administration, US policy in Southeast Asia has moved into markedly higher gear: it regards the region not only as an important link in the chain of US military bases in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific, but also as a new site for American forward-based forces.

Washington has set out to realise its latest military-strategic objectives in Southeast Asia, above all by whipping up tension and provoking a confrontation between the nations of Indochina and the ASEAN, that is, by creating the kind of situation that would make the growing US military presence look "natural and imperceptible".

The USA is banking most heavily on the ASEAN. It has been applying increased pressure on its members in recent times, resorting to all kinds of arm-twisting tactics which the USA is so adept in and which it is widely using elsewhere in the world, and to the full array of political, economic, military and ideological levers.

Cashing in on the anticommunism of the ASEAN regimes and their fear of the spread and growing influence of socialism in the region, the United States has been playing up the "Kampuchea issue". It recurs, as a rule, slightly varied, in the context of the notorious "Soviet" and "Vietnamese threat". Perhaps, no meeting of ASEAN and American leaders, nor the latter's visits to the region ever takes place without replaying the old tune about "the growth of Soviet military presence" and "Vietnamese aggressiveness".

Economic leverage is fully involved as well. The US is the ASEAN's largest creditor and second largest (after Japan) trade partner (its commodity turnover with them was \$26,400 million in 1984). Taking advantage of the interest the economically handicapped ASEAN countries have in receiving more loans (their aggregate foreign debt is already climbing towards the 100,000 million dollar mark: the Philippines—25,900 million; Indonesia—32,500 million; Malaysia—18,600 million; and Thailand—14,800 million), Washington has been granting them, with the aim of pursuing quite definite objectives, not only to bind the members of the Association still tighter to itself economically, but also to harness them to its adventurist policy.

Year after year the USA has been increasingly wooing the ASEAN for military ends. In the last decade alone, US military "aid" to them has topped \$3,000 million. Preference has, certainly, been given to the "tried-and-tested" allies in the military blocs, above all, to Thailand whose ruling quarters look to Washington in shaping their policies. And that is what makes the latter so generous: it has been granting several hundred million dollars to Bangkok every year for military needs, and is supply-

ing or planning to supply it soon with the most up-to-date US weapons, including the nuclear-capable F-16 aircraft. Aid to those nations, like Indonesia, which are not regarded as altogether loyal, has been in smaller proportions, yet growing from \$30 million in 1980 to \$50 million in 1983.

Japan's policy towards the ASEAN countries is closely concerted with Washington. Tokyo has to reckon, of course, with the fact that the memories of the Japanese occupation are still alive in the member states and that they are rather wary of the present policy of Japan and of the militaristic trends gaining ground in that country. They have been particularly disturbed by Tokyo's decision to extend the area of operations of its naval forces to a thousand miles around Japan, which enables them even at this point to cruise in the direct proximity of Southeast Asia. Reactions to it have been expressed in numerous public statements by statesmen and public figures of ASEAN countries, notably, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. As the Philippines' former Minister of Foreign Affairs Arturo Tolentino, declared recently, the military preparations of Japan, which has been building up its naval presence in the Asian and Pacific region, pose a serious potential threat to the sovereignty and independent development of the Southeast Asian nations.

Ignoring those reactions, the Japanese ruling circles stick to their policy of implanting themselves in the region, using, above all, the powerful financial leverage they have there and seeking to tie the members of the Association still more closely to Japan, economically. That line is consistently pursued. Japan provides half the total foreign aid to the ASEAN countries. At the same time, Tokyo has been singing along with its Washington partner in whipping up tension over Kampuchea.

The massive brainwashing of Association members by the USA, Japan and their partners does not pass without a trace. It does affect its actual performance. Founded originally as an organisation for social and economic cooperation, the ASEAN is now focussing on political matters, with a manifestly pro-Western accent. It is concerting its positions more and more on major international problems with Western countries.

The ASEAN's approach to the situation around Kampuchea is most clearly at odds with the interests of peace in Southeast Asia. The Association has been insisting on the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer contingents, "free elections under international control", and the creation of a "neutral government independent of Vietnam". The ASEAN is refusing to recognise the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and is giving preference to the "coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea" headed by Norodom Sihanouk, with the first fiddle played, however, by the Pol Pot gangs. The ASEAN's line opens the way, as a matter of fact, to the return of the Pol Pot regime to Kampuchea under a different signboard.

The ASEAN's policy is shaped largely, at least as far as Kampuchea is concerned, by its conservative wing, above all, by Thailand. The Thai authorities have given refuge to various reactionary Khmer groups making bandit incursions into Kampuchean territory. The Thai Armed Forces themselves are responsible for acts of armed provocation against the PRK and the LPDR (shelling, intrusions by combat aircraft, and capture of population centres).

Singapore is doing about the same thing by giving weapons and other military aid to Khmer bandit groups.

At the same time, the "Kampuchea problem" is being used for imposing an extremist course on other members of the Association. In particular, a special effort has been under way to vest the ASEAN with the attributes of a military bloc. As early as 1980, Bangkok broached the idea of negotiations on a "new regional security" system. It was opposed by Indonesia and Malaysia which, however, did not object to bi- or trilateral

military cooperation being established with ASEAN partners. In recent times, there have been attempts at selling the old idea in a new wrapping—through an Association defence ministers' conference.

While noting the negative aspects of the Association's performance, it has to be admitted that some of its members, above all, the moderate ones, like Indonesia, Malaysia, and also the Philippines have been increasingly conscious of the danger of the adventurist course fraught with a major international conflict, which the USA and its accomplices want the Association to follow. Sound-minded elements inside the Association are beginning to realise that the events in Southeast Asia are directly connected with the overall aggravation of the international situation, notably, with Washington's commitment to an arms buildup and to securing world domination. In this context, American allusions to a "Soviet threat" are no longer working, or, at least, do not produce the effect they are intended to produce.

There has been a noteworthy comment on the subject, addressed to the White House, by Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mochtar Kusumaatmadja: "All the arguments of those who want to keep the big [American] military budget from being reduced in any way boil down to the claim that the USA has to do something to stop the Soviet Union advancing in Southeast Asia". However, he went on to say, the USA retains an advantage in this region. A similar statement was made by Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia at an international monetary and financial conference in Hong Kong in June 1985, who said that a "Soviet threat" was exaggerated since a certain increase of Soviet military presence in the Pacific was essential to the strategic parity of forces between the USSR and the USA. In other words, he admitted that whatever the Soviet Union might have done to safeguard its security was in response to American military preparations.

There has been an appreciable change of the assessment by these countries of the role the United States wants the ASEAN to play in its unseemly game in Southeast Asia. Far-sighted politicians are wondering more and more whether their present line with respect to Kampuchea responds to the Association's true interests. In a noteworthy comment on the subject, an influential Jakarta newspaper, *Berita Buana* noted in its editorial on March 10, 1985: "In pursuit of its aims in the world, the USA applies the principle of having others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for it". Elaborating on that, a leading associate of the Indonesian Centre for International and Strategic Studies, Soedjati Djiwandono, has emphasised that the nations of Southeast Asia "should not fall for the bait of Western propaganda alleging that the USSR is hatching plans to attack the ASEAN countries".

As far as Indonesia, Malaysia, and, in fact, the Philippines are concerned, they are sceptical, if variously and sometimes with reservations, of the "Vietnamese threat" story. Jakarta has been most consistent in this sense. Indonesian leaders, notably, General L. B. Murdani, Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces, have repeatedly been declaring that it is not Vietnam that is posing a threat to Southeast Asia and that Indonesia is ready to maintain good-neighbourly relations with it.

The success of the popular government in Kampuchea has been inducing the ASEAN (at least, its more sound-minded elements) to take a more realistic view of the situation in the region. A great impression in the Association has been made by the recent crushing blows which that country's People's Revolutionary Army dealt at the bandit groups, eventually wiping out their main strongholds in mountainous areas difficult of access

and in the jungle. Some ASEAN representatives who have visited the PRK could not fail to admit that its government has the people solidly behind it. National economic recovery has been making notable headway, the production of rice, the country's staple food crop, has increased dramatically, and scores of industrial enterprises have been restarted.

The PRK is winning increasing international recognition. It has official relations with some 40 states and national liberation movements. Political contacts with Phnom-Penh are being established by countries which, for some reason or other, still refrain from diplomatic recognition.

Finally, nothing has come out of the idea of creating a "coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea" which has proved to be just a gang of rivals ever squabbling and ever ready to cut each other's throats.

The hope that Vietnam would become worn out economically proved futile as well.

The constructive stand of the Indochina countries with a view to normalising the situation in the region has its effect. Of course, since they have to conduct military operations in the borderland area and to counter extensive subversive activities, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have been doing their best to build up their combat solidarity helping them to realise their vitally important objective of ensuring the independence and sovereignty of each of these nations. At the same time, they have repeatedly stressed their desire for good-neighbourly relations to be established between the nations of Southeast Asia and for confrontation to be replaced by dialogue.

Committed as they are to a political settlement of all disputes in the region, the nations of Indochina are ready for a fruitful dialogue with the ASEAN states on terms of equality and respect for each other's legitimate interests, without any interference from without. They are willing to negotiate a wide range of issues with all parties concerned: the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea given the simultaneous removal of the criminal clique of Pol Pot from the political arena, respect for the Kampuchean people's right to sovereignty with the threat of genocide eliminated, a general election in Kampuchea in the presence of international observers, international guarantees and supervision of compliance with the agreements achieved.

The SRV, LPDR and PRK have put forward a whole series of specific initiatives. They have, in particular, expressed readiness to accept the ASEAN's idea of establishing a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia as the ground for a discussion about turning the region into a zone of peace and stability. The three nations of Indochina have offered to conclude bilateral or multilateral non-aggression pacts with Bangkok that would commit them to refraining from the use of force and refusing their territory to any third country as a base for aggression against the other side. It has been suggested that a demilitarised or security zone be created along the Kampuchea-Thailand border on the understanding that there will be no Vietnamese troops within it on the Kampuchea side nor any of Pol Pot gangs and Khmer reactionaries on the Thai side. There has been a statement of readiness to discuss the situation in the area of the South China Sea. There has been a phased withdrawal of units of the Vietnamese volunteer contingent from Kampuchea. The SRV, LPDR and PRK have declared their support for the ASEAN ideas about setting up a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia.

Against this background, many in the ASEAN are coming to realise the short-sighted approach behind the ambition to bring military and political pressure to bear on the nations of Indochina and the dangerous consequences it may entail. There is an evolution of views in some ASEAN quarters on the prospect for a settlement of the situation around Kampuchea and the choice of ways to bring it about. This process has already

prompted an increased emphasis in some statements by ASEAN countries' leaders on the need for caution in Kampuchean affairs and a renunciation of power tactics. Speaking at the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Conference in Jakarta (July 9-10, 1984), President Suharto of Indonesia stressed that the Association must not interfere in the internal affairs of the people of Kampuchea and that it did not want to be involved in conflicts. "The ASEAN", the President pointed out, "must consistently strive for Southeast Asia to be turned into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality". Realising that a confrontation with the states of Indochina in no way responds to the interests of Indonesia, the Indonesian Right-nationalist leadership has been rather active in recent time in working for a dialogue with the SRV. Their bilateral relations have been appreciably stepped up, notably in the political field. Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, and Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces L. B. Mardani visited Vietnam in 1984 and 1985, while Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SRV Nguyen Co Thach, and Minister of National Defence Van Tien Dung have been to Jakarta. Seminars on the situation in Southeast Asia were held in Hanoi and Jakarta with the participation of representatives from political, military and scientific communities. Indonesian representatives stressed during those meetings that the differences over any particular issue relating to the situation in the region must not interfere with constructive discussions on the subject. Certain headway has been made in the SRV's relations with Malaysia and, partly, with the Philippines.

The position of these three nations is not something that the hardliners could afford to discount. At the above-mentioned Conference in Jakarta in 1984, Indonesia was asked to conduct a dialogue with the SRV on behalf of the Association. That decision was reaffirmed at yet another ASEAN Foreign Ministers' meeting in Bangkok in February 1985.

It has to be admitted, however, that sound trends in the position of this regional organisation are gaining ground against heavy odds and that the choice of the line to pursue on Kampuchea is a subject of heavy controversy, and that the extremists, with full-scale backing from without are in no mind to give in.

Under pressure from the Thais who were trading on "ASEAN solidarity", the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' meeting in Bangkok in February 1985, produced an appeal to "the world community" to give more support and aid to the Khmer riff-raff "in their political and military struggle". Washington was one of the first to respond, as was only to be expected. It officially decided to allocate \$5 million for the purpose. Last summer, the US Secretary of State made a demonstration tour of "refugee camps" on Thai territory and was reported by *The Washington Post* to have given a lot of recommendations as to how to fight the legitimate government of the PRK.

It was certainly in view of a very negative attitude of international public opinion to Pol Pot whose name is associated with the murder of over three million Kampuchean, that attempts have been made to prettify somehow the outward appearance of the "coalition government" to make it look more respectable. At a foreign prompting, it was announced that the "supreme committee" of the Pol Pot people in Thailand was dissolved, and that its chairman, Pol Pot, was resigning. But that trick could not fool anyone. The *Indonesian Observer*, for example, unequivocally stated that it was stagemanaged by Thailand and foreign forces behind it, while the *Suara Karya*, close to government quarters, remarked that Pol Pot's official resignation could not be regarded as a "progressive step". Even a partner to the coalition, Norodom Sihanouk, did not conceal his sceptical reaction to those perturbations which he described as a "farce" and "sleight-of-hand performance".

By and large, as the latest July 1985 conference of ASEAN states in Kuala Lumpur has shown, Washington and the ultra-conservative forces have so far succeeded in blocking positive developments. It approved Thailand's proposal, obviously unacceptable for the Indochina states, about "indirect negotiations" between representatives of the reactionary Khmer groups and the SRV, ignoring the PRK government.

Nevertheless, it is quite certain that the dialogue idea is generally present in the Association. The Malaysian Prime Minister Mohathir Mohamad, pointing out recently that the ASEAN's current position on Kampuchea did not appeal to the international community, called on his partners to investigate well the reasons behind such a reaction. "We," he stressed, "must more actively study any opportunity for achieving a political settlement which must be fair, productive and durable."

As far as the Indochina states are concerned, they continue to manifest goodwill. Also very important initiatives were put forward at the latest, 11th conference of their Foreign Ministers in Phnom-Penh last August. The announcement that the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea would have been completed by 1990 produced widespread repercussions all over the world. There was a reaffirmation of the readiness of the three nations to take part in an international conference to guarantee and supervise the implementation of the agreements which could be achieved between the two groups of states of Southeast Asia in the course of their dialogue. Earnestly committed to establishing good-neighbourly relations with Thailand, the participants in the Phnom-Penh Conference went on record for negotiations with Thailand to sign appropriate documents. The government of the PRK declared that it was ready to start negotiations with various Khmer opposition groups or individuals to discuss the issue of national reconciliation, provided they all agree to exclude the Pol Pot clique which had engaged in genocide, as well as the issue of a general election after the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea.

International opinion qualified the decisions of the Phnom-Penh Conference as a further indication of the invariable commitment of the Indochina countries to normalising the situation in the region, ending the confrontation and starting a dialogue so as to set up, in the long run, a zone of peace and good-neighbourly cooperation in Southeast Asia.

This commitment to peace was reaffirmed during the Vietnamese-Indonesian talks in Jakarta last August, which Nguyen Co Thach described as productive. According to the Vietnamese minister, the SRV did not reject the proposals made by the ASEAN at its conference in July 1985, but could not accept some of their points, notably, those relating to the parties to negotiations on the problems around Kampuchea.

The Soviet Union is sincerely interested in an early normalisation of the situation in Southeast Asia and feels that would respond to the genuine interests of all the nations of the region. There are no problems between them that could not be solved at the negotiation table. The USSR favours a constructive dialogue between the two groups of nations without any outside interference. As has been repeatedly stressed, notably, in the course of meetings in Moscow in 1985 of Soviet and Vietnamese delegations, led by Mikhail Gorbachev and Le Duan, the Soviet Union fully supports the consistent policy of the Indochina states and considers

that it is opening up wide opportunities for promoting good neighbourly relations and cooperation in Southeast Asia and turning that region into a zone of peace and stability. The recent proposals of the 11th Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the three nations of Indochina have been yet another important step forward in this direction.

The Soviet Union has close fraternal relations with the SRV, LPDR and PRK. There is a stable trend for fruitful and wide-ranging cooperation with them to be further broadened and deepened.

The USSR is ready to maintain good relations with the ASEAN countries and has been taking practical steps to this end. Its links and contacts with some of them have appreciably increased in recent times. That is a good sign. The Soviet Union welcomes further headways along these lines, believing that this progress will contribute towards an overall improvement of the situation in Southeast Asia.

In that context, the countries of Indochina and the ASEAN may well find it easier to discover points of contact.

It is certainly a difficult job to get a constructive dialogue going in Southeast Asia. Outside forces that have been busy raising roadblocks will hardly desist from their subversive activities. Yet an early settlement in Southeast Asia is an imperative necessity, a call of the times, dictated by the interests of all the states and peoples of the region, which makes it essential for them to make proper efforts to this end and show a sense of realism.

THE SMALLER COUNTRIES OF EUROPE IN THE MODERN WORLD

Yu. K A R E L O V

The unique and peculiar aspect of present-day Europe has been shaped over the centuries by all the European peoples and states, both big and small. The latter are usually listed to include Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria and Switzerland. However small in size of territory and population, they are by no means inferior to other West European countries in terms of their industrial and technological level and their rich historical and cultural heritage. After all, the narrow geographical framework never restricted the flight of thought of such world-famous Europeans as the Dutch philosopher Spinoza, citizen of the Geneva Canton Jean-Jacques Rousseau, or the Belgian Charles de Coster.

In our day, these countries are within the group of capitalist states with a high level of economic, financial and socio-political development. They still largely belong to the category of "the small privileged nations", as Lenin once called them.¹ Many of them have traditionally ranked first in the world in a number of major indicators. Thus, the Netherlands has a steady lead in basic crop yields and the productivity of livestock farming, and Switzerland, in the national product per head of the population. Switzerland's gold and currency reserves are exceeded in the capitalist world only by those of the FRG and the USA. Luxembourg is a major financial centre of Western Europe, with over 13 per cent of the total volume of the banking operations of the West European states.

These states have a favourable correlation between such crucial indicators as the share in world capitalist industrial production, commodity exports and direct investments. That factor is ultimately conducive to the faster growth of their economies as compared with other, larger capitalist countries. The very character of their economic structures enables them to adjust to the crisis phenomena in the world capitalist economy with a greater degree of flexibility.

All of that objectively helps to increase the role and importance of the smaller countries not only in European, but also in world affairs, and in some instances gives them broader opportunities for foreign policy manoeuvring. At the same time, these countries, both members of various military-political and economic alliances and neutral ones, feel the full negative impact of the present international tensions, the tangibly increased military threat, and the stockpiling of ever more destructive types of weapons on the European continent. That is why the smaller European countries show a natural interest in the urgent problems of peace and security in Europe.

In a conversation with President Kurt Furgler of the Swiss Confederation on November 18, 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev noted that on the strength

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 339.

of its status of traditional neutrality Switzerland could do a great deal to further the development of the European process, to arrange a productive East-West dialogue, strengthen detente and confidence. Similarly, any other country can in its own way promote the attainment of these noble goals.

The Soviet Union attaches much importance to the further development of peaceful good-neighbourhood and cooperation in Europe. That is specially emphasised in the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme, whose appeal to work together for a safe and peaceful Europe is addressed to all the states of the continent without exception, both big and small, both members of military-political alliances and neutral ones.

The present-day political concerns of the population of the smaller European countries centre on the same problems that worry all other Europeans, as well as those who live on the other continents. These include non-militarisation of outer space, a curb on the arms race, the nuclear race above all, and prevention of a new war. And the harder the militarist circles of the USA and NATO try to thrust upon Western Europe their plans for stepping up the arms drive and developing ever more ingenious types of mass destruction weapons, the more grounds there are for public concern in the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and also in neutral Austria and Switzerland over the failure to complete the processes of curbing the arms race started back in the years of detente, and over the unprecedented increase in weapon stockpiles, as a result of which Western Europe, supercharged with US first-strike nuclear weapons, has been turned into something of a bridgehead.

In spite of all the efforts of generously sponsored militarist propaganda to obscure the essence of these sharp issues and to channel the debate on the causes of the growing military danger in Europe along the lines of US and NATO concepts, the broad complex of Soviet peace initiatives attracts the closest attention and meets with approval among broad circles of European public opinion.

In the smaller countries of Europe, especially after the Soviet-US summit in Geneva, there is also a growing awareness of the simple truth that the development of attack space weapons is incompatible with radical cuts in existing nuclear armaments. Washington's promises to shield the West Europeans with an "anti-missiles umbrella" meet with growing scepticism not only in Belgium and Holland with their mass antimissile movement, but also in other West European countries, including the larger ones.

At the same time, many West Europeans hope that the Soviet-US summit in Geneva will give a positive impulse to possible understandings on the non-extension of the arms race to outer space and cutbacks in the arsenals of nuclear weapons in Europe. The quest for ways to make real progress in matters of strengthening European security and the struggle to eliminate the military threat are ever more pivotal features of European politics. That is what determines, though in different measure, the modern political landscape of all the West European states.

It will not be an exaggeration to say that in the last few months of 1985 the Netherlands became the epicentre of the all-European debate on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, just as Belgium had been before that. This is largely due to the fact that when the so-called dual option which sanctioned the deployment of US missiles on West European soil was put to the vote in NATO in December 1979, both Belgium and the Netherlands refrained from making a final choice.

It was only in March 1985 that Belgium was at last made to toe the NATO line, as the country's government decided to go ahead with the dep-

loyment of the first 16 cruise missiles at the military base at Florennes in defiance of the opinion of 80 per cent of the Belgian population (the figure was given by the Belgian press). True, official Brussels tried to present that decision as a step it was highly reluctant to take, stipulating that the deployment of the remaining 32 missiles would depend on "evolution" at the Soviet-US talks in Geneva on space and nuclear weapons.

But many people in the country and abroad justly wondered whether the Belgian government's decision agreed with its own statement on Belgium's readiness to promote a successful outcome of the Soviet-US talks in Geneva, which started in 1985, and to help lower the level of the military confrontation in Europe. The Belgian side, indeed, had—and still has—such an opportunity. Moreover, this opportunity has markedly increased. It is hard to justify a passive stand on that cardinal issue of European security.

Further steps to realise the missile decision imposed by the USA and NATO meet with ever stronger resistance on the part of the broad masses in the West European countries. The political and state leaders of these countries, primarily those which host US missiles, are obliged to reckon with that resistance.

A complicated and often dramatic struggle on the deployment question is now under way in the Netherlands. And although under pressure from pro-US and pro-NATO circles the country's government got parliament to approve such a decision at the end of 1985, the missile question is apparently far from being settled. New parliamentary debates are to be held, and the actual deployment of the first 48 cruise missiles at the Woensdrecht base is to start no sooner than in 1988. In effect, the country is now divided into two camps. Over four million Dutch citizens, or virtually one-third of the country's population, have signed a petition to the government and parliament demanding that they should renounce the US missiles and prevent the small country from being turned into a launching pad for the deadly US cruise missiles.

Another equally important circumstance is the overall situation taking shape in the West European countries round the burning problems of war and peace, the need to curb the arms race. The Soviet peace initiatives in the field of nuclear disarmament announced by Mikhail Gorbachev in the course of his visit to Paris have created a qualitatively new situation, which gives free scope for vigorous action by all states, notably towards essential cutbacks in medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

New and more promising lines of approach to the quest for mutually acceptable solutions are opened up by the Soviet proposal for the signing of an appropriate agreement to reduce medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe on its own, without direct linkage with the problem of space and strategic weapons, a proposal which brought a positive response from the Netherlands as well. The joint Soviet-US statement on the results of the Geneva summit clearly formulates the task of accelerating progress towards an interim agreement on medium range missiles. In view of that a well-weighted stand in the matter of missiles, on the part of the Netherlands in particular, could undoubtedly improve the prospects for such an agreement.

In that context, another point is of special importance. The Soviet-US summit-level understanding to accelerate the Soviet-US talks in Geneva, which also cover issues relating to the nuclear balance in Europe, further increases the distance (in a positive sense) between the present situation and that which existed in June 1984, when decisions were taken in the Netherlands on the terms of a possible deployment of US missiles on the country's territory. Such a concrete manifestation of the Soviet Union's political will as the unilateral reduction of Soviet SS-20 missiles in the European zone of the USSR to the level of June 1984 undoubtedly makes it easier for the Netherlands, as well as other countries, to look for ways of reducing the level of the military confrontation in Europe.

In the course of the missile debate in the Netherlands and other West European countries, including statements by official spokesmen, mention is often being made of Soviet SS-20 missiles in Asia, with frequent deliberate distortions of the true state of affairs: either figures are cited which have nothing to do with reality, or the question about the "mobility" of the SS-20 missiles is given a twisted reading.

The Soviet stand on this issue is quite clear and has been set out on many occasions, including the highest level: SS-20 missiles deployed outside the European zone cannot reach the territory of the West European countries, and the number of medium-range missiles deployed in the Asian part of the Soviet Union is just sufficient to balance out the corresponding US nuclear weapons.

Such are the real facts, and they tangibly reinforce the positions of those forces in the Netherlands, Belgium and other West European countries which want the West Europeans to do more in order to overcome the present East-West confrontation, and to refuse to take part in the ruinous and senseless arms race. Broad public circles in the West European countries are also ever more aware of the obvious fact that those of the USA's West European allies which have already deployed new US missiles on their territory, far from strengthening their security, are in danger of being involved in a further escalation of armaments.

At any rate, an invigoration of the antimissile movement of the broad masses, which has risen to a new stage, is among the major results of the mass protests against the deployment of US missiles in Western Europe (in the Netherlands, such protest is known to have reached one of its peaks). As for the leaders of these European countries (just as, naturally, of all other countries), at the present turning point it is more necessary for them than ever before to take a responsible, well considered approach to decision-making and display wisdom in their actions. Their constructive stand would do a great deal to bring closer the solution of the main task facing all the European countries, big and small: the task of relaxing the military confrontation and lowering the level of nuclear armaments in Europe.

All the European countries, including the smaller ones, have contributed a part of their national experience to the arrangement of all-European cooperation, as envisaged by the Helsinki Final Act. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the resultant European process (all of whose participants, irrespective of territory, population, economic potential and military capability, have equal opportunities to influence the decisions being taken) have objectively enhanced the role of the smaller countries on the European political scene.

The leaders of these countries are in favour of continuing and deepening the European process, and their positions in this respect are largely consonant with those of the Soviet Union, which is a staunch supporter of a further political dialogue between East and West European countries, advocating active use for these purposes of all forms and opportunities: regular meetings at different levels, including summit meetings, political consultations, and contacts along the lines of scientific and cultural cooperation.

A symptomatic point is that not only broad public strata, but also government officials in the smaller European countries, just as in Europe as a whole, are increasingly turning to the experience of the period of detente, justly linking it up with an extension of fruitful all-European cooperation and the emergence of real perspectives for a solution of the pivotal problems of security on the continent. The Soviet Union's readiness to regard Western Europe as an independent force and a full and equal participant in the East-West dialogue which could play a major role in strengthening both

its own and international security, is also being viewed in the context of the present reappraisal of the lessons of detente.

In the Benelux countries, Austria and Switzerland, there is a heightened interest in how a problem of such importance for all Europeans, living in different parts of the continent, as that of ensuring mutual confidence in the military field is being resolved at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament. There is a growing understanding in these countries that the agreements to be reached in Stockholm should serve to specify the non-use-of-force principle and make it as effective as possible, and also provide for a set of confidence-building measures in the military field.

Austria and Switzerland were among the neutral countries which came out with a proposal at Stockholm to agree on a mutual exchange of annual plans for military activity subject to notification. The Soviet Union is prepared for such an agreement. One could also recall that it was on the initiative of a group of neutral and non-aligned countries (including Austria and Switzerland) that the organisational structure of the conference was set up in the form of two equitable working groups, which considerably facilitated the efforts to elaborate mutually acceptable decisions in the political and military fields.

Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg are direct participants in the Vienna talks on mutual armed forces and armaments reductions in Central Europe. One should think that these countries could make a more tangible contribution to breaking the 12-year deadlock at the Vienna forum, all the more so since the Netherlands and Belgium have shown an interest in the recent Soviet proposals on mutual troops and arms reductions in Central Europe.

The Benelux countries could also adopt a more active position in the matter of ridding Europe of chemical weapons, for as early as 1982 the Netherlands, for instance, announced its decision not to equip the Dutch army with chemical weapons and banned their storage on its territory. Recently, the Netherlands expressed regret over Washington's decision to start producing binary toxic agents.

It is a generally recognised fact that a favourable political climate in Europe could do a great deal for the development of East-West economic ties. Many imperative tasks of industrial, technical and scientific progress confront all states in our day, and especially the smaller states, whose scientific potential and financial possibilities are naturally limited. A point to note in this context is that their interests would be well served by a more efficient division of labour on an all-European basis. The Soviet Union, at any rate, is prepared for that.

Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg were among the founding members of the European Economic Community. In our day, these three countries take a most active part in its affairs. Well-known Belgian and Dutch initiatives have been aimed to raise the Community's efficiency and its role in European and world affairs. The recent constructive initiative of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance on establishing more business-like relations between the CMEA and the EEC was received with interest in these countries. Thus, Luxembourg's Foreign Minister Jacques Poos, who chairs the Council of Ministers of the European Communities, came out in favour of constructive relations between the two organisations.

A pooling of the efforts of the European states in the development of trade, the supply of energy and raw materials, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the development of international transport, and protection of the environment would undoubtedly benefit the whole of Europe and would in many respects make it easier for the smaller European countries to solve these problems. It is now a matter of concrete steps and practical agreements. If one takes, for instance, such an important sphere of

possible cooperation as protection and improvement of the environment, the complicated problems of combatting pollution along the North Sea coast of Belgium and Holland, cleaning the Schelde and Maas rivers, and getting rid of the pernicious acid rains can never be solved solely within the national framework.

In the smaller European countries, with their long and hard history of struggle to assert their national and cultural distinctiveness, people are highly sensitive to the themes of cooperation in the humanitarian field. For these countries, which have many foreign workers who have come in search of earnings, issues relating to the status of migrant workers, mixed marriages and reunion of families are most acute. The Soviet Union's stand on all these problems is clear and well-defined. This country wants these to be considered in a constructive and humane spirit, with full respect for the sovereign rights of all states. Naturally, a solution of such problems would make it much easier to strip them of diverse hypocritical tricks and speculations, from attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

The Soviet Union's relations with each of the five countries—Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria and Switzerland—naturally have their specific features, which are due to various historical and geographical factors, to the role and involvement of these West European states in present-day international affairs. In the main, however, the Soviet Union's relations with all these countries are marked by a stable level of cooperation in the most diverse spheres. Much is being done to that effect by the traditional political contacts at different levels, the fairly solid bilateral contractual basis, and the long-standing and intensive business ties.

On the occasion of the Soviet-US summit in Geneva in November 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev paid a visit to President Kurt Furgler of the Swiss Confederation. In the course of the first such high-level meeting in the history of Russian-Swiss and Soviet-Swiss relations, the two sides reaffirmed their mutual interest in deepening mutually advantageous ties in the political, trade and economic, scientific and technical, cultural and other spheres.

Over the years, official visits were paid to the USSR by King Baudouin of Belgium, Grand Duke Prince Jean of Luxembourg, and Crown Princess Beatrix, who is now Queen of the Netherlands. There have been regular meetings of foreign ministers, political consultations at the level of foreign policy departments, mutual business visits by heads of sectoral ministries, and meetings along parliamentary lines.

The Soviet Union's relations with these countries rest on a solid economic and industrial basis, which keeps expanding and strengthening in accordance with the long-term agreements on cooperation that have been signed with many of them. Such cooperation embraces many advanced fields which determine present-day progress, including fundamental nuclear research, protection of the environment, biological and medical science, and so on.

The steady orientation of mutual ties towards the long-term perspective, their long-term planning are fully justified, as it is evident from these objective indicators: over the past five years, the Soviet Union's trade with Belgium trebled to 1,713 million rubles in 1984; its trade with the Netherlands has increased to almost 2,000 million rubles, and its trade with Switzerland has multiplied sevenfold over the past decade. There has also been considerable growth of the Soviet Union's trade with Austria and Luxembourg. On the whole, all these states have invariably been among the Soviet Union's ten major trading partners in Western Europe.

The Soviet Union supplies these countries with diverse raw materials and energy resources, cars, machine-tools and jewelry, while importing, first and foremost, machinery and equipment, pesticides and other chemical

products, and various consumer goods. There is ever more active cooperation, especially with the Netherlands, in the agro-industrial field. The Soviet Union's business links with the Benelux countries, Austria and Switzerland are not confined to the old traditional forms of pure trade, but are ever more confidently branching out into joint large-scale projects and the formation of joint-stock companies involving Soviet foreign trade and transport organisations and enterprises.

There has been a further development of scientific and technical ties with the Benelux Economic Union, with the Netherlands, Austria and Switzerland, notably in such major industries as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, agriculture, the food industry, the building-materials industry, public health and pharmaceuticals.

For the practical organisation of the Soviet Union's multifaceted ties with these countries in the trade-and-economic and the scientific-and-technical field, general-purpose mixed bilateral commissions and sectoral working groups on specific issues of cooperation were set up and have been meeting regularly. There is also such a specific trilateral body as the USSR-Belgium-Luxembourg committee for promoting trade.

However significant the successes already scored in the development of the Soviet Union's trade and economic relations with the Benelux countries, Austria and Switzerland, there is still much room for their development and perfection. Thus, more favourable conditions could be created for mutual trade, including a lifting of various US-prompted restrictions and an elimination of other artificially created difficulties. There could also be a bolder and more energetic approach to the quest for new large-scale forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

It is hard to overestimate the importance of the diverse and abundant cultural heritage of Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria and Switzerland, their immense contribution to European and world culture. All of that provides a good basis for the development of broad and intensive cultural ties between the USSR and these countries. The Soviet Union is emphatically in favour of developing along an ascendant line the mutual acquaintance with each other's genuine artistic values. Among the notable events in the cultural life of the USSR and these countries were the performances given in Belgium by the Bolshoi Theatre, the Soviet Army and Beriozka song and dance companies, and the Moscow Circus, the recent tour of the USSR by a Dutch ballet company, the Soviet-Swiss exchanges of art exhibitions, and so on.

A major channel for strengthening friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of the Soviet Union and these countries are the traditional ties between Moscow, Vienna, Amsterdam, and Antwerp, and also between twinned cities: Leningrad, Rotterdam and Antwerp, Tallinn and Ghent, Donetsk and Charleroi, and others. Regularly held mutual days of the USSR and these countries, film weeks, and various other functions, staged by creative organisations and sports unions, have become a good tradition.

The Soviet Union seeks to do all in its power to maintain good and stable relations with Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria and Switzerland. It would like to see these relations rise to an even higher level. Europe, which has given the world so much in the field of culture, science, technology, and progressive social thought, could also set an example in the solution of complicated international problems. A positive development of the situation on the European continent would benefit the whole world. That is why the USSR, in close cooperation with the socialist community countries, will continue doing its utmost for a more energetic effort in Europe to strengthen the principles and the policy of detente, clear away the obstructions of the past and overcome the consequences of the confrontation of the past few years.

FORESTALLING THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS RACE —THE TASK OF THE DAY

G. Y E V G E N I E V

Two important dates, related to chemical weapons, did not pass unnoticed in jubilee-filled 1985: the 70th anniversary of the first use of asphyxiating toxic gas in war, to which the Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm resorted in 1915, and the 60th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which imposed an international ban on the use of chemical weapons. They give us cause to look back and draw lessons from the past and map out a correct orientation for the future. It is all the more appropriate to do this in the current international situation, where Washington is threatening Europe and the rest of the world with the large-scale production of a new generation of chemical weapons capable of plunging mankind into the whirlpool of a dangerous chemical weapons race.

The poisoning and killing in the First World War of hundreds of thousands of people with poisonous and asphyxiating gases bring out in bold relief the danger of chemical toxic agents and the vulnerability of military personnel and especially the civilian population to them. The use of poisonous gases, which doomed a large number of people to unbelievable suffering and death, exerted such a strong psychological influence on contemporaries that on the list of armaments a new classification—mass destruction weapons—was given to chemical weapons. At the same time this was a strong catalyst to the powerful movement of socio-political forces for an international ban on chemical poisonous agents. However, at the general headquarters of the leading imperialist powers the experience of the use of poisonous gases in the First World War has, on the contrary, stimulated interest in improving chemical agents.

Their stand on chemical weapons played the key role in the Geneva Protocol of 1925 preventing only the use of chemical poisonous agents but not chemical weapons per se. Furthermore, the process of the Protocol's ratification by the leading military powers lasted for many years—a full half century in the case of the United States! This circumstance evoked justified concern on the part of the Soviet Union and of the world public over the actual intentions of the capitalist countries as regards their use of chemical weapons in case of war. People of the older generation still remember how the chemical threat hung like the Sword of Damocles over the USSR during the prewar years and the broad measures the Party and government were forced to take to prepare the Soviet population for antichemical defence.

The appearance in 1945 of a much more powerful type of mass destruction weapons—atomic and then nuclear—and the emergence in connection with this of the danger of nuclear war which threatens universal destruction, naturally focused the attention of the world public on the nuclear problem. But even against this background the chemical threat has become no less topical. It is a well-known fact, for example, that in the 1960s and 1970s the US army used in Vietnam a total of over 100,000 tons of chemical agents, including 96,000 tons of phytotoxins and over 7,000 tons of poison.

In a directive of the US Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger for 1985-1989 the US armed forces have been posed the task of being prepared for the "rapid use of chemical weapons", and it has been suggested to the air force and navy that they conclude (by 1990) the development of new systems of delivery of binary chemical weapons to their targets.

The United States possesses the largest arsenal of chemical weapons in the world. US supertoxic nerve agents stockpiles alone stand at 55,000 tons. The total amount of chemical ammunition for modern weapons systems—artillery shells, high-explosive bombs, missile warheads, and aviation bombs—a total of over 90 different types—includes over 3 million units.

However, even such a tremendous arsenal seems already insufficient for the Washington strategists, who are championing an even greater buildup of the US chemical arsenal. A programme has been elaborated for the "wide-scale equipping" of the American army with new chemical poisonous agents which, according to the press, will almost double the stockpiles of this "silent weapon" in the US arsenals—from 3 million to 5 million units of chemical ammunition.

The American military doctrine and the combat instructions for the US troops view chemical weapons above all as a means designed for operative and tactical use in a theatre of military operations, above all for conducting offensive operations, including their utilisation in a first strike. With the appearance of binary ammunition the Washington strategists of late have begun assigning chemical weaponry a strategic role in their military arsenal. The FM-100-5 field regulations of the US land troops envisage the use of chemical weapons at the early stage of a war for delivering strikes at groupings of land troops, at communications centres, airfields, etc.

During the military exercises regularly held in Western Europe, including the recent Autumn Forge-85 exercises, units and formations of the USA and several other NATO countries regularly work up tasks involving the conditional use of chemical weapons. Intensive work is apace to train experts capable of handling chemical weapons. The USA and its allies equip their troops stationed in Europe with new gas masks, permanently worn means for protecting the skin, treatment means, antidotes, and reconnaissance and degassing means.

The matter, of course, is not confined to the aforementioned measures to train NATO troops to engage in chemical warfare. The armed forces of the North Atlantic bloc in Western Europe have a considerable arsenal of chemical ammunition at their disposal. Large storages of American chemical weapons are located, for example, on the territory of the FRG, in the areas of Mannheim, Hanau, Rhineland-Palatinate, Fischbach, Hesse and Baden-Württemberg. Four million litres of highly toxic substances are kept at these depots alone.

It is necessary to constantly and uncompromisingly expose the concepts advanced by the proponents of chemical weapons. A natural question arises in the mind: how can these political figures speak in favour of chemical weapons? Mountains of nuclear weapons disregarded, they spare no effort to add to them cellars of chemical weapons. They drag out the examination of this problem so as to preclude a ban on chemical weapons. This is the essence of their stand. And when the discussion touches upon control, they advance at the Geneva talks a thesis that only state-owned plants should be placed under such control. This is an astonishing position, geared to hamper accord.

In pursuing the line for an intensified buildup of all types of armaments, the Washington Administration attaches great importance to the launch-

ing in the United States of a wide-scale production of a new type of chemical weaponry—so-called binary ammunition.

During the examination of the US military budget for 1986 the congressional conference committee, under strong pressure from the Administration, especially the Pentagon, recommended a \$155 million allocation for this purpose. Specifically, at issue is the production of the Big Eye chemical bomb and a 155-mm binary artillery shell. Thus, the moment of the beginning of the implementation of the decision on the extensive chemical rearmament of the US armed forces, announced by President Reagan in February 1982, is approaching. In this fashion still another direction of the escalation of the arms race is being opened up, the war threat is intensifying, and international tensions are exacerbating.

Alongside the attack space weapons, intercontinental missiles and submarine-based ballistic missiles, strategic bombers, long-range cruise missiles, and also the high-precision conventional armaments being created, binary chemical weapons are called upon, according to the plans of the Washington strategists, to ensure the United States military superiority over the Soviet Union, which it is stubbornly seeking so as to dictate its writ to other states and peoples.

The US binary chemical weapons programme dates back to the 1940s, when American experts were set the specific task of designing chemical ammunition which, while fully possessing the deadly properties of unitary ammunition, would be superior to them in convenience of storage, transporting and safety. A need for such ammunition began to be felt more and more strongly in the 1960s, when chemical ammunition stored at American facilities, owing to the lengthy storage and corrosive damage to the shells, began to leak the deadly toxic agents with which they were filled, leading to the poisoning of the attending personnel.

Instead of stepping up efforts to prohibit chemical weapons and eliminating stockpiles of them, the ruling quarters of the USA have set about intensifying work to create chemical ammunition in binary equipment. In 1965 the US Navy patented the design of a binary chemical air bomb; in the late 1960s there appeared the first prototypes of the 155-mm artillery chemical shells in binary equipment. In the intervening years the technique of binary chemical ammunition production was worked up and underwent field tests.

With due account being taken for the research and development done on the latest poisonous substances, the task was advanced of modernising and bolstering the US chemical arsenal, although, according to American sources, the stockpiles of chemical weapons at the disposal of the United States are more than enough for destroying the majority of the globe's population. The Pentagon and its supporters in the Administration and Congress have unleashed a feverish campaign to rearm the American forces with chemical ammunition by requesting an astronomical \$10,000 million for the purpose. Geared for a number of years, the US chemical programme envisages the mass production of binary chemical ammunition, the development of new ways of using chemical weapons, and the construction outside the US borders of storage bases for means to be used in the conduct of a chemical war.

As to, say, the destructive capability of binary chemical weapons, of course, it is determined not by the degree of toxicity of the separate components with which binary ammunition is filled, but by the toxicity of that composition of the TA which these components form as a result of the reaction that takes place. Therefore, from a toxicological standpoint there is no fundamental difference between binary weapons and other types of chemical weapons. Unlike the existing unitary or single-component chemical ammunition equipped with a highly toxic, deadly TA prepared for immediate destruction, binary ammunition is fitted with two or

more chemical components placed in separate containers. During the flight of binary ammunition—shells, bombs, missiles—to their target, these relatively less toxic components mix, forming highly toxic deadly paralysing mixtures of the Sarin and VX highly destructive type. They pose a serious threat to troop personnel and especially to the civilian population.

Even in very small quantities binary and chemical mixtures, affecting the internal processes in the human body, above all the nervous system, kill or maim. Like neutron weapons, binary means are intended exclusively for destroying manpower and the civilian population, leaving material objects intact.

Wide-scale introduction of binary chemical weapons into the armed forces would undoubtedly extend the potential sphere of the use of chemical weapons and have an impact on the military balance of forces; there would appear the possibility of delivering concentrated strikes with involving the use of chemical TAs at targets of a great depth and over wide areas, causing extensive damage to the troop personnel and the civilian population of the other side. A heightening of the operative, tactical and strategic role of chemical weapons as a result of the introduction of binary armaments into the forces would naturally exert a growing influence on the military balance of forces on the whole and on the alignment of forces in a separate theatre of military operations. There would be a greater temptation to use chemical binary weapons for delivering a first strike, and instability in crisis situations would be intensified.

Technically, the relative simplicity with which binary compositions are manufactured makes it possible to set up production of primary chemical components at commercial enterprises, including those belonging to private firms, transnational chemical corporations, etc., and not necessarily of those that produce organic phosphorous compounds. There would thus be a greater danger that chemical weapons would spread over the globe and would appear where there are none at present. Consequently, the US binary programme is exacerbating the problem of the non-proliferation of chemical weapons.

The difficulties involved in monitoring compliance by the participatories to the convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons will increase. A document of a number of socialist states on binary weapons and the problem of effective prohibition of chemical weapons tabled at the Committee on Disarmament in March 1982, notes on this score that control itself, both national and especially international, will be extremely difficult in many cases, if possible at all. Conditions can arise for concealed stockpiling and storage of chemicals for binary weapons and the creation of chemical weapons under the guise of commercial production.

In terms of politics and diplomacy, the vigorous preparations of the USA for the production and deployment of binary chemical ammunition do not increase confidence in the statements of American officials about their interest in putting an end to chemical weapons. They are running counter to the task of reaching an international accord on imposing a global ban on chemical weapons. The attempts of Washington to portray to the public its plans regarding binary weapons as "some stimulus" to the Soviet Union to be more pliable at chemical weapons prohibition talks are utterly absurd. It is a known fact from the experience of the arms limitation talks that it is easier to prohibit a type of weapon with which armed forces have not yet been equipped than to have it excluded from states' arsenals. After having spent large sums for the development of binary chemical ammunition, the Pentagon, naturally, does not want to give it up. At the Geneva Conference on Disarmament the American side has for more than three years been doggedly opposing specific ban on binary weapons and its main components, attempting to prove that this can be done within the framework of a ban on the key precursors of any

chemical armaments. In other words, it is trying to dissolve the topical problem of a ban on binary chemical weapons. Nor are the chances improving for success at the Vienna talks on a mutual reduction of troops and armaments in Central Europe, where the NATO countries have for many years refused to reduce any armaments, chemical ones included.

The Washington strategists plan to deploy new binary weapons first of all in the FRG, Britain and Italy. Chemical binary air bombs of the Big Eye type are also to be emplaced on board American aircraft carriers based in the Eastern Atlantic and the Mediterranean. A special place in the Pentagon's plans is assigned to the FRG, which is increasingly being transformed into a forward redoubt of chemical battles in Europe. It is on its territory that the Pentagon intends to deploy five more depots with binary chemical ammunition in addition to the existing chemical storages.

Additional deployment of US chemical binary armaments in an area where the density of the military confrontation is the highest in the world would threaten to turn Europe into a potential theatre of a destructive chemical war in which, by the logic of things, the civilian population would be the main victim. In this fashion Western Europe is becoming a dual hostage of the Pentagon—first a nuclear one, and now a chemical one. Here, too, there is again manifest the entire danger of the designs of Washington which, desirous of deflecting a retaliatory strike from its own territory, is making the territories and the populations of its allies vulnerable to it.

The road to the radical elimination of the chemical threat to the states and peoples of Europe lies through a global ban on chemical weapons and the elimination of existing stockpiles. It is only by destroying all chemical arsenals everywhere that one can eradicate the material basis for the unleashing of a chemical war and avoid a dangerous chemical arms race.

Concrete, realistic proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which they are making in the UN and the Geneva disarmament talks, are aimed at the attainment of this main goal—the imposition of a worldwide ban on chemical weapons. In 1969 they advanced at the UN a draft convention on the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons, and it was only due to the stand of the United States, which did not wish to give up its chemical arsenal, that a comprehensive ban on both types of mass destruction weapons was not attained at this stage. Although the international convention concluded in 1972 prohibited bacteriological (biological) weapons alone, through the efforts of socialist states the problem of banning chemical weapons was shifted to the plane of the practical policy of states.

In 1972 the Soviet Union in conjunction with other socialist countries advanced a draft convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. Once again at its initiative, bilateral Soviet-American talks were held in 1976-1980 which pursued the goal of preparing a joint initiative for multilateral talks on the prohibition of this type of mass destruction weapons. Of great importance was the advancing by the Soviet Union in 1982 of a document entitled Basic Provisions of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction which, combined with the subsequent Soviet proposals on chemical weapons, is a good basis for elaborating an international convention on this problem.

Aware of the particular danger which binary chemical weapons pose to the peoples of the world, it was the socialist states that proposed wit-

hin the framework of the convention being drafted that a clear-cut ban be imposed specifically on this type of chemical weapons.

The vigorous and purposeful stand of the Soviet Union and other socialist community states at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament was largely instrumental in the work on the international convention having reached of late the stage of bringing into accord its individual provisions and articles. However, despite the many years of talks, a universal accord has yet to be reached because of the obstructionist stand taken by the United States and a number of its allies. The USA is in effect sabotaging the elaboration of a convention on the complete prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons by erecting ever new impediments.

It was Washington that in 1980 broke off the bilateral Soviet-American talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons at a time when progress was in the offing. The USA's draft international convention advanced in 1984 not only does not contain solutions to contentious issues, it toughens even more the US stand on questions of monitoring compliance with the would-be convention. The USA is also objectively putting the brakes on the proceedings at the Conference on Disarmament by not accepting the Soviet proposal on a complete stoppage of commercial production of methylphosphorous compounds which are the basis for nerve gas, including the main components of binary weapons. Washington is also taking a hard line on numerous other aspects of the convention being drafted, which itself attests to the American side's lack of political will and desire to explore mutually acceptable solutions at the present stage. Finally, the talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons are still further complicated by Washington's decision to launch production of binary chemical ammunition.

Under these conditions, duly taking into account the worsened international situation and the heightened chemical threat, the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries consider it important that prior to the solution of the global problem of imposing a worldwide ban on chemical weapons specific parallel steps be taken to set up zones free of chemical weapons in various parts of the world, first of all in Europe.

The idea put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in October 1984 of elaborating an international accord on the non-proliferation of chemical weapons would aid in preventing these weapons from being spread across the globe. The joint statement made by the leaders of the USSR and the USA at the Geneva meeting in November 1985 in favour of a complete and total ban on, and destruction of, chemical weapons is of cardinal significance. It is important that Washington put it into life.

Coming out in favour of efforts for a global ban on chemical weapons being supplemented by partial, regional measures to limit, reduce and eliminate chemical weapons, the socialist states proceed from the belief that it would be easier to draft and implement these measures. They would involve fewer states, and agreement on them would not be tied in with the solution of many other problems which inevitably arise in the elaboration of global measures. At the same time, implementation of such measures would decrease the incentive to create or acquire chemical weapons, helping to erect impediments to the spread of these weapons where they do not exist at present, reduce the risk of chemical war and enhance trust. More favourable prerequisites would thus be created for the conclusion of an international convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons by all states everywhere. The experience amassed during the talks on an all-embracing ban on chemical weapons could in turn be used in the elaboration of partial measures.

Taking account of the totality of factors mentioned above, all Europeans would undoubtedly stand to gain from the implementation of the proposal advanced by the Warsaw Treaty states on ridding Europe of

chemical weapons, which envisages the prohibition of the deployment of such weapons where they do not exist at present, the freezing, removal or destruction of existing stockpiles of chemical weapons, and a refusal to produce, acquire or import them or to hand them over to states situated within the bounds of the corresponding territory. A solid barrier would thus be erected to those who are stubbornly attempting to push binary chemical weapons onto the European continent.

Attaching great importance to the removal of an entire type of mass destruction weapons from European territory, the Soviet Union included the aforementioned proposal on the programme of confidence-building measures which it advanced at the Stockholm Conference in 1984. This measure is, as is envisaged in the agreed mandate for the conference, "a substantial one militarily". Its implementation would exert a direct, palpable and positive influence on the consolidation of trust, stability and security in Europe and would promote the removal of an important source of tension and reduce the danger of an armed conflict on the European continent.

The new peace initiative of the GDR and Czechoslovak governments of September 13, 1985 on the creation in Europe of a zone free of chemical weapons is in the mainstream of the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member states on ridding Europe of chemical weapons. In their appeal to the FRG government they stated their readiness to conclude an agreement that would lead to the elimination of chemical weapons on the territories of countries situated directly on the line of demarcation between the two military-political alliances and could become an important contribution to the strengthening of security in Europe and to joint efforts to rid Europe of the threat of chemical warfare.

The importance of creating a zone free of chemical weapons in Europe, particularly in its central part, on the territories of the GDR, Czechoslovakia and the FRG, for European peace and security, is obvious. A withdrawal of chemical weapons from this militarily and strategically key region, which is unequalled in the density of military confrontation, and the prohibition of the deployment here of new chemical weapons would help lower the level of confrontation and eliminate the threat of chemical war on the continent, and would palpably enhance confidence between states. Such a step would not endanger the security of either side and at the same time would provide indubitable benefits, allowing the security of the European states to be ensured with lower armaments levels.

The peace initiative of the GDR and Czechoslovak governments was met with great interest in European countries. Representatives of various socio-political circles rightly assess it as an important action of goodwill aimed at preventing a chemical weapons race and eliminating the threat of a chemical war. Specifically, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDPG) urged the FRG government to study objectively and constructively the proposals of the GDR and Czechoslovak governments on the creation of a zone free of chemical weapons in Central Europe.

The initiative of the two governments enjoys support in the USSR. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in a talk with Johannes Rau, Deputy Chairman of the SDPG, Minister-President of North Rhine-Westphalia, that in the event a zone free of chemical weapons is created in Central Europe, the Soviet Union would be prepared to guarantee and respect its status in accordance with its foreign policy principles. Such a guarantee would enter into force if the USA were to act likewise.¹

It must be stated, however, that the reaction of Washington and

¹ *Pravda*, Sept. 11, 1985.

Bonn to the GDR and Czechoslovak initiative does not attest to any interest on their part in exploring ways of eliminating the chemical threat to the European countries and peoples. Arguments that are not new and are even less convincing are being circulated.

Indeed, it is being claimed, for example, that the problem of prohibiting chemical weapons cannot be resolved at all on the regional level. American General Bernard Rogers, NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, declares the idea of zones free of chemical weapons a "bluff". In his words, such zones supposedly create "the totally unsubstantiated illusion of security". And the NATO politicians and diplomats are alluding to the belief that there would be more difficulties involved in a partial solution of the given problem than a global one.

Also being advanced against the creation of a chemical-free zone in Europe is the absurd tenet that regional efforts to eliminate the chemical threat would all but undermine the elaboration under way at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament of an international convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and the elimination of its stockpiles worldwide, which is what the United States, the FRG and other NATO countries are supposedly striving for.

Also being advanced are arguments to the effect that in the event such a zone is set up in a particular area, chemical weapons would remain beyond its bounds, which could be used against the members of the zone, that the withdrawn chemical weapons could be easily brought back into the zone rid of chemical weapons, etc. If one presumes intentional violation of a possible accord on the prohibition of chemical weapons on a regional basis, then possible accords on any measures to limit armaments and build confidence are called into question.

The claim that the implementation of the proposal on the creation of a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe would weaken the ban on the use of chemical weapons beyond its limits is also groundless. After all, it is quite obvious that the removal of chemical weapons from the territories of a number of states cannot weaken the universal commitment concerning the ban on the use of these weapons under the Geneva Protocol of 1925.

The tenet that a ban on chemical weapons in a limited area is supposedly harder to control than a universal ban is also being advanced. It is a known fact that references are made to the difficulties involved in control every time the American side does not want to work out an international accord on arms limitation. Meanwhile, an accord prohibiting chemical weapons in a specific zone can, of course, be controlled, but necessarily provided the sides are ready to negotiate and elaborate a mutually acceptable agreement and observe it unswervingly.

In the present-day situation, when the USA is out to push binary chemical weapons onto the European continent, the proposal of the socialist countries that accord be reached as an initial step on the non-deployment of chemical weapons where they do not exist at present (within the framework of the proposal to rid Europe of chemical weapons) is becoming more and more topical. Even such an accord, which would not be difficult to reach, would vividly attest to the intention of states to work to reduce the danger of military confrontation and elaborate steps that would help rid the European peoples of the danger of chemical war.

Preventing binary chemical weapons from appearing in Europe is the common task of all honest Europeans, and this task has to be tackled together. Whether the European continent and the rest of the world are rid of the threat of chemical weapons race hinges on their energetic, joint actions.

SIMON REYES RIVERA: IMPERIALISM BEARS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CRISIS IN LATIN AMERICA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS has asked Simon Reyes Rivera, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia to answer a number of questions on the situation on the Latin American continent.

Comrade Rivera, what problems do you feel are most urgent for Latin America at the present time? What new elements have appeared of late in the struggle of the peoples of the continent against the expansionist policy of American imperialism?

It can confidently be said that the most urgent problem of Latin America at present is the crisis of dependent capitalist development. It is deepening with each passing day. The crisis is manifest simultaneously in the intensifying struggle of the masses and in the striving of the forces of imperialism and the local oligarchy to neutralise this struggle.

Several countries on the continent have a comparatively high industrial potential at their disposal. However, even in such states as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico the development of particular industries is determined by the interests of American transnational corporations. Most of the countries of the region remain suppliers of raw materials for the developed capitalist countries, for their monopolies and corporations. And the prices for raw materials on the international market are falling with each passing day. At the same time the industrialised countries are selling Latin America output of the manufacturing industry—machines, equipment, etc.—which is becoming increasingly expensive from one day to the next. In other words, we are selling raw materials cheaply, but have to buy what we need for development at prices which are foisted on us.

Hence the need to put an end to this inequitable exchange, to work for the establishment of a new economic order, a new system of relations between the industrialised states of the West and the Third World countries. We are to wage a serious and protracted struggle in this field, since it can be said in advance that the TNCs will do all in their power to prevent the establishment of fair business relations with the developing countries, specifically, with Latin America.

Another element of the crisis, which virtually all Latin American countries are going through, is the problem of the astronomical foreign debt which until relatively recently was not a crucial issue. As we know, one of the characteristic features of imperialism is the export of capital. In the 1970s there was a surplus of currency in Western banks. They began to export it, and it was of no concern to them what these thousands of millions of dollars were being used for. As a rule, the most benefit from the credits being provided was drawn by the local oligarchies, which thus tethered themselves still more tightly to the policy of imperialism.

At present the external debt problem has become extremely urgent. As Fidel Castro has pointed out, this debt cannot be paid off without catastrophic consequences for the economies of the debtor-countries. For

this reason, anyone who intends to pay off the debts in the context of the crisis economy cannot but understand that a large part of the revenues accruing from exports will have to be channelled into debt payment. Proceeding from this fact, the government of Peru, for one, has stated that it will use only 10 per cent of export receipts for debt payback.

Certain steps in this direction have been taken by Bolivia, too. After the fall of the García Meza dictatorship the government of the Front of Democratic Popular Unity came to power in 1982; it incorporated three parties—the Left Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, the Revolutionary Movement of the Left and the Communist Party of Bolivia. The external debt had a negative effect on the activities of this government, which was headed by Dr. Hernán Siles Zuazo. Of course, the government made mistakes, and the debt problem was not fully resolved during its tenure, but an important step was taken in this direction—Bolivia unilaterally refused to pay back the debt to international private banks and has not paid it back to this day, since there are simply no conditions for this.

Thus, the problem of external debt is the most urgent and, so to speak, explosive problem in Latin America. The enormous concern in the public circles of the region's countries and the initiatives of Fidel Castro aimed at a fair solution of the external debt problem have stimulated debate on this issue. Representatives of trade unions, political parties and public organisations, and religious figures are seeking to find the solution. A great deal, including such a process as the transition of independent countries on the continent from military dictatorships to civil rule depends on how the external debt problem is resolved in Latin America.

The restoration of bourgeois democratic institutions in a number of Latin American countries attests to the fact that to maintain its domination imperialism is resorting to new methods. Of course, in most instances monopoly capital needs tough, dictatorial governments to preserve its privileges. However, in conditions when authoritarian regimes have proven incapable of dealing with snowballing problems and have fully discredited themselves, the imperialists, as has already been pointed out, are exploring new ways of safeguarding their interests.

At present the United States is not impeding the coming to power of viable bourgeois democratic governments in a number of Latin American countries. If the bourgeois democratic system with a parliament and trade unions and political guarantees does not infringe upon the interests of imperialism, the latter acclaims the transition to civil rule. By the same token, the existence of these countries' huge national debt enables imperialism to control the activities of civil governments. On the other hand, the external debt is a destabilising factor with which the USA can at any moment attempt to exacerbate the situation in a country on the continent and provoke a coup there.

Thus, the entire system of dependent capitalist development is going through a profound crisis. Various segments of the population are exploring a solution to the crisis; confrontation between the forces of progress and reaction is intensifying and the class struggle is exacerbating.

The working class is marching at the forefront of the popular struggle in Latin America. It is not only huge, it also possesses extensive experience and a high degree of political awareness. Closely bound up with the interests of the working class are the interests of the peasantry, which realises that it will not be able to resolve its social-economic problems apart from the struggle of the proletariat. Also allied with the working class and the peasantry in opposing the policy of imperialism and local oligarchy are certain segments of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class, which are experiencing the negative consequences of the crisis.

The Catholic Church is increasingly coming out of the closet against US policy in Latin America. And it not only condemns the violations of human rights but also protests against the fact that the policy being imposed by imperialism makes the rich still richer and the poor still poorer, which, specifically, is what is happening in Bolivia.

As has already been pointed out, the extremely serious crisis created insoluble problems for the democratic Siles Zuazo government. In such a situation the right forces headed by Victor Paz Estenssoro came to power. As a result of general elections held last July he became President. However, the policy being pursued by the current government runs counter to the interests of the people; it is geared to preventing the working class and all the working people from resolving the problems facing the country.

The government has steered a course for eliminating the state sector of the economy and is doing everything it can to encourage private enterprise. The "open door" policy is being pursued, which is creating a number of serious problems for the country. It is difficult for Bolivia, a state with a relatively poorly developed economy, to compete with its neighbours, let alone the developed capitalist states. Such a government policy is having serious social consequences, specifically, mass dismissals of industrial and office workers.

Represented in the Bolivian Parliament at present are left forces which will take part in the debates during the drafting of the country's constitution and the law on political parties. However, the rightists¹, who enjoy a majority, will undoubtedly do all in their power to impair the activities of the left forces as much as possible through the adoption of the appropriate legislative acts and thus help extend their tenure. For this reason a long and difficult struggle lies ahead for the working class of Bolivia and all the country's progressive forces.

What are the chief impediments to progress in Latin America. What do you feel hampers the settlement of the Central American conflict?

The responsibility for the crisis in Latin America, for the increasing numbers of the hungry, unemployed and illiterate, lies with imperialism and the local oligarchy. To protect their privileges they are resorting to violence and implanting dictatorships. The entire economy of our countries has been put at the service of the TNCs. But for the support being extended to the antipopular governments by imperialism, the peoples of many Latin American countries would find a political solution to the problems facing them, economic ones included.

For example, there can be no doubt that the Chilean people would have long put an end to the Pinochet dictatorship if it had not been furnished aid by the United States. Throughout its tenure the fascist junta in Chile has enjoyed both the economic and political support of imperialism. Despite the fact that many Latin American countries have gone over from military dictatorships to bourgeois democratic governments, the possibilities for these governments to pursue a policy independent of the transnational corporations are limited.

Financial, political and military support is the main factor which prevents the Latin American peoples from resolving the crisis and putting an end to pro-American regimes. This is vividly manifest in Central America as well. For example, the only reason the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran people is still continuing is that the USA is rendering all manner

¹ The coalition of right forces is based on a political agreement between Victor Paz Estenssoro (the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement) and General Hugo Banzer Suárez (the Nationalist Democratic Alliance) --Ed.

of support to the regime it itself has imposed. The patriotic forces of El Salvador—the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front—are in favour of a political settlement of the conflict, but it is the United States that is hampering such a settlement. In El Salvador, as elsewhere in Latin America, imperialism is intent on keeping in power governments which defend its interests.

By the same token, imperialism is doing its all to destabilise governments that do not suit it. For example, the United States is waging an undeclared war against Nicaragua which is indubitably hindering revolutionary transformations in that country. It should be noted that the Nicaraguan “contras” would not pose any threat to the Sandino government, which enjoys the support of the Nicaraguan people, if the USA was not standing behind the Somoza cutthroats.

Imperialism is not interested in a just settlement of the Central American conflict, proof of which is the blocking of all the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group. As is well known, Nicaragua has stated its readiness to sign the Act for Peace and Cooperation in Central America elaborated by the Contadora Group. The USA has lent verbal support to the Group's efforts, but in reality has done everything possible to block the peaceful settlement of the Central American crisis. The main reason is that the United States does not want a political settlement with the Sandinista government; it wants to topple it and put a regime subservient to it in power in Nicaragua.

Thus, the main impediment to a solution of the Latin American problem and a peaceful, democratic settlement of the Central American conflict is US policy. The United States is pursuing the old interventionist policy on the continent, but in present-day conditions it is becoming increasingly sophisticated and dangerous. It can be claimed that the aggressive course of the imperialists is the reason for all local conflicts. This applies to El Salvador, Nicaragua and the Middle East.

The confrontation which we are observing in Latin America and which is a manifestation of the irreconcilable contradictions between the interests of imperialism and the oligarchies, on the one hand, and the interests of the entire peoples, on the other, will inevitably continue to exacerbate.

How do you assess the pre-Congress documents of the CPSU and also the fresh Soviet peace initiatives aimed at curbing the arms race and easing international tension?

The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme is a document of historic importance. It not only specifies the goals of the Soviet people at the present stage but also confirms the veracity of the fundamental theoretical principles formalised in the 1961 CPSU Programme.

This document states that the goal of the Soviet people is the building of a communist society. To do this it is imperative to accelerate economic development, chiefly by intensifying scientific and technological progress. In order to successfully meet economic targets, it is envisaged to double industrial production volume by the year 2000. This will make it possible to resolve social problems as well, namely, to improve social security and health care and to step up housing construction.

The historic import of the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme is that it expresses the aspirations and interests of the whole of progressive mankind. It is for these ideals that we are struggling in our countries.

The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme is also of great international importance. Enshrined in it is the fact that on the international scene the CPSU considers its overriding task to be the prevention of

nuclear war. The peoples of the world realise that everything that civilisation has achieved to date in scientific, social, cultural and economic progress can be destroyed if the arms race is not stopped.

It is largely to the Soviet Union's credit that we have been living without wars for over forty years now. Owing to the successful social-economic development of the USSR and the tremendous potential which it possesses the prevention of a third world war has become possible. One of the prerequisites for this, reads the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme, is the strengthening of the USSR's defence capability.

The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme notes that for the USSR there exist no impediments to reducing all types of weapons. Confirmation of this tenet are the fresh Soviet peace initiatives aimed at curbing the arms race and lowering the nuclear potentials of the USSR and the USA. The Soviet proposals are still another step forward on the road to detente. These initiatives were supported in many countries and laid a good foundation for the Geneva talks.

When the USSR states that there is no type of weapon which could not be reduced, the production of which could not be halted, this attests to the fact that there is no disarmament issue which the USSR could not resolve, on a mutual basis, of course. The Soviet Union has already taken a number of unilateral steps aimed at curbing the arms race. But there has been no positive response from the American side. For the USA, the arms race and the fomenting of regional conflicts are a component of the strategy aimed at ensuring the survival of the capitalist system. It is for this reason that the struggle for peace is a difficult one, and its success depends not only on a simple realisation of the current situation by the leaders of the USA and the other imperialist countries. It also hinges on the efforts of all the peoples of the planet, of all democratic and progressive governments.

In conclusion, I would like to express confidence that all that the CPSU has planned will be fulfilled. An earnest of this is the collective wisdom of the CPSU and the Soviet government, and the heightened political consciousness of the Soviet people.

SEAN McBRIDE: WEAPONS IN OUTER SPACE MUST BE BANNED

What do you consider most significant about the year 1985?

The most important thing, in 1985, I think, was that this year has been marked by the struggle for peace and detente. Most important, there has not been a world nuclear war. More concretely, without doubt, the November Soviet-American summit between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan in Geneva should be mentioned. I regard such contacts as necessary and the more contacts there are, the better. Speaking of the recent Soviet peace initiatives and their connections with the summit, I think that the proposal by the Soviet Union to cut the arms in the USSR and USA nuclear arsenals by up to 50 per cent of the weapons, reaching the territory of each other, is very good. *If that were realised it would be a great achievement toward lessening the threat of a nuclear conflict, toward decreasing the military threat.*

Regarding the American "star wars" programme, *it is obvious that the militarisation of space cannot be permitted. There should be world-wide agreement prohibiting the use of outer space for any military purpose.*

What do you hope the coming year will bring?

I should like to see a world conference devoted to problems of peace and disarmament in 1986. There is no more important item on the agenda of the day, then the obtainment of general and complete disarmament. The task of the peace forces of all nations is to achieve those goals. Whether it is possible depends on the will to do it.

Interview by TASS correspondent A. Evstigneyev

Sean McBride (Ireland) is the Lenin Peace Prize Laureate and Nobel Peace Prize Winner.

PAKISTAN— TOEING THE WASHINGTON LINE

The military regime of Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, bent on militarising the country, is becoming ever more dependent on the United States. This is well in accord with the plans of US imperialism, which is striving to make Pakistan an instrument of its policy and to use its territory as a US strategic bridgehead in South and Southwest Asia.

To this end, the USA makes wide use of the so-called aid. For instance, Washington granted Pakistan a loan of \$3,200 million four years ago. Most of the money was spent on purchasing the most up-to-date US offensive weapons with which all of Pakistan's armed forces are equipped today. Among the weapons offered for sale by the Pentagon are F-16 fighter-bombers, Hawkeye reconnaissance planes, Orion submarine-killer aircraft, warships, tanks, missiles, anti-aircraft guns, and other expensive weapon systems.

Some observers noted sarcastically that Islamabad could not "swallow" this amount of weaponry. Still, the Pentagon plans to increase arms deliveries to the Zia ul-Haq regime. This became clear, in particular, after the visit to Pakistan by Michael Armacost, US Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and Donald Fortier, US Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. It was reported that during the talks with Pakistani leaders, the Washington spokesmen made assurances that military-economic aid to Pakistan would be expanded. They reaffirmed, among other things, the USA's preparedness to strike a new arms deal to the sum of up to \$6,000 million.

Washington has explained its growing deliveries of modern weapons to Islamabad by the wish to help the "friendly state" to counter "an outside threat". But all this is a propaganda ploy, and a very unconvincing one at that, designed to cover the thoroughly camouflaged actual goals of US policy, which are to build up in South Asia, in good time, a military infrastructure, suitable for the Pentagon, in case US "vital interests" require long and extensive presence and perhaps combat activities of the US troops. Accordingly, the Pentagon has set out to provide adequate conditions for the moorage of US warships in Pakistani ports, and to build a network of airfields and other military facilities in the country, which could be used by the US Central Command in case of need. A system of strategic communications, which can be linked to the CENTCOM network, is being put into operation.

The expeditionary corps, over 20,000 strong, currently being formed in the Pakistani Armed Forces, is a Pakistani version of the US Rapid Deployment Force and is, in fact, also meant for interventionist actions. A great part of its personnel has undergone special training in the United States and at US bases in the region. Fitted with US military equipment, this Pakistani corps is, in fact, subordinate to US CENTCOM and in a "crisis situation" will conduct combat operations in close interaction with CENTCOM's Rapid Deployment Force.

Encouraged by overseas patrons, the military regime is forming and deploying ever more army units. Over the years of its rule the numerical

strength of the Pakistani Armed Forces has been increased by 120,000 officers and men and has come close to the 500,000 mark. Half of the Pakistani navy has been renewed, and, most important, the weapons obtained by Pakistan are predominantly offensive. Over this period the country's military spending has tripled, reaching the sum of \$2,150 million.

The greatest concern, however, is caused by Islamabad's nuclear ambitions encouraged by Washington. It is in the United States, reports the US TV company ABC, that Pakistan has purchased a large batch of electronic devices specially used in nuclear bomb fuses and has delivered them to the Kahuta nuclear centre. The Pakistani experts there have already tested a detonating mechanism. Under the US laws, the press says, it would be impossible to purchase these devices and take them out of the United States unless a special licence is received from the Department of State.

At least five industrial enterprises in the country work directly for the Pakistani nuclear programme, says the Indian *National Herald*. The secret enterprises in Kahuta, where "Project 706" is being carried out, have a major role to play here. Abdul Qadir Khan, who is referred to in the local mass media as "the father of the Pakistani nuclear bomb", heads the programme.

There is a striking semblance in the United States' attitude to Pakistan's nuclear programme and to that of Israel, the *Times of India* observes. Both countries were allowed to "steal" some components required for the manufacture of the atomic bomb, including enriched uranium. But US officials distanced themselves from the covert operation as soon as these facts became known to the public. Washington, the paper concludes, turned a blind eye to the nuclear research in Pakistan right from the start.

The supply of the latest types of weapons to Pakistan in amounts exceeding the needs of its defence and Islamabad's nuclear ambitions cause understandable concern on the part of neighbouring countries over the intentions of the Pakistani leaders and whip up the arms race on the subcontinent.

In an interview to the *Newsweek* Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi said it was believed in India that Pakistan was about to create an atomic bomb and that the USA was not taking sufficient measures to prevent this. One can hardly argue against this observation.

As it toes the US line, the military regime of Zia ul-Haq actively supports Washington, its henchmen and underlings in the "undeclared war" against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Islamabad not only pursues a hostile policy with regard to Afghanistan, notes the *Kahul New Times*, but directly interferes in the domestic affairs of the DRA, smuggles its own agents and saboteurs into the country, together with Afghan counter-revolutionaries. Addressing a press conference late in September 1985, the head of the Pakistani military regime, having repeated old anti-Soviet lies, identified openly with the Afghan counter-revolution. He said that "the struggle of the Afghan people [read: the dushman rabble in Pakistani territory] is also the struggle of Pakistan". The Pakistani Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Zain Noorani, slandered the Soviet Union in a parliament speech. Distorting the facts, he spoke of an alleged threat to the territorial integrity of Pakistan coming from the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

What is behind assertions of this kind? It is quite obvious that none of the neighbouring states, including Afghanistan, threatens the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Pakistan. These statements are made to please the US guardians of the Pakistani military regime who are interested in maintaining continued tensions in the region.

It is commonly known, for instance, that a number of centres where dushmans are trained with extensive government aid for raids into Afgha-

nistan have been set up with CIA money in the North-Western border Province of Baluchistan and other regions of Pakistan. About 120 camps training over 60,000 mercenaries function in Pakistani territory today. Pakistani army officers form detachments of bandits, teaching them how to handle modern weapons and use the most sophisticated methods of killing and sabotage. Quite often special units of the Pakistani regular army, says the Western press, take direct part in the bandit raids into the territory of Afghanistan.

Islamabad goes out of its way to prove that Western aid to the counter-revolutionaries does not reach Afghanistan via Pakistan. This assertion has been disproved on many occasions by the Western press. The British *Sunday Times*, for instance, has published the results of a study showing that most of the aid, including arms deliveries, reaches the counter-revolutionaries through Peshawar. The American *Time* magazine described in detail the routine procedure of smuggling weapons and ammunition into Afghanistan—from their arrival to the port of Karachi and its delivery in army trucks to the border, after which they are carried across the border to the accompaniment of Pakistani artillery fire.

The Islamabad visit of Michael Armacost and Donald Fortier was yet another action to draw Pakistan into the undeclared war against Afghanistan. In an interview on Pakistani TV, Armacost said that during the talks the two sides concentrated on Afghanistan where Pakistan and the United States had parallel interests. Besides, the United States assured the Afghan counter-revolutionary rabble through its representatives, in particular through former US President Nixon who visited Islamabad, that it would support them without fail and promised chiefs of the bandit groups a further increase of financial and military aid.

The Zia ul-Haq regime pursues a course hostile to Afghanistan in the international arena as well. Its representatives advanced a series of US-prompted anti-Afghan resolutions in the United Nations and other international organisations. Islamabad bends every effort to hamstring Afghanistan's positions in the non-aligned movement, while in the Organisation of the Islamic Conference the so-called committee on Afghanistan was set up due to its efforts. This policy, says the *Kabul New Times* newspaper, far from facilitating the solution of the outstanding problems, is worsening the situation in the region still more.

Recently, Pakistan witnessed a growing opposition to Zia ul-Haq's pernicious policy as regards Afghanistan. For example, hostilities flared up at the Khyber Pass between the Pakistani army and Afridi and Shinwari Pushtu tribes, who did not want to see their territory serve as a bridgehead for the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The Pakistani authorities resorted to vicious measures to put down the protest. With the official ultimatum expired, turbulent Djamrud and Landi Kotal settlements were occupied by troops which levelled off some 60 houses of the outlawed tribesmen. Britain's well-informed newspaper, *The Guardian*, stressed in this connection that not since the times of the British Empire had expeditions been undertaken on such a scale against the tribes of the Northwest border province.

The foreign policy course towards building up the Pakistani might to the detriment of the security of the states in South Asia could not but create a crisis of confidence in the Zia ul-Haq Administration among the countries in the region. This is most obvious in relations with India against which Islamabad has already launched three wars. And once again the bulk of Pakistani troops and materiel have been concentrated along the border with India. Stationed there are 15 of the 19 Pakistani divisions and more than 200 of the 350 Pakistani combat planes. Most of

the new combat equipment arriving from the United States is shipped towards the Indian border.

Facts have shown that Islamabad has been steadily pursuing a course for building up tension in the strategically important border regions of India. The Press Trust of India news agency reported early in November last year that the Pakistani troops stationed along the border with India are on combat alert. Pakistani troops have been concentrated also along the Pakistani border with the Indian Jammu and Kashmir State. Pakistani artillery has been brought to advanced positions, new trenches have been dug, and access roads built at the border.

The Pakistani military actively interferes in the internal affairs of India, rendering extensive support to the separatists demanding that Punjab be torn away from India. According to the *Hindustan Times*, more than ten special camps, where some 6,000 Punjab extremists are taught the methods of terrorism and sabotage, function in Pakistani territory.

For instance, one of the leaders of the All-India Sikh Federation of Students, Sarabjit Singh, arrested by the Indian police, admitted that for five months he had been trained in three subversive camps in Pakistan. He said that three large centres to train bandits existed in Lahore and Abbotabad. Pakistani secret services supervising these centres are putting out humanoid killers doped by drugs. Under the circumstances, the Indian government has to take steps to protect India's security and put an end to the actions which it justly regards as an interference in the internal affairs of India by the Pakistani regime.

Furthermore, Pakistan's blind toeing of the US line and the country's militarisation have an adverse effect on its economic development. The balance-of-payment deficit has been growing, inflation is on the rise and the Pakistani rupee continues to fall. This is not surprising, since the country whose national debt has reached \$350 per head a year and where about 70,000 people die annually of tuberculosis alone, spends almost one-third of its budget appropriations for military purposes.

Pakistan is becoming increasingly economically dependent on the USA and other Western countries. To finance its sixth five-year development plan (1983-1988), the government requires foreign credits to the sum of \$10,000 million, though its foreign debt during the rule of the military regime has grown by \$7,000 million, reaching the \$13,000-million mark. In the coming years Pakistan will have to repay not less than \$4,000 million of its old debts and another \$3,000 million as interest on the credits.

The regime of Zia ul-Haq, which came to power through a military coup, has been ruling the country for eight years now. During these years martial law has been in force, the action of the Constitution has been suspended, all political activity has been prohibited, and the rights of the trade unions and other democratic public organisations have been limited.

The regime uses harsh reprisals against its political opponents. At present, press reports say there are tens of thousands of political prisoners in Pakistan. They are subjected to tortures and humiliation. The defendants often die at the preliminary stage of "investigation". And many of those who survive to face a sentence are imprisoned for long terms or even hanged. In the past four years, 54 persons have been sentenced to life imprisonment in a prison in Lahore alone. Many are executed secretly, without legal "formalities". The situation is the same in the concentration camps. All this explains the unpopularity of the present Pakistani regime among the people. So now it has to rely only on military strength, on the support of its American allies.

In recent years, despite the repressions and persecution the tide of antigovernment actions involving ever broader sections of the people has been mounting in the country. Those taking part in the protest actions

demand a restoration of democracy, a transfer of power to the legally elected representatives, improvement of living conditions, and the pursuance of an independent foreign policy in keeping with the vital interests of the country.

The committee for the release of political prisoners in Pakistan has demanded that the authorities release about 300 political and Party leaders from prison. "The people of Pakistan," the committee said in a statement, "are living through the hardest period in their history."

The people's hatred for the military regime, which has turned Pakistan into a police state, has been mounting, declared Asgar Khan, former commander of the Pakistani Air Force and now the President of the banned Tehrik-i-Istiqlal Party. The people are prepared again to go out into the streets to protest against the Zia ul-Haq government. The Parliament, elected on the non-Party basis in February 1985, said Asgar Khan, has no power, for all power is in the hands of the military.

It is quite obvious that the course towards the country's militarisation and complicity in imperialist interference in the affairs of the sovereign states that are Pakistan's neighbours makes Pakistan a source of growing tension in the region. This policy presents a grave threat to peace and stability in Asia.

V. MIKHIN

ATTACKS ON UNESCO AND THE UN UNDER THE GUISE OF "PEACEABLENESS"

Recently, documents of the sessions of the US Congress Foreign Relations Committee, at which the American approach to some international organisations had been discussed, were made public in Washington.¹ A study of these materials evokes the impression that the US government is at war not only with UNESCO but with the entire UN system.

As was stated by a Congressman who had co-authored the Republican Party's election platform, the withdrawal from UNESCO should give an impulse to revising not only the US policy towards this organisation but the whole UN structure. He acquainted the Congressmen with the project of establishing "a world body composed only of nations that share our [American—*Ed.*] most important values". Under this project a new "body... might be a far more effective forum" than the UN "now... parodied in the glass house by the East River".

True, at the Congressional hearings there were also arguments advanced in defence of the UN and UNESCO. Congressman Jim Leach drew the conclusion that "some alarm bells ought to be rung in support of the UN system" for it was in obvious danger.

The cynical expostulations in the US Congress with regard to the UN are in full accord with the Republican Party's platform of 1984, which is imbued with charges against, and pressure on, the UN, a policy totally inadmissible in international ethics. The platform reads: "We will monitor their votes and activities and particularly the votes of member states which receive US aid."

Who are these "thunderers"? They are the New Right who decided to take UNESCO by storm and are now setting their sights on the UN. The revival of the New Right is a complex and alarming phenomenon in American public life. They are a shock detachment of the motley neo-conservative movement. They are most aggressive and mobilised.

Their chief internal enemy is the "liberal Eastern establishment" which is financed by New York banks and, as they claim, is selling retail and wholesale the heritage of good old America. Their chief external enemy is a notorious "international Communist plot".

The New Right have concocted and are spreading the myth that the Soviet Union is the source of total danger. It was they who pushed the world to tearing down detente, to escalating the arms race. They go out of their way to present themselves as superpatriots. And no wonder they do not turn to the heritage of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt who are the pride of the American people. They are driven by another force in American history. They turn to the heritage of nationalism, racism, chauvinism and Messianism.

¹ See *Recent Developments in UNESCO and Their Implications for US Policy*, Washington, 1985, 133 pp.

It is interesting to note that the scenario of the British withdrawal from UNESCO is a carbon copy of the American action. In Britain, too, the decision to pull out of UNESCO was taken on the insistence of the conservatives with Right leanings, contrary to the public sentiment and the stand taken by many politicians. Former Prime Minister Edward Heath believes that Britain's withdrawal is wrong and senseless, all the more so because just a month prior to this decision Britain was actively participating in the 23rd Session of the UNESCO General Conference in Sofia.

However, there is nothing surprising: at the hearings of the above-mentioned Congressional Committee, Congressman Jim Leach said: "We have placed a great deal of undue pressure ... on our allies, ... particularly, the British."

One should do justice to the governments of many West European countries, which did not succumb to the pressure put on by the US Administration and the American Right and are taking an independent stand as regards the UN and the UNESCO. For example, the statements made by the Minister for External Relations of France Roland Dumas and the permanent representative of that country to UNESCO, Gisèle Halimi, reflect the reasonable and constructive approach by France to the problems facing this organisation.

At the turn of the third millennium mankind is facing global problems. In the nuclear-space era, it has become imperative to seriously reassess the behest of great Albert Einstein to "learn to think anew". The comprehension by people in many countries of the global scale of the problems, of the perils and responsibilities involved, is gaining ground very slowly, at a snail's pace. For decades now, militarists of every breed and hue have been at pains to obliterate the real path to reshaping the consciousness of the people. This trend is particularly wide-spread in the countries caught under the heel of the military-industrial complexes.

The UN and other international organisations are doing a lot, and can do even more, to balance national, regional and universal interests, to strengthen confidence-building measures and promote more extensive international cooperation. The noble goal of the UN, UNESCO and other organisations is to adequately reflect the interests of all of humanity and find solutions to global problems.

In our troubled times it is vital to treat the UN, UNESCO and other international organisations of international cooperation appropriately. Ultra-right organisations in the USA do not conceal their intention to undermine the effectiveness of the UN, UNESCO, and the International Court of Justice in Amsterdam. They attempt to reduce discussions about the UN to a mercantile question: what does it give to a particular country? This is an approach typical of short-sighted nationalists and chauvinists. The imperative of our time is to learn to put aside antiquated casts and notions. Consequently, it would be more appropriate to put the question otherwise: what a particular country should do to strengthen the UN, UNESCO and other international organisations, and to elevate them to the level of interests common to all people.

The American ultras hate the UN; they dream of driving it off the shores of the Hudson River. The Right "thunderers" provide seemingly simple, but inwardly perilous answers to complicated questions. They claim that there is no substitute for victory. Teachers, scientists and cultural workers throughout the world, including the USA, believe that there does exist a substitute — detente and international cooperation.

WHENCE THE THREAT TO THE PERSIAN GULF?

The Persian Gulf remains one of the most volatile areas on the planet, where short respites of "moderate" tensions give way to sharp, often bloodshedding armed clashes. What is the cause of such a situation? Who is responsible for the unending powder-keg atmosphere, which is a constant threat not only to the people in the region but to the neighbouring regions as well?

In his time Winston Churchill used to say that the Persian Gulf zone was of colossal importance for "imperial interests", for there oil existed alongside a vitally important artery—the roadway to the Indian Ocean. Indeed, the Persian Gulf is a unique treasure-trove of the planet's fuel resources, one that contains nearly a half of the world's oil deposits with unusually low production costs. The countries in the region account for nearly a third of the world oil production and for approximately two-thirds of oil exports in the capitalist world.¹

This fact, as well as the emergence in the 1970s of a new financial centre of the capitalist world in this zone, along with the turning of the maritime countries into a highly profitable sales market for the TNCs, are largely the reasons why this region receives foremost attention from the Western powers and above all the USA.

This, however, is not all. The USA has always viewed the Persian Gulf zone from the two points—its huge oil wealth and its exclusive strategic situation at the crossroads of international communication lines and in close proximity to the Soviet border. In this plans for waging nuclear war against the USSR, engineered immediately after the routing of Nazi Germany, US imperialism named the Persian Gulf as one of the most probable lines of attack. (Detailed information on this subject was given by the well-known American physicist Mikio Kaku at the international conference for banning nuclear weapons held on August 5-6, 1985 in Hiroshima).

Today this area is defined in US global policy as the "third central strategic zone" alongside Western Europe and the Far East. It is not by chance the US General Bernard Rogers, NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, speaking of the chances of there being a new war, said in an interview that its most probable area would embrace the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In a secret document elaborated by the Pentagon and defining the US strategy for 1984-1988 it is said in no uncertain terms that "the strategy for Southwest Asia, including the Persian Gulf, directs American forces to be ready to force their way in, if necessary, and not wait for an invitation from a friendly government".² In other words they reveal a shameless, cynical attitude to the national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of other countries, whose interests are made directly dependent on the hegemonistic aims of US imperialism. It is noteworthy that the document openly sets the task of elaborating plans for the first use of nuclear forces in the theatre of war as well as for their further use.

This doctrine is fully in tune with the statement by US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger claiming that the USA should be ready (with regard to the Persian Gulf), for instance, in case of an attack on the oil

¹ V. V. Mashin, A. I. Yakovlev, *The Persian Gulf in Western Plans and Politics*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1985, p. 7 (in Russian).

² *The New York Times*, May 30, 1982.

fields, to go on with military escalation "both vertical and horizontal" (where "vertical escalations" is the transition from a non-nuclear conflict to a nuclear one, and "horizontal escalation" is the spread of hostilities to other areas).

The essence of the US military-political concept with regard to the Persian Gulf is probably best of all reflected in the decision to create, as of January 1, 1983, the Central Command (Centcom), with a huge sphere of action embracing 19 states and stretching from the Middle East through the Persian Gulf zone to the Indian Ocean. The Centcom has charge of the Rapid Deployment Force, military bases on Diego Garcia Island, in Oman, Somalia, Kenya and several other states, and an aircraft carrier group stationed within reach of the Persian Gulf. Suffice it to say that concentrated at present in the zone of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea are 11,500 US servicemen (land and naval forces), and 13 warships, including an aircraft carrier with 4 refuelers and 4 auxiliary ships.³

The present US Administration regards the establishing of new military bases and strongholds in the Persian Gulf zone as a key line of its military-political course. Washington had always attached foremost importance to the use of different military objects, yet never before have military blackmail, gross pressure and open threats been used in such an impudent and cynical way as they have by the present US Administration. For instance, in April 1984 *The Washington Post*, alluding to statements made by Western diplomats in the capitals of the Persian Gulf states, bluntly reported that in order to obtain those countries' consent to allow the US Rapid Deployment Force to use the Saudi-Arabian air base in Dhahran, the main airport in Bahrain, and the Jebel Ali seaport in the United Arab Emirates, the Pentagon was increasing its pressure on their rulers.

In this connection it should be recalled that in 1980 the US had concluded an agreement on military cooperation with Oman, according to which US air and naval forces received access to its airports and seaports and were able to use its territory as an entrépot and military depot. The Bright Star military exercises with US armed forces taking part are held regularly in Oman. The flagship of a US naval task force is based in Jufair, Bahrain, and a lease signed in 1971 makes it possible for US ships to dock in the Bahrain naval base.

In pursuance of its far-reaching aims the US foists an unbridled arms race upon the Persian Gulf countries and "showers particular favours" on Saudi Arabia which is designated to play a number one role in their plans. Between 1971 and 1980 the Pentagon supplied Saudi Arabia with arms to the tune of \$34,000 million.⁴ At present US war-industry monopolies sell the country an average of \$4,000 million worth of arms yearly.⁵

Washington seeks to transfer its military "cooperation" with the Arab countries to long-term lines, which would enable the USA to ensconce itself there for an unspecified period of time. According to the Pentagon, these massive deliveries of the latest US armaments to the Persian Gulf zone will create strategic arms reserves there available in case of need to airborne US troops pending the delivery of their own materiel by sea. Moreover, arms deliveries lead to a chain reaction of other military contracts and deals, and, as a rule, to the arrival of military specialists and instructors. Binding the purchasers to their overseas supplier, all this provides US imperialism with a powerful lever of economic and political influence.

³ *Middle East Review*, No. 10, 1984.

⁴ *The Financial Times*, Apr. 26, 1982.

⁵ *The New York Times*, May 24, 1984.

An eloquent example is the 1981 deal between the USA and Saudi Arabia on the delivery of five AWACS planes to the tune of \$8,500 million. According to the British magazine *Middle East*, the AWACS deal was principally a roundabout manoeuvre to force Saudi Arabia to agree to the deployment of foreign military bases on its territory. The point is that the sophisticated technology of these systems calls for a considerable US presence in this area, Saudi Arabia lacking its own specialists for servicing and operating the purchased systems. As *The New York Times* noted in this connection, "The new radio-reconnaissance system would allow the Pentagon to switch to the surveillance net of Saudi Arabia and without the knowledge of the Saudis to obtain the data that could be transmitted simultaneously via satellite to the American bases in the Indian Ocean as well as those in the continental USA".⁶

Pumping vast supplies of the latest weapons into the Persian Gulf zone, which according to US specialists themselves, simply cannot be operated by local personnel, the USA draws the countries in the area into the arms race, forcing them to spend colossal sums—a third of their budgets—on military needs. These countries have the world's highest per capita military expenditure: \$2,400 in Saudi Arabia, \$2,100 in the United Arab Emirates and \$1,700 in Qatar.⁷ In 1983 alone the Persian Gulf countries made deals on deliveries of arms, chiefly of US make, totalling \$35,000 million.

Washington tries to make use of any pretext to foist its military protection on these states, to compel them to make "official" requests for US military aid. Highly indicative in this respect are the events linked with the so-called tanker war, a sharp outbreak of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict that took place in May-June 1984. The attacks of these belligerent countries on tankers crossing the Persian Gulf led to a sharp aggravation of the situation in these parts, creating a direct threat to the coastal states and disrupting navigation in the area.

Making use of the alarm and anxiety that had gripped the capitals of the Arab states, the USA rushed to build up its military presence in this zone along a number of lines. Two planes—a KS-135 tanker aeroplane and an AWACS—were urgently deployed in Saudi Arabia to control air and above-water targets, along with 400 Stinger missiles and 200 launchers.

The US Administration spared no effort at the time to foist military aid on Saudi Arabia for its defence purposes, bearing in mind that its government would give the USA access to its military bases. In his message to King Fahd the President promised to "defend" Saudi Arabian territory from air and sea attack by sending to this effect in no less than 48 hours an air squadron of 24 F-15 planes immediately upon his request. There was no such request. The Saudi Arabian Minister of Information Ali Hassan al-Shaer was diplomatic in his explanation: "We do not want trouble. The situation is very, very delicate. We do not want to extend the scale of the war."⁸

Washington is out to present things as if the USA is "deeply concerned" by the Iranian-Iraqi conflict which keeps the area in a state of tension. The White House holds a neutral position and is in favour of an immediate end to the war. Developments show that the actual state of affairs is quite different. At a time when efforts are applied along many lines to put an end to the war that in over five years has taken hundreds of thousands of lives, caused huge destruction and brought untold misfortune to the people of both countries, the USA is cynically using this con-

⁶ *The New York Times*, April 4, 1983.

⁸ *Time*, June 4, 1984, pp. 9-10.

⁷ *Middle East*, September 1984, p. 15.

lict for its own mercenary aims. Under the pretext of "defending" the Persian Gulf states from the "threat" of the Iran-Iraq war and the "Iranian menace", the Pentagon is building up its military presence here with the far-reaching aim of twisting the arms of the Arabs, foisting its will on them and dragging them into their military-strategic plans aimed against the USSR. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy was quite frank on this point when he said in Congress that the "victory of either belligerent was impossible militarily and undesirable [for the US—V. V.] strategically."⁹

Development show ever more eloquently that the USA's imperial ambitions with regard to this zone, its attempts to recolonise it and bring crude pressure to bear on the leaders of the Persian Gulf countries, come up against constantly growing indignation and resentment on their part. The newspaper *Al-Khaleej* (UAE) wrote that the USA's plans in the region served its strategic aim of setting up a regional military bloc whose potential would operate against the Soviet Union. US strategists intend to secure in the Middle East countries political and socio-economic realities that would hinder as much as possible the introduction of any radical socio-economic changes and suppress all manifestations of independence on the part of the sovereign states in the region. Today the Pentagon is doing everything possible to draw these countries into its scheme to grip the Soviet Union in a vice. For instance, reports have appeared of late of Washington's intentions to deploy in Southwest Asia cruise missiles carrying nuclear warheads. Thus, the policy pursued by the US Administration comes ever more into conflict with the national interests of the Persian Gulf countries which want to be their own masters and have no desire to become acolytes of the USA.

Being well aware that its arms twisting policies and unscrupulous treatment of its "junior partners" in the region, and the whipping up of militarist passions give rise to anti-American sentiments and open resentment on the part of many Arab political leaders, Washington has been trying ever more often of late to conceal its true aims in the area. The USA is juggling with a wide assortment of "motives" which in the estimate of US strategists serve to explain its efforts to establish its military presence in the Persian Gulf countries. And here the most popular is the shopworn tenet of the "Soviet threat" and "Soviet expansionism" and the allegation that the Soviet Union is manipulating the national liberation struggle with the aim of bringing down the monarchies in these countries.

The absurdity of these allegations is self-evident, as has been repeatedly confirmed by representatives of these states. The Kuwait official newspaper *Al-Rai al-A'am* wrote: "Our country has long maintained relations with the USSR. Throughout this time the USSR has done Kuwait no harm: it has not sent its troops to occupy its territory, nor has it attempted to foist communist ideology on our country or carry on subversive activities against the existing regime".

The Persian Gulf countries are growing ever more aware of the radical distinction between the political courses pursued with regard to the region by the Soviet Union and the United States. Obvious to all are the principles firmly adhered to by the Soviet Union on this point: respect for sovereignty and independence, non-interference in domestic affairs and a readiness to take part in mutually-beneficial cooperation, in distinction to threat of force and unscrupulous diktat, predatory ambitions to seize foreign oil and reduce the states in the region to the humiliating position of the West's "oil pump".

Far from infringing upon the sovereign rights of these states or

⁹ See *Christian Science Monitor*, June 4, 1984.

using the pretext of "ensuring security" to secure military bases on their territory, the Soviet Union sympathises with their endeavours to ensure their security independently without any outside interference. This attitude is well known in these countries where Western propaganda has failed to muddle the minds of the people with its hackneyed "Soviet threat" lies.

It was not the Soviet Union but the USA that concluded a "strategic alliance" with Israel which continues to occupy Arab territories and commit excesses in their lands in violation of all international norms. It is not the USSR but the USA that is pushing the Arabs to the road of separate deals with the occupiers and seeks to bury the Palestinian people's issue labelling its legitimate representative—Palestine Liberation Organisation—a terrorist organisation. It is with deep respect that the people of the Persian Gulf countries speak of the USSR's firm and consistent stand in support of the Arab peoples' just struggle and the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine. "The Soviet Union plays a particularly important role in the Middle East," said the Saudi Arabian Minister of Foreign Affairs Saud al-Faisal in an interview to the Lebanese weekly *Al Mustakbal*. "Saudi Arabia values highly the Soviet Union's stand on the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict. This has been repeatedly mentioned by Saudi Arabian leaders, including King Fahd. We have never forgotten that for the sake of self-protection and the repulsion of Israeli aggression the Arabs had used Soviet arms".

Interest in the Soviet Union is growing in the Persian Gulf countries; they are duly appraising its peaceful foreign policy and its significance and prestige in international affairs. Every attention is being given there to the more than 20 years of experience of developing friendly relations and cooperation between the USSR and Kuwait. As repeatedly stated by many Kuwait leaders, the benefits for their country of this cooperation which embrace numerous aspects is indisputable. Other Persian Gulf countries are beginning to increasingly realise these truths. For instance, quite indicative in this respect is an agreement reached by the Soviet Union and the Sultanate of Oman on the establishment, from September 26, 1985, of diplomatic relations and the exchange of diplomatic missions at the ambassadorial level, as well as the agreement on the exchange of diplomatic missions at the ambassadorial level with the United Arab Emirates.

The desire for contacts and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the Persian Gulf countries is quite natural. Such cooperation is all the more important due to the "oil glut" of the market, which according to specialists will apparently remain unchangeable, and which has placed these states in a complicated situation. The Western powers and above all the USA are brazenly making use of these difficulties to bind the Persian Gulf countries still closer to their policy and keep them from developing equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation with the USSR.

In this situation particular importance is attached to ensuring the security and providing peacetime conditions that are so essential for strengthening the newly-born economy of the Persian Gulf countries, and creating a stable situation for the implementation of promising social programmes which are needed to consolidate the revived feelings of national pride and self-awareness. The endeavours of the peoples of these countries for peace, security and stability are fully shared and given wholehearted support by the Soviet Union. The USSR is sincerely interested in the peaceful development of the Persian Gulf countries, the strengthening of their national independence and economic prosperity, regarding this as a reliable pledge of peace and security in this part of the world.

V. VIKTOROV

THE KEY ISSUES OF THE POLITICAL DEBATE

The general debate, which is the first stage of each session of the most representative international forum, has ended at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly. Delegates from more than 140 countries, including several heads of state and government, took part in the debate, whose course was markedly affected by the grave international situation in which the Session opened and by the UN anniversary, which gives an additional impulse to thoughts about the future of mankind.

The speeches of most delegates clearly demonstrated the growing concern of the states over the general worsening of the situation in the world and the mounting military danger. Representatives of diverse groups of states emphasised that what is particularly worrying is the acceleration of the arms race, the growing threat of nuclear war, the fact that conflict situations in different parts of the world remain unsettled or even take a graver turn, and also the crisis in international economic relations, primarily the imperative problem of indebtedness.

The very first days of the Session's work indicated a clash between two lines in world politics: the line of attaining military superiority and whipping up tensions and the line of curbing the arms race and improving the international climate. Most delegates obviously wanted mankind's common interests, the need for cooperation in averting the nuclear threat to prevail over the differences between countries. In that atmosphere, US Secretary of State George Shultz clearly struck a note of discord, delivering a speech couched in confrontational terms. The tone he tried to set in the debate at the Session was not supported by the other countries, even including Washington's closest allies, which did not want to repeat the US charges against the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, such states as Afghanistan and Nicaragua.

The debate clearly showed a deep awareness of the fact that the course of events in the world has reached a turning-point which calls for responsible decisions and a persevering quest for ways out of the grave situation. Many delegates pointed out the importance of the state of Soviet-US relations for the general international climate, expressed their support for the Geneva summit, and said that people hoped it would yield tangible results. They emphasised the need for progress at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons, and even the representatives of NATO countries noted that the sides should observe the agreed mandate for these talks: to work to prevent an arms race in outer space and bring it to a halt on the Earth. Evidently, these statements were directed against the US Administration's attempts to evade the problem of preventing a militarisation of outer space and against its striving to carry out its "star wars" programme at any cost. The Australian representative openly declared that the USA's "strategic defense initiative" was unacceptable. The new Soviet Initiative on International Cooperation in the Peaceful Exploration of Outer Space in Conditions of its Non-Militarisation, put before the 40th Session of the General Assembly, was consonant with the mood of most of the participants in the general political debate. Almost all the speakers said that outer space should be prevented from becoming a sphere of the arms race, and connected a solution of that problem with the opening perspectives for a peaceful exploration of outer space. The prevalent negative attitude to the plans for militarising outer space was vividly expressed by Prime Minister Walter H. Lini of the small state of Vanuatu, who said that people want to have stars over their head in order that lovers could look at them, thinkers ponder over them, and scientists study them, rather than have them serve as a place for stockpiling arms.

In spite of the massive pressure brought to bear on the non-aligned countries, the latter's spokesmen on the whole reaffirmed the anti-imperialist, antimilitarist and anticolonialist positions of their movement, although some of their statements still contained the ideas of so-called "equidistance", intimating an allegedly equal responsibility of the USSR and the USA for international tensions.

Progressive non-aligned states pointed out the causes of the worsening situation in the world, describing the USA's militaristic policy as the main source of the growing military danger. Virtually all the developing countries, and also many Western and neutral states stressed the importance of nuclear disarmament, accentuating the need to bring about a cessation of nuclear weapon tests. A number of speakers came out in favour of a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, and emphasised that a ban on nuclear weapon tests would be an important measure in curbing the race in nuclear weapons and preventing their proliferation. Considerable attention in the course of the debate was devoted to the problems of freezing nuclear weapons and establishing nuclear-free zones, banning chemical weapons and limiting the proliferation of conventional arms.

Speakers in the general political debate at the 40th Session repeatedly pointed out that although mankind has for 40 years now been able to avoid a world war, dangerous hotbeds of conflict and racist-colonial oppression still remain on the planet. In connection with the bloodshed in the south of Africa, the delegates sharply denounced the Pretoria regime, supported by the USA and other Western countries. The non-aligned states called on the latter to apply mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The 25th anniversary of the Declaration on Decolonisation, which was also marked at the Session, once again emphasised the imperative need to grant independence to Namibia. Many delegates raised a resolute voice in support of the Palestinians' right to self-determination and the formation of a state of their own, and in defence of the inalienable rights of the Nicaraguan and other Central American peoples to choose their ways of development by themselves.

Voicing their anxiety over the truly grievous condition of their population, representatives of the developing countries spoke from the UN rostrum about their deep contradictions with the capitalist states in the economic field. The question of restructuring international economic relations on a just basis, primarily the need to resolve the problem of indebtedness, was examined from a sharper political angle than ever before. Many delegates emphasised that these unresolved questions pose a real threat to the stability of various countries and whole regions, that such questions tend to generate conflicts and undermine international security.

The general political debate at the jubilee 40th Session of the General Assembly naturally touched upon the role of the United Nations in the modern world. Most delegations emphasised the significance of that international forum, pointed out the vital importance of the purposes and principles of its Charter, and the need to translate these into life, and came out against the attempts to blackmail the United Nations and dictate one's will to it.

On the whole, the outcome of the general debate convincingly demonstrated that most states of the world are well aware of the danger looming over mankind and resolutely demand effective measures to eliminate that danger.

A. KOLOSOVSKY

FROM SPEECHES BY HEADS OF DELEGATIONS AT THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THE FOLLOWING EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES BY THE HEADS OF SEVERAL DELEGATIONS IN THE COURSE OF THE GENERAL POLITICAL DEBATE AT THE 40th SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY GIVE AN IDEA OF THE RANGE OF ISSUES FOCUSED ON AT THE WORLD FORUM, AND ALSO OF THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY UN MEMBER STATES ON THE KEY PROBLEMS OF THE DAY.* (THE SPEECHES ARE PUBLISHED IN THE SAME ORDER AS THEY WERE DELIVERED AT THE SESSION).

SAMORA MACHEL, President, Mozambique

THE UNITED NATIONS was born out of the realisation shared by all mankind that it was imperative to prevent war fever from dominating our planet, a fever that could claim millions of lives, destroy human achievements, and drown in blood the dreams of our children and the hopes of our youth. This was and remains the central task of the United Nations. Peace, however, is not merely the absence of war. It is primarily the absence of the causes of war. In this respect our Organization has played a fundamental role throughout its 40 years of life.

International peace and security, peaceful settlement of disputes, rejection of the use of force in international relations and good-neighbourliness are fundamental principles, the very cornerstones of our Organization. Nevertheless we are today witnessing a serious worsening of international relations. Frequent violations of the principles and objectives of our Charter are today manifest. We are witnessing an increasing recourse to the threat or use of force and to interference in the internal affairs of other States. Conflicts between States have worsened and are taking on increasingly dangerous dimensions. The human and material losses incurred since the Second World War are countless. Currently, not a day passes without war claiming more lives.

In direct contradiction of the requirements of our Charter, forces are emerging in opposition to the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence, and thus blocking their emancipation. There are numerous glaring examples of violation of the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and the legitimate right to independent development. Destabilisation, direct aggression, economic blockade and the use of mercenaries, armed bandits and terrorism have become common occurrences. The spirit of understanding and cooperation among nations which a decade ago was the main trend in international relations, has been replaced by the language of confrontation and cold war.

This year, when we are commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we cannot fail to mention the plight of Namibia.

Namibia is the last vestige of colonialism in southern Africa. Namibia was a German colony at the beginning of this century. If we look at the map of Africa today, we find that all the other German colonies have won their political emancipation. The independent countries they gave birth to are represented in this hall.

The Namibian people, however, continue to be subject to colonial domination, illegal foreign occupation and ruthless exploitation of their wealth and natural resources.

* The speech by Eduard Shevardnadze, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, was published in the newspaper *Pravda* on October 25, 1985.

South Africa is the cause of this situation. South Africa has been frustrating the efforts of the international community to bring about Namibia's independence. In the long process of negotiations to liberate this Territory under United Nations mandate, we have repeatedly been faced with South African intransigence. Pretoria persists in defying and flouting the purposes and principles of our Charter and the relevant resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly.

ISIDORO MALMIERCA, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cuba

WITH DEEP CONCERN, we note the continued worsening of the world political and economic situation owing to the persistence of aggravated crises and tensions in international relations, to the obstacles set up against the peoples' legitimate aspirations to emancipation and independent development without foreign interference or intervention, owing to the spiralling growth of the arms race resulting from the insane imperialist policy of seeking an impossible military supremacy so as to decide the fate of the world from positions of strength, and the attempts at extending this race to outer space.

Today more than ever before, the threat of nuclear extermination weighs on mankind. The policies of imperialism are characterised by the use or threat of use of force, intervention, destabilisation, aggression, economic and political coercion, hegemony and oppression, while the crisis of the world capitalist system, which is growing ever deeper, brutally affects the developing countries and endangers their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, making economic development virtually impossible for them.

The overwhelming foreign debt of the Third World countries—an explosive phenomenon with an unquestionable political dimension—is a tragic note in the sombre panorama of the current international situation.

The seriousness of the present situation and the consequences that would result from a nuclear conflagration show that there is no viable option for the survival of the human race other than the policy of peaceful coexistence between States with different economic, social and political systems, of international detente and the settlement of conflicts through exclusively peaceful means.

Set on imposing their domination, the US imperialists will stop at nothing to attain a military superiority that will allow them to negotiate from positions of strength and nuclear blackmail. In its eagerness to militarise outer space, the US Administration recently announced the beginning of antisatellite weapon tests as part of a programme that will require expenditures of up to \$95,000 million by the year 2000.

US imperialism is promoting this new escalation in the arms race, which includes nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction, even though this practice increases the risks of nuclear war and thus endangers the very survival of mankind.

Cuba condemns all attempts to militarise outer space—especially the USA's so-called "strategic defense initiative", and expresses its support for the Soviet Union's proposal concerning international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space in the context of its non-militarisation.

We welcome the holding of talks at the highest level between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. The determination and readiness of Soviet leaders to make whatever efforts are necessary to prevent a new world conflagration, avoid a nuclear holocaust, put an end to the arms race and prevent it from spreading to outer space are quite evident. We know of their firm determination to struggle for international detente, and we place our full trust in their Leninist peace policy, which embraces the hopes and aspirations of all the peoples of the world.

As the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries stated in the Luanda Declaration a few weeks ago, Latin America and the Caribbean are one of the areas of the world which have suffered most directly from acts of aggression by colonial and impe-

rialist Powers. The Ministers noted with deep concern that the situation in Central America now constituted one of the main focal points of tension in the international arena and that, notwithstanding repeated appeals by the movement of non-aligned countries and the rest of the international community, as well as efforts by the Contadora Group to find a negotiated solution, the situation in that area was continuing to deteriorate as a result of the implementation of imperialist policies of interference and intervention. This, together with the poverty and oppression to which the region has been subjected throughout its history, constitutes a real threat to international peace and security. In this regard, they observed that the danger of direct United States intervention in Nicaragua, Cuba and other countries of the region had increased alarmingly.

The non-aligned countries were not mistaken when they described the situation in our part of the world in such severe terms. Age-old hunger, lack of land, jobs, schools, hospitals and political rights, continued humiliation, and other abuses of all kinds have filled the people with a hatred of tyrants and a longing for a freedom that they do not yet enjoy. Those are the true roots of the social revolution that the imperialists are trying to crush by establishing an enormous military apparatus in the territories adjoining Nicaragua.

Cuba supports the Contadora Group's genuine Latin American initiative and hails the backing it has received from the Governments of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay. It calls on all interested States to speed up negotiations aimed at achieving an accord acceptable to all the Central American States and demands that the United States Administration end all its military, economic and political acts of aggression against the legitimate Government of Nicaragua.

No examination of the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean would be complete without mention of the criminal United States invasion of the tiny island of Grenada which so brutally destroyed that country's aspirations to national sovereignty and freedom, once more reducing it to the sad condition of a semi-colony under the Yankee imperial boot, in defiance of decisions of this Assembly. We express our deep aversion to the presence in this hall of those who claiming to represent Grenada are thus staining the immortal principles of those who, together with the unforgettable Maurice Bishop, once proclaimed the genuine independence of that country.

GEORGIOS IAKOVOU, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cyprus

THE SINGLE most important issue affecting the international community is disarmament. The continued buildup of armaments, particularly nuclear armaments, creates potentially dangerous conditions, holding mankind hostage to the threat of nuclear war. Moreover, the increasing military expenditures are diverting valuable resources from development which could close the widening gap between the developed and developing countries. It is earnestly hoped that the year 1985 will be marked by real progress towards disarmament.

Closely and directly tied to disarmament is international security. The ultimate goal of complete and general disarmament is unachievable unless the collective security provisions of the UN Charter are fully implemented. Let us hope that during the 40th anniversary the Member States, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, take up this issue as a question of urgency.

It has always been our firm belief that implementation of the security provisions of the Charter, along with actions to implement United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolutions, would lead to an improved world situation by eliminating critical issues that threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

Of equal concern is the world economic situation. Though there was a certain improvement in the case of industrialised countries in early 1985, the developing countries' plight continues unabated. They are burdened with a multitude of problems, both

structural and development, often compounded by natural disasters. Commodities prices, trade, financing and debt servicing are matters requiring urgent attention and even more urgent remedial action.

The international community must act decisively in moving without delay towards the establishment of a new international economic order otherwise the increasingly divergent world economic and social conditions and difficulties will exert severe pressures on the developing countries' social and political fabric, with unforeseen consequences, including possible undermining of their democratic institutions.

WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI, **Chairman of the Council of Ministers,** **Poland**

POLAND has been a steadfast advocate of strengthening of the United Nations system, its authority and effectiveness.

Are we going to be the last generation that ensures the continuity of life on the Earth? That is not a rhetorical question. Forty years ago mankind entered the nuclear era. Today, it is confronted with the threat of the transfer of the arms race into outer space. Where this path will end is something that no one is in a position to know.

Contrary to binding resolutions, contrary to the universally recognised principle that outer space is the common heritage of mankind, barely a few days before the opening of this Session there began the test firing of antisatellite weapons against targets in the cosmos. That is an alarming example of discrepancy between words and deeds, between words of peace and deeds that threaten it.

We are living at a fateful point of history. Recent years have made nations feel more insecure about their future and have aggravated fears of nuclear annihilation. Humanity craves a brighter prospect; it wants understanding and peaceful cooperation. Poland is, and will continue to be, a fervent proponent of a return to detente in Europe and the world, as a whole, which is still a realistic possibility. We consistently declare our readiness for joint cooperative action with every Government, every movement and every social force which wishes to see the world become a safe place for all.

The leaders of state and government bear an enormous personal responsibility for the fate of nations and the peace of the world. The faster modern military technology becomes sophisticated and the shorter the time in which the final decision has to be made, the greater such responsibility becomes. We trust that this extremely important problem will be given proper consideration in the work of the United Nations.

We consider that all States can and should make a contribution to consolidating world peace and security and promoting awareness of the horrors of nuclear war and its global consequences.

OSCAR FISCHER, Minister of Foreign Affairs, GDR

THE SOVEREIGN equality of all States means equal security for all; it means the non-pursuit of military superiority and domination; it means an equal right to peace and an equal right to life.

The recent initiatives of the Soviet Union concerning international cooperation in the peaceful exploitation of space under conditions of its non-militarisation and concerning a moratorium on nuclear explosions are both exemplary and encouraging steps. The plans of "star wars" and of the militarisation of space, as have been recently initiated with the test of an antisatellite weapon against a target in space, have thus been countered with the concept of "star peace". The implementation of the latter plan

could unite the efforts of States for the peaceful exploration of space and for the utilisation of space technologies for the benefit of all peoples.

Peace on the Earth and in space: that remains our aim. We are pursuing it with all consistency. The issue cannot and must not be to regulate arms competition in space and on the Earth, but to end it.

The German Democratic Republic welcomes and supports the great number of unilateral pledges made by the Soviet Union, the aim of which is to stop the arms race and facilitate the transition to nuclear disarmament. These pledges clearly underscore the Soviet Union's will to contribute to the success of the Geneva talks. The peoples expect that the other side take a similarly constructive position.

We reiterate the demand to pave the way towards ending the nuclear arms race and towards nuclear disarmament through, first, a pledge by all nuclear weapon States to forgo the first use of nuclear arms, as the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have already undertaken; secondly, through a freeze on existing nuclear arsenals; and, thirdly, through an immediate, complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

At the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, negotiations on the prevention of an arms race in outer space, the avoidance of nuclear war, a complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests and on nuclear disarmament should commence without delay and the negotiations on the prohibition of chemical weapons, which have now been going on for over 13 years, should be finally brought to a successful conclusion. For, next to nuclear weapons, chemical weapons are the most dangerous means of mass destruction. The German Democratic Republic wants to see such weapons prohibited throughout the world. Regional accords could expedite this process. The proposals for such a regional accord which the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have addressed to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany are inspired by their intention to fulfil their responsibility for peace and the relaxation of tensions in Central Europe and to meet the security interests of their own and, indeed, of all European peoples through a joint contribution to arms limitation and disarmament. The response which this initiative has so far found is an encouragement to keep to that path, thus strengthening confidence and security.

The experience of the past and the challenges of the present demand, in the interests of life, that we carefully preserve and gradually build on what has been so hard to achieve. Let us join together in combatting war before the weapons speak. The 40th anniversary of the United Nations is a worthy occasion for the German Democratic Republic solemnly to renew its commitment to the aims of this forum of world peace.

BLAISE RABETAFIKA, Head of the Delegation, Madagascar

THE 40th ANNIVERSARY of the United Nations coincides with the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to the drafting of which all contributed, in particular the Afro-Asian, Latin American and socialist countries. Since 1960, more than 70 of us have achieved sovereignty or recovered it. Thus, our full participation in international affairs has been directly or indirectly fostered by the adoption of that Declaration, which represents the culmination of the struggle waged by the democratic forces and the expression of the solidarity among peoples.

Some would say that decolonisation, which is an inevitable, irreversible historical process, would have come about even had the United Nations not existed. It is sufficient to list the cases of decolonisation between the two world wars and recall the insistence with which we invoked the Charter during the anti-colonial struggle to be convinced of the opposite. Certainly, it is in the field of decolonisation that the United Nations has succeeded in playing its role as a centre for the coordination of efforts, to the extent that preconditions, hesitations and ambiguities have given way to reason.

The same could have been said of Namibia, where so many hopes have always been pinned on the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the joint action of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia and the Special Committee of 24, to all of which we pay a tribute. We have identified the obstacles and they are all the fault of the Pretoria regime: the continued illegal occupation of that country; the absurd linkage between the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the obligation of a usurper regime to give back what does not belong to it; the continued acts of aggression against the frontline States; the setting up of a so-called interim administration; and the authorisation given to national and transnational corporations to engage in excessive exploitation of the resources of the Territory.

It would be scandalous if, through our omissions and procrastinations and the absence of true solidarity on the part of some of us, those sacrifices were in vain and the Pretoria regime managed to impose its own solution.

Two major challenges remain to be met: the critical economic situation in Africa and the problems of indebtedness and financing for development.

In Africa, disease, famine, malnutrition and poverty remain widespread. Twenty-one countries and 205 million inhabitants are still affected by drought. Domestic production and rates of growth have continually fallen since 1980. Serious balance-of-payments difficulties still exist and debt servicing alone, evaluated at \$158,000 million in 1984, is jeopardising development and stability.

But, despite the moratoriums, rescheduling and structural adjustments, questions of development and financing will not be satisfactorily resolved until the problem of indebtedness is resolved.

We are shocked and overwhelmed by what we do not hesitate to call the scandal of the century—the fact that the net transfer of capital to the developing countries was \$180,000 million from 1978 to 1983, but became negative in 1984 and that the world debt amounts to approximately \$900,000 million, whereas military expenditures amounted to \$820,000 million for 1984 alone. The figures speak for themselves.

SHAH MOHAMMAD DOST, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Afghanistan

THE UNITED NATIONS, which was given the primary role in the maintenance of international peace and security and in furthering international economic cooperation, acquired a very important position in managing international relations through the application of the norms and principles of international law crystallised in its Charter.

Great hopes were attached to the creation of a new world which, despite the divergence of ideologies and socio-economic systems, would be governed by the rule of law and adherence to the principles of the non-use of force and peaceful coexistence. Four decades later we take note with satisfaction that, thanks to this Organization, we have been able to prevent the outbreak of another world war. That cannot, however, diminish our regret at the fact that almost 150 wars and armed conflicts have taken place since then at local and regional level, some of which are still continuing.

The emergence of the community of socialist countries out of the great victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism fortified the central bastion of the forces of peace and progress, and it has served as the main ally and staunch supporter of all national liberation movements throughout the world. This new phenomenon gave an entirely new essence to the nature of international politics, making it impossible for the forces of imperialism and colonialism to dictate the destinies of mankind according to their own selfish interests.

The most outstanding and praiseworthy work of the United Nations was undoubtedly the setting in motion a quarter of a century ago of the process of decolonisation, which led to the accession to independence of dozens of Asian, African and Latin Ame-

rican countries. The collapse of the system of colonial empires became the inevitable outcome of the long and fierce struggle of the colonial peoples and countries to throw off the shackles of dependence. New spirit and blood were injected into the soul and the veins of the Organization, which made it, with the passage of time, a truly universal body.

In the conduct of its international relations the United States imperialism has pursued, and it continues to pursue, a course that flagrantly violates the obligations it assumed under the United Nations Charter and other multilateral and bilateral treaties. It has trampled upon every norm of international behaviour in a lust to achieve its own imperialist ambitions. It has in most instances ignored or acted against the expressed will of the overwhelming majority of nations by misusing the authority vested in it as a permanent member of the Security Council. It has blocked many international efforts to find just solutions to some of the very explosive and dangerous situations in various corners of the world. It has prevented the achievement of understanding on certain important global economic and social issues that have burdened the international community for many decades.

In total contrast with the aspirations and endeavours of the forces of peace and progress, it has effectively prevented the achievement of meaningful accords on curbing the arms race and implementing real and comprehensive measures aimed at nuclear and conventional disarmament. In its quest for world supremacy it has spread its armaments and military presence to most parts of the globe. Its war-mongering and aggressive policy finds the planet Earth too limited an area for the full implementation of its militaristic designs, and it has thus launched the "star wars" plan, declaring outer space to be the new environment for its strategic arms spree, despite the strong condemnation of world public opinion.

In this context we hail the new and timely initiative of the Soviet Union on international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space in conditions of its non-militarisation, aimed at the realisation of the "star peace" concept, as well as its declaration of moratoriums on the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe and on the testing of all nuclear weapons.

Imperialism, which had never abandoned its hope of dominating Afghanistan and bringing that country under military-strategic influence, redoubled its efforts to create chaos by provoking anti-government activities.

By pouring hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of weapons and ammunition into the hands of counter-revolutionary mercenaries, imperialism, hegemonism and other reactionary forces had unleashed a dirty undeclared war against the people, the Government and the revolution of Afghanistan.

Faced with the ever increasing threat of massive armed invasion and direct aggression, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had no other choice but to take appropriate measures to safeguard the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. In conformity with the Afghan-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Good-Neighbourliness and Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan requested and received from the Soviet Union friendly military assistance to help the Afghan people and armed forces repel outside interference and aggression.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has made it clear on various occasions, including in the two proposals of May 1980 and August 1981, that the Soviet limited military contingent would return to their peaceful country, by agreement with the Government of the Soviet Union, once the causes for their invitation ceased to exist and valid international guarantees are offered for their non-recurrence.

Consistent with its peaceful foreign policy, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has participated, with the utmost sincerity, in the process of the negotiations which are being held through the intermediary of the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Diego Cordovez. While reaffirming our support for this process, we earnestly hope that Pakistan will abandon its rigid position and agree to the holding of direct negotiations between our two countries. This, in our opinion, is the only viable path to an amicable solution in the interest of all peoples of our region. We wish to

address ourselves once again to those who still cherish the illusion of forcing Afghanistan back to its past: no evil power on earth will be able to deter the valorous and free-born people of Afghanistan from following their independent and non-aligned course.

JULIUS K. NYERERE, President, Tanzania

NOW we have the "strategic defense initiative"—the threat to take nuclear and laser beam war into space. This matter is not even brought to the United Nations or any other world organisation for discussion. Yet space belongs to all of us—if it can belong to anyone.

Some of us did feel encouraged by the Soviet Union's announcement of a moratorium on nuclear testing. The stated period was short, but the action itself represented a challenge for peace instead of for war. Yet the response of the other super-Power was to say that this was mere propaganda. If it was propaganda, surely the answer for anyone who cares about peace is more effective propaganda. Let the United States challenge the Soviet Union to accept a much longer moratorium. What is the use of watching nuclear tests? What humanity needs is an end to all nuclear weapon testing everywhere.

If all tests stop, the development of new weapons becomes much more difficult. Weapons which may not work, or which may blow up those using them, are less attractive to any army, air force or navy. A comprehensive test ban would thus at least slow down the arms race and provide time for the negotiation and promotion of nuclear disarmament. It is possible that verification of adherence to such a treaty may not yet be 100 per cent perfect, but modern technology could certainly monitor nuclear explosions very much smaller than the ones which devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Let us do what can be done, and create an incentive to perfect the instruments of verification.

I now turn to southern Africa. In 1978, after long negotiations, Security Council resolution 435 was adopted with the active support of the Western bloc nations, without any dissenting votes. It laid down the basis for a peaceful transition to the independence of Namibia under the auspices of the United Nations. Despite the efforts by the Secretary-General, that resolution has not been implemented. On the contrary, since 1981 it has been effectively blocked by the policy of linking Namibian independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. This policy of "linkage" was initiated, and is still backed by the United States of America.

Mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter is the minimum action required of this Organization. They are merited on three counts: first, South Africa's defiance of the United Nations over Namibia; secondly, its constant and continuing direct and indirect attacks on its independent neighbours; thirdly, the indignity, the slavery, the violence and the dangers to world peace which are inherent in its policy of organised racism—a crime against humanity.

STEFAN ANDREI, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Romania

THIS SESSION of the General Assembly is taking place in a particularly serious and complex international situation. The arms race, first and foremost the nuclear arms race, is reaching unprecedented proportions; this continues to increase the threat of another world war, which would inevitably become a nuclear catastrophe leading to the destruction of the very conditions of life on earth.

Never in mankind's long history has such a threat hovered over civilisation and over the life and freedom of peoples. Therefore, in the opinion of Romania and of President Nicolae Ceaușescu the fundamental issue of our time is that of halting

the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, and proceeding to disarmament, eliminating all nuclear weapons, ceasing all actions to militarise outer space, and defending and consolidating peace.

An encouraging fact in this regard is constituted by the measures adopted by the Soviet Union regarding the moratorium on the deployment of some nuclear weapons until the autumn of 1985 and the cessation of nuclear tests until the end of 1985, as well as the statement that if the United States of America were to adopt similar measures it would be possible to extend the cessation of nuclear weapon tests and conduct negotiations with a view to the complete renunciation of such tests. We expect from the United States a positive reply to these initiatives and the submission of new proposals designed to reduce and then eliminate nuclear weapons and to halt the militarisation of outer space. Mere statements are not enough; real, concrete actions are needed to prove the seriousness of the statements to take the path towards the elimination of the nuclear danger.

It is in the interest of the peoples of the continent, and indeed of all the peoples of the world, to intensify the efforts and the actions designed to halt the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe and to proceed to the withdrawal of those already in place and then to the complete destruction of all nuclear weapons, to the cessation of nuclear tests and to the renunciation of any action towards the militarisation of outer space.

More than ever before it is now necessary that all Governments, all Heads of State, all political forces act before it is too late to save mankind from nuclear catastrophe.

In the general context of measures aimed at halting the arms race and proceeding to disarmament, we regard as of particular importance the cessation of the arms race in outer space. The misuse, without any control, of outer space—the heritage of mankind as a whole—is a serious danger for the peoples. We therefore think that it is necessary to stop any action designed to use outer space for military purposes, and to reach a general regulation of the use of outer space for peaceful purposes only. The question of the non-militarisation of outer space must be solved appropriately within the context of the process designed to intensify international cooperation in the use of outer space for peaceful purposes. In the spirit of that position of principle, we support the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union concerning the peaceful use of outer space, including the convening of an international conference and the establishment of an international organisation to that end.

PETUR MLADENOV, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bulgaria

THE UNITED NATIONS approaches its anniversary in a tense international situation. The acceleration of the arms race and actions which lead to its possible spreading into outer space, the policy of attaining world supremacy, gross interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States, the raising of obstacles to the peaceful settlement of conflicts—all of this is leading to a sharp increase in the danger of nuclear war.

The military-industrial complex is spending vast sums of money on the development and stockpiling of new types of weapons, including space weapons, for the purpose of gaining military superiority over the socialist countries. The experience of history confirms, however, that this exercise is a futile one. This has been true in the past and is even more certain in today's circumstances. Military strategic parity will unquestionably be maintained, although at the cost of raising the level of armaments and increasing the threat of war.

We are firmly convinced that the strengthening of peace and international security, the curbing of the arms race, the limitation and reduction of armaments,

the lowering of the level of military confrontation, can only be achieved through constructive negotiations aimed at producing effective and mutually acceptable agreements based on the principles of equality and equal security. This is the basis on which all negotiations should be conducted, whether in Geneva or in Vienna, Stockholm, and indeed at all international forums.

My country attaches primary importance to the disarmament talks between the USSR and the United States. The new Soviet-American talks in Geneva have given rise to hopes that effective solutions will be found for the whole complex of issues concerning space and nuclear weapons. Strict adherence to the agreement reached on the subject and goals of the negotiations is a prerequisite for their successful conclusion. In order to contribute to achieving success at those negotiations, the USSR suspended the deployment of medium-range missiles and the introduction of other retaliatory measures in Europe until November 1985. Regrettably, however, the actions of the American side so far have raised serious doubts about its willingness for and interest in achieving positive results. Not only has there been no readiness to give up the so-called "strategic defense initiative", but work on that project has been speeded up. The development, production, testing and deployment of space attack weapons will make impossible the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons and will, on the whole, accelerate the pace of the arms race in all areas and increase the danger of nuclear war.

The question of preventing an arms race in outer space has literally become decisive for the fate of mankind. The acid test of realism or adventurism in the approach to resolving the key issues of peace and war is precisely the attitude adopted towards that question.

In the face of the growing threat, the Soviet Union has taken an important step. It has proposed the inclusion in the agenda of the 40th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations an item entitled "International Cooperation in the Peaceful Exploration of Outer Space in Conditions of Its Non-Militarisation". The response of the United States was the first military testing of an anti-satellite weapon. It is worth recalling that in August 1983 the USSR announced its decision not to be the first to launch an anti-satellite weapon in outer space.

A new, decisive and bold step by the USSR was its unilateral suspension of all nuclear explosions and its call upon the United States side to follow its example. Testimony to the exceptional significance and timeliness of the Soviet moratorium is the considerable response with which it has been met throughout the world. An opportunity appeared for the joint implementation of a concrete and effective measure aimed at curbing the nuclear-arms race. Once again, however, the answer was a peculiar one of further nuclear explosions.

I think that the contrast between the actions of the two sides is evident. Constructive initiatives and concrete actions, rather than empty statements of good intentions and peaceableness, are needed for the removal of the nuclear peril.

It is precisely at such concrete actions that the proposals of the USSR and the other socialist countries are directed. Included among them are the initiatives for the assumption by all nuclear weapon States of the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, for a nuclear weapon freeze, for a total ban on the testing of such weapons and for nuclear disarmament.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria reaffirms the position of the socialist countries that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of Europe and in other parts of the world would greatly contribute to lessening the nuclear danger. It is within this context that one should also consider our efforts for turning the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

**MUHAMMAD ALI IMAYAH, Deputy
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
People's Democratic Republic of Yemen**

THE ENHANCEMENT of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations for the achievement of peace, security, justice and development calls for the adoption of effective measures to contribute to the improvement of international economic and political relations in the interest of promoting international peace and the advancement of mankind. We must fully realise the increased interdependence of States and the fact that there is no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, detente and cooperation among States, on the basis of equality, regardless of their military and economic power, their social and political systems, their size and their geographical position. We must also affirm our categorical condemnation of state-sponsored terrorism as a way of conducting policy and see to it that those States refrain from undertaking any action aimed at changing or undermining the social and political systems of other States by force or in order to destabilise their Governments and overthrow them.

The question of disarmament has become a vital factor making it imperative for all of us to struggle for its realisation in order to prevent the risk of a nuclear holocaust. The United States of America has demonstrated its intransigence and openly defied all international appeals and decisions aimed at bridling the arms race and at achieving general and complete disarmament and the easing of international tension. It has not responded positively to constructive initiatives and proposals made in this regard; rather, it persists in its policy of aggravating the situation and of militarisation of outer space with the so-called "star wars" scenario, thus disregarding the initiatives aimed at freezing the deployment of missiles, the commitment to the non-use of nuclear weapons, the unilateral halting of all nuclear weapon tests and other constructive initiatives made by the Soviet Union.

We hope that these proposals will be met by similar practical steps by the United States of America and the other nuclear weapon States, so that an end may be put to the dangerous escalation in the buildup of nuclear arsenals.

On our planet there are areas that are constant hotbeds of tension which threaten international peace and security. We are aware of the significance of the Middle East region and the magnitude of the tension prevailing there. Various United Nations resolutions have emphasised that the question of Palestine is the core of the problem in the region and that there can be no comprehensive and just solution without complete withdrawal by Israel from the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and without the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights, including its right to return to its homeland, to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State on its national soil. But Zionism and imperialism are scheming to circumvent these requirements and the relevant resolutions, with a view to imposing unilateral, partial and capitulatory solutions—solutions that have already proved that they can only fail.

The United States of America, which claims for itself the role of mediator in the conflict, is in fact the strategic ally of Israel, which it provides with all kinds of economic, military and political assistance to strengthen Israel's policy of aggression based on racism and expansionism and to consecrate its occupation of the Arab territories and pursue its inhuman policies of oppression against the Palestinian Arab people.

The problem of foreign debt is in the forefront of the many economic problems plaguing the developing countries. The magnitude of the foreign debts and the debt-servicing burden has had extremely serious adverse effects by wiping out the totality of the development revenues of the developing countries.

This foreign debt crisis has created a paradox by transforming the developing countries into net exporters of capital to financial institutions and private banks in the

capitalist industrialised countries. In view of the worsening of the foreign debt crisis, we believe that it is essential for the financial institutions and international commercial banks to agree to just solutions to the problem of foreign debts by rescheduling in keeping with the financial and economic capabilities of the developing countries and in such a way as not to impede the implementation of their national development programmes as called for at the Ministerial Meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held recently in Luanda, Angola.

The developing countries have expressed at several economic and political forums their view that the international economic crisis is a comprehensive structural crisis which has affected all fields of the present international, commercial, financial and economic order. They have also defined the reasons for the crisis, which include, *inter alia*, the failure of the capitalist industrialised countries to pursue justice in international economic relations.

PÉTER VÁRKONYI, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hungary

WE ARE convinced that the cause of the development of Soviet-American relations has a determinant role in maintaining peace in the world. We feel that 1985 has in addition to long-standing serious problems also seen certain developments that may give cause for hope. The summit meeting of the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States may contribute to the improvement of relations between the two countries and to the relaxation of international tension. We, for our part, welcome that meeting, just as we do the Soviet-American talks at Geneva, where it is possible and also necessary to make progress in the limitation of strategic weapons, keeping in mind—in accordance with the agreement of the parties—the close relationship between space weapons and strategic and medium-range nuclear weapons. We think this calls for substantive measures to prevent the militarisation of outer space.

We support the efforts of the Soviet Union to reach agreement and welcome its highly important moves such as the unilateral suspension of the deployment of medium-range missiles and the halting of counter-measures, as well as the moratorium on nuclear explosions for a definite period. Those moves serve to create the more favourable atmosphere necessary for an agreement.

We think that international security would be greatly enhanced by a similar response by the United States to the Soviet initiatives. Many opportunities have already been missed for building mutual confidence and for meaningful progress in solving pressing problems; this new opportunity should not be allowed to slip away.

Despite disarmament efforts made in the United Nations and in other forums, the arms race continues, and with increasing intensity. We are convinced that there is a real chance, even in the current situation, to curb the arms race and bring about a radical change in the course of events. A reliable path towards the achievement of that goal is the establishment of relations between countries with different social systems on the basis of peaceful coexistence and the elaboration and adoption of agreements based on the principles of equality and equal security, with a view to stopping the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and to avert the threat of a thermonuclear war.

The organisation called International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War held its fifth Congress in Budapest last summer. The basic theme of the Congress, which was attended by delegates from nearly all parts of the world, was to stress that cooperation, not confrontation, is imperative in a nuclear age. We fully agree with the assertion in the organisation's appeal to the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States that "indeed, there is now a new international consensus—that the only rational response to the threat of nuclear war is to work for its prevention".

The Hungarian People's Republic lends support to the just aspirations of the movement of non-aligned countries. We practice fruitful cooperation and maintain friendly

relations with many countries of the movement. We seek to continue strengthening those relations, and that endeavour is facilitated by the fact that our views are identical or similar on most issues of international politics. We are firmly convinced that the non-aligned movement will remain an important and positive factor of international life in the future as well.

These days the world economy is faced with worsening problems in the solution of which the United Nations and its specialised agencies have a significant role to play and a great responsibility to bear. It is our conviction that there is but one way leading to recovery, that of developing cooperation and creating the necessary conditions for it. The expansion and deepening of international cooperation require recognition of and respect for the legitimate interests of all parties concerned. Several countries, including Hungary, are confronted with great difficulties as a result of the increasingly widespread policies of discrimination, embargo and protectionism. Their elimination from international practice would be greatly instrumental in coping with the problems of the world economy.

FAROUK AL-SHAREH, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Syria

NO ONE CAN claim that the lesson of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has been well learned so long as the nuclear-arms race is escalating and the deployment of military bases in various parts of the globe is continuing. Likewise, no one can be optimistic and reassured about the future of mankind so long as the leadership of world imperialism builds up its nuclear potential and insists on militarising outer space.

The danger of this new development does not lie only in the increase in the lethal nuclear capabilities, inasmuch as part of those capabilities that already exist on earth are sufficient to destroy all forms of life on it; nor does it lie only in the tremendous expenditures of hundreds of billions of dollars, which could otherwise have been used to combat famine and disease and solve problems of development. Rather, the major danger lies in the fact that the launching of a new nuclear arms race in outer space would divert the attention of both the Governments and the peoples of the world from the serious efforts that should be made for disarmament on our planet. Consequently, it is certain that if the preoccupation of the United Nations with tackling this problem and the debate surrounding it do not succeed in preventing the militarisation of outer space, that will undermine the world Organization's capability of dealing with the many regional hotbeds of tension, the most dangerous of which are the Middle East and southern Africa. Such a situation would afford appropriate opportunities for exploitation by the racist regimes in Tel Aviv and Pretoria in persisting in their aggressive expansionist policies, their oppressive and brutal practices and their continuous attempts to impose their will and humiliating conditions on the Arabs and Africans.

Syria has consistently sought the achievement of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. We have strongly supported the United Nations resolutions relevant to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question. Along with its sister Arab countries, Syria contributed to the unanimous adoption of an Arab Peace Plan in Fez in 1982. The Plan calls for Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and for the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right of return, to self-determination and to the establishment of their independent State on their native soil, with Jerusalem as its capital. We support the call for the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all the parties to the conflict, as well as the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

Because Syria stands firmly against attempts to exclude and circumvent the United Nations, we strongly condemn all separate and partial solutions, such as the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty.

Syria backs all efforts designed to lead to the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the destruction of stockpiles. It also condemns the current attempts of world imperialism to militarise outer space, which is the common heritage of all mankind. Syria calls for the full implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and for new agreements to limit the arms race and ban the production of nuclear weapons and nuclear tests.

The Syrian Arab Republic, which supports the transformation of the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace and a nuclear-weapon-free zone, would like once more to draw the attention of the international community to the fact that Israel's nuclear capabilities and its persistent refusal to ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to place its nuclear installations under international safeguards pose a real threat to the security of both the Mediterranean countries and the Middle East and impede the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in that region. The Syrian Arab Republic fully supports the transformation of the Middle East region into a nuclear-weapon-free zone, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, in order to ease tension in the region.

It is no exaggeration to say that the continuing aggressive and racist policies of the Pretoria and Tel Aviv regimes remain the fuse most likely to ignite the international situation and confront the world with a potential nuclear disaster. The continuance of the strategic alliance between the United States of America and those two racist regimes, and the fact that the United States is supplying them with all the means of aggression while obstructing the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against them, constitute the main reason for the isolation of the United States in the international arena and the condemnation of its policies in the world.

BOHUSLAV CHŇOUPEK, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czechoslovakia

ALTHOUGH it is said that some signs of a thaw have lately begun to appear in the international situation, the political horizon still remains covered with clouds and tensions abound. The blame lies with the imperialist circles. Driven by a vision of military superiority, they have been escalating the arms race, trying to add to it a space dimension. The implementation of such plans would considerably increase the danger of nuclear war. Further immense resources, badly needed to solve the urgent tasks of the economic and social development of all States, primarily the developing countries, would be cast into the abyss of the arms race. If it were really meant seriously that "a new nuclear war cannot be won and must not be fought", then the attitude of those who are responsible for it would have to be different.

In this situation, the primary task, as we see it, is for all Member States to unite their efforts to avert war. This requires, first of all, unconditionally preventing the extension of the arms race into outer space, halting it on the Earth and limiting and reducing nuclear armaments until their complete elimination.

Czechoslovakia is the third country, after the Soviet Union and the United States, from which a citizen has entered outer space. It is actively participating in peaceful space programmes and fully supports the idea of "star peace" as opposed to the threat of "star wars".

The evil intention to militarise outer space threatens to have immeasurable consequences. Today it is the greatest danger to peace. This is how the overwhelming majority of mankind feels, as demonstrated by the statements of so many speakers from this rostrum.

And so we attach all the greater importance to the Soviet-US talks on space and nuclear weapons in Geneva. They would definitely be favourably affected by the adoption of the Soviet proposals to institute for the duration of the talks a moratorium on the development—including scientific research work—testing and deployment of attack

space weapons, to freeze strategic offensive weapons of both sides, to halt the deployment of US intermediate-range missiles in Europe and the expansion of respective counter-measures. Finally it would be most beneficial for the talks if the United States were to join in the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions declared by Mikhail Gorbachev. It is a truly reasonable initiative, simple enough to be understood by everybody. So what is wrong with it? It just paves the way for a total ban on nuclear tests and thus for stopping the modernisation of nuclear weaponry. It is a good example for other States that possess nuclear weapons.

Regrettably, however, the response of the other side is negative. It reveals an absolute lack of good political will, and reflects an attempt to conceal the direct relationship between nuclear tests and the programme to militarise outer space.

Czechoslovakia advocates a ban on all kinds of weapons designed for use against objects in outer space and from space against the Earth. It calls for the elimination of space from the sphere of a feverish arms race, and that this become an inviolable norm of the policy of all States and a generally recognised international obligation. We therefore regard as innovative and most timely the proposal by the Soviet Union on international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space under conditions of its non-militarisation, an item that has been included on our agenda. We support its idea that the General Assembly should convene, by 1987 at latest, an international conference to be attended by States with significant space potential and other interested countries, that could agree upon the basic directions and principles of peaceful cooperation in space. Equally constructive is the suggestion that the conference should consider the question of establishing a world space organisation to pool the efforts of States in peaceful space activities. Implementation of those projects would undoubtedly give man the feeling that he needs so much, that he has firm ground under his feet.

It is our view that achieving the desired goal—a world free from nuclear weapons—requires a speedy formulation and adoption of a programme of nuclear disarmament. Nostalgic yearning for global hegemony does not correspond in today's world with the laws of nuclear physics. And so such a programme should encompass moral and political, as well as legal but, above all, practical and far-reaching material measures based on the principles of reciprocity, equality and equal security. It would offer a historic opportunity to set up a basis for a peaceful entry into the twenty-first century, and with a completely different nuclear strategy and with a significant reduction of the risk that civilisation may burn down in the fire of a nuclear apocalypse.

Of course, no agreement has any chance of success if a mutual deep understanding of the catastrophic nature of a nuclear conflict does not develop and if a political will and mutual restraint do not change false illusions or unrealistically calculated intentions. That is where the rational core of a new thinking in the nuclear age lies.

PHOUNE SIPASEUTH, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lao People's Democratic Republic

FACED with the existing tense and complex international situation, the Heads of State and Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania—representing the five continents—appealed in January 1985 to the countries possessing nuclear weapons to adopt measures conducive to containing and reversing the nuclear-arms race. For their part, the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries put forward proposals aimed at halting the arms race, both on the Earth and in space, in particular through the prohibition of nuclear tests, a nuclear-arms freeze, and the reduction and eventual complete elimination of nuclear arms from our planet. These countries also put forward the proposal on international cooperation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space under conditions of its non-militarisation, and proposals to restore detente in Europe and other regions of the world. Moreover, the Soviet Union has unilaterally undertaken not to be the first to resort to nuclear weapons or to deploy anti-

satellite weapons in space, and has proclaimed a moratorium on nuclear tests from August 6, 1985 to January 1, 1986. These proposals were broadly supported by the peoples devoted to peace and justice and by international public opinion.

For its part, the Lao People's Democratic Republic firmly supports the aforementioned appeal, the constructive and realistic proposals and the unilateral commitments. These prove the sincerity and great sense of responsibility of these countries towards mankind. If all the nuclear powers were to follow the example of the Soviet Union, the danger of nuclear war would be considerably reduced. For the time being, the international community is expecting much from the Soviet-US negotiations, recently resumed in Geneva, and from the summit meeting between the leaders of these two countries.

The policy aimed at perpetuating the division of Korea and setting up a new military alliance in the Far East has created a permanent situation of tension there. We demand the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and support the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful and independent reunification of their Korean homeland without foreign interference.

In the same context, we support the proposals of the Soviet Union on the elaboration of confidence-building measures in the Far East and its proposals aimed at strengthening peace and stability in Asia. We also support the proposals of the People's Republic of Mongolia on the conclusion of an international convention on non-interference and non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific. These proposals, we feel, are in keeping with the interests of the peoples of the region.

During the last six years the situation in Southeast Asia has taken a positive turn, despite the many difficulties resulting from the destructive war, its aftermath, and the subversive activities of imperialist and other reactionary circles. The three countries of Indochina, in particular the People's Republic of Kampuchea, have achieved great success in their respective task of national rehabilitation and the defence of their independence.

The Kampuchean people are now in control of all of their national territory and have become full masters of their homeland. The fact that the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam jointly declared on August 16, 1985 during the Eleventh Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam in Phnom Penh, capital of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, that the partial withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea would be continued on an annual basis and totally concluded in 1990 is proof of this development and consolidation. It is also proof of the sincerity of Vietnam which continues ceaselessly to do everything in its power effectively to aid the Kampuchean people and respects the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea.

It is time that the international community respected the legitimate rights of the Kampuchean people in its labour of rebirth and national reconstruction on the path it has itself chosen. The seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations and in other international bodies should be restored to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole legitimate and genuine representative of the Kampuchean people.

On the other hand, despite the obstacles created by hostile circles, the tendency towards dialogue in the region has also developed. Indeed, the recent meeting between the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Vietnam, representing the three countries of Indochina, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, representing the member countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), has created conditions for a greater mutual understanding for the purpose of finding a solution to the problem of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. To this end, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have worked ceaselessly to restore friendly relations with neighbouring countries, in particular with the People's Republic of China, and to restore good-neighbourly relations with the Kingdom of Thailand, and to make the border of Laos and Kampuchea with Thailand one of peace and friendship.

Moreover, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has declared its willingness to negotiate with groups or with individuals, belonging to the opposition, on the subject of national reconciliation on the basis of the elimination of the Pol Pot clique and

the organisation of general elections after the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea.

We hope that these steps forward can lead towards the objectives pursued by all countries of the region—namely, peace, stability, friendship and cooperation.

GOSHU WOLDE, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ethiopia

MASS POVERTY and the spectre of nuclear annihilation continue to constitute formidable challenges to our common resolve and goals of global peace and prosperity. Lack of trust among nations, the desire to achieve national objectives by the threat or use of force, and indifference to the lawless acts of some not only have run counter to the commitment we have undertaken in the Charter of the United Nations, but have actually become sources of global tension.

In South Africa, the struggle of the oppressed people has today reached a crucial stage. The fury of the masses has exploded into popular action. The flame of freedom has been set ablaze.

In the hope of extinguishing this flame, the racist regime has, nonetheless, responded with its all too familiar brutality. We are certain that the trepidation of Pretoria's racist regime and its resort to naked force will only fuel the fire of freedom and equality.

Already, the oppressed people in South Africa and Namibia are intensifying the armed struggle under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), respectively. We know for sure that the beginning of the end of the racist regime is well under way. But we equally recognise that, unless the international community acts more forcefully and decisively now, much blood is bound to be spilled in southern Africa. Pretoria will, of course, not be the only one to be held responsible for this crime against humanity. Those Western powers that have aided and abetted racism for so long and continue to do so now will have to share the blame and responsibility.

Already the threat of financial sanctions has driven the leadership in Pretoria to think about reforms. But apartheid cannot be reformed. It has to be dismantled completely, and for that the pressure has to be continued. We therefore call upon Western Governments to join us here and now in the United Nations in imposing comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa through the instrumentality of the Security Council.

Our persistent expression of concern at the aggravation of international tension and our insistent call for the peaceful resolution of international conflict stem partly from knowledge of the possibility that any local, regional or international dispute could eventually lead to a nuclear confrontation. Nuclear weapons, as we all recognise, have made the world an unsafe place to live in. And yet no single issue has more completely failed to meet even the minimal aspirations of the peoples of the world than that of disarmament.

The desire of imperialism to achieve military superiority under the guise of nuclear deterrence has surely exposed mankind to the danger of global nuclear holocaust. The so-called "strategic defense initiative", contrary to the argument of its proponents, would undoubtedly markedly increase the risks of nuclear war. Every step in the sophistication of such weapons continues to accelerate man's journey to doomsday.

VLADIMIR KRAVETS, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

THE 40TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY is taking place against the backdrop of a sharp deterioration in the international situation caused by the actions of imperialist forces. The United States, with the support of its closest NATO allies is continuing to whip up the arms race, and is pursuing a course aimed at achieving military superiority and blatantly interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign States. The plans of the United States Administration and its military-industrial complex, designed to turn outer space into an arena of military rivalry, pose a special danger.

In the NATO camp, and above all in the Federal Republic of Germany, revanchist forces, trying to cast doubt on the results of the Second World War and the post-war structure, have become more active. They are openly and provocatively calling for a return to the frontiers of 1937 and for the creation of some kind of future Europe of the so-called "free peoples", in which there is to be no place left for the States of the socialist system. It is not difficult to see where this pernicious road is leading.

The key question today is how to halt the arms race, which has assumed global dimensions, how to prevent its spread into outer space and how to make a start on reducing the already existing means of mass annihilation of human beings. The Soviet Union has repeatedly emphasised that in reducing and limiting any type of arms it will go as far as its negotiating partners are prepared to go. The Soviet Union is ready for the most radical measures in order to prevent an arms race in outer space and to end it on Earth. Indeed, instead of inventing so-called "means of defending" oneself from nuclear warheads, would it not be better and safer to agree to reduce and then to eliminate altogether the very means of such attack?

The fact that the United States is seeking not the cessation of the nuclear-arms race but an arms build-up is clearly reflected in the approach of the United States Administration to the issue of the non-militarisation of outer space. It is clear even to a layman that one cannot seriously expect progress in the field of nuclear disarmament if in parallel to that the "star wars" programme is being implemented. Between 1983 and 1993 the United States is planning to spend \$ 70 billion on preparations for "star wars". We are profoundly convinced that the realisation of these sinister projects would sharply increase the danger of war and disrupt efforts to limit and reduce arms in all areas.

The year 1985 will mark the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. This date should be an occasion for joint efforts by Member States to find ways to implement the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and to adopt specific collective measures to eliminate conflicts and crisis situations, put an end to acts of aggression and eradicate the vestiges of colonialism. Unfortunately, there remain quite a few so-called hotbeds of tension on our planet.

A dangerous source of tension persists in the Middle East. Its causes are well known. It is the aggressive, expansionist policy of Israel. All this is being done with the aid, protection and connivance of the United States, whose aim is to place the Middle East region under its direct military and political control.

The interests of peace and international security urgently require that a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in the Middle East be achieved without delay. Such a settlement can be achieved only through joint efforts with the participation of all the parties concerned. The harmful practice of separate partial deals infringing the legitimate rights of the Arabs, and of the Palestinians in particular, only tends to aggravate the situation in the region.

We believe that the best way of putting into effect the well-known principles of a Middle East settlement is to convene an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

As a result of Washington's aggressive policies the situation in Central America is becoming more and more grave. There is a growing threat of a direct armed intervention by the United States in Nicaragua, while military and other United States interference in the civil war in El Salvador is expanding and the threats and pressure against Cuba are continuing.

The policies of aggression and state-sponsored terrorism conducted by the United States against the countries and peoples of Central America, and in particular against sovereign Nicaragua, are in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and of the elementary rules of relations among States.

We are convinced that the existing problems must and can be settled through negotiations on a mutually acceptable basis, with due regard for the legitimate interests of all countries in the region and with full respect for their sovereignty. A real opportunity for this has been provided by the initiatives of the Government of Nicaragua and the negotiating mechanism for the settlement of the situation in Central America, that is, the Contadora Group. Safeguarding the sovereign rights of Nicaragua is of fundamental importance for defending the freedom and independence of all small States.

The situation in southern Africa has become particularly grave. Relying on its alliance with the United States and enjoying the support of Israel and some other countries, the racist regime is stepping up its acts of aggression against neighbouring African states, primarily against Angola, intensifying terror and repression against the civilian population and anti-apartheid fighters, and continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia, while blocking in every possible way a solution of the Namibian problem.

The Ukrainian SSR believes that a decision by the Security Council to impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter should be adopted forthwith. Only such a decisive step can compel the racists to stop their aggressive acts against Angola and other African States, comply with United Nations decisions on the granting of independence to Namibia, and put an end to the shameful system of apartheid.

The founding States Members of the United Nations which signed its Charter 40 years ago regarded the promotion of economic and social advancement of all nations as one of the primary goals of the Organization. It is indisputable that the United Nations has contributed to resolving this problem. We need only recall that it was within the United Nations that many progressive principles and recommendations have been drawn up contributing to economic decolonisation and greater sovereignty of the developing countries over their natural resources and facilitating wide-ranging international cooperation in the trade and economic areas. These principles are reflected in their most concentrated and complete form in such documents as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order, which are of key importance for normalising international relations in this area.

The fact that it has still not proved possible to implement those documents is entirely the fault of the developed capitalist countries, which are trying to preserve their dominant position in the system of international economic relations and are not averse to using crude methods of power pressure such as diktat, sanctions and blackmail. They are resorting to unilateral, narrowly self-serving actions that disorganise the entire system of international economic relations and have a particularly harmful impact on the developing countries.

The Ukrainian SSR strongly condemns such a course. The programme of action proposed by the socialist countries could, in our view, usefully serve the purpose of improving international economic relations, ensuring economic security and building confidence in this most important area of relations among States. Enhancing the role of the United Nations and its agencies is one of the organic elements of this programme adopted at the CMEA Economic Summit, held in June 1984. Our delegation will be guided by that approach in the consideration of a broad range of economic issues included in the agenda of the present session.

VO DONG GIANG,**Member of the SRV Council of Ministers, Vietnam**

THE STRUGGLE to stop the arms race on the Earth, as in outer space, is an issue of immediate significance and a priority for all peoples. Any action for peace, the independence and sovereignty of nations, democracy, well-being and social justice is inseparable from the common struggle to prevent a nuclear war. Along with its other constructive peace initiatives, the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests until the end of 1985 is a clear gesture of goodwill and an important contribution to international peace and security.

In the past four decades, notwithstanding the absence of a world war, the peoples of Asia have never known real peace. And at the present moment Asia is one of the world's crisis areas owing to the policies of certain imperialist and militarist forces which are trying to turn Asia and the Pacific into an arena of political and military confrontation. In the course of the past four decades the peoples of the continent have recorded successive victories in the struggle for national independence and social progress. Thus, the emergence of a balance of forces favourable to peace, radically changing the face of the world, irrespective of the intransigence of the imperialist and colonialist forces, has been possible. Long and complex though it may remain, the struggle for peaceful coexistence in Asia and the Pacific, which is in keeping with the trend of our time, is bound to carry the day. In this regard, the Soviet Union's proposals on building mutual confidence in the Far East and on convening a body to discuss all questions relating to peace and security in Asia and the Pacific and Mongolia's initiative regarding the signing of a treaty of mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations among states of Asia and the Pacific are seen to be truly realistic.

The struggle of the developing countries on the economic front is at this time a burning issue. Many resolutions adopted by the United Nations remain a dead letter while the national economies of the developing countries, burdened with enormous difficulties and colossal foreign debts, continue to deteriorate. Such a situation only further emphasises the urgency of the struggle for a new international economic order.

The non-aligned movement evinces the determination and vitality of the peoples struggling against imperialism, colonialism and other reactionary forces, for peace, independence and development. The resolutions adopted by the non-aligned movement, particularly those adopted at the sixth and seventh summits and at the recent Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Luanda, meet the requirements of the situation and are in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam reiterates its endorsement of these resolutions and believes that they will receive the approval and support of the United Nations.

For the past six years, by making constant efforts and setting forth constructive peace initiatives which conform to the legitimate interests of the parties concerned, the three peoples of Indochina have significantly contributed to thwarting the policy of confrontation and tension pursued by imperialist and reactionary forces. Consequently, a real possibility now exists for working out a framework for peaceful coexistence among States in Southeast Asia, and between them and countries outside the region, and for building a Southeast Asia of peace, stability and cooperation.

Should an early political solution be reached, which would guarantee the security and sovereignty of all States and peoples in the region, including Kampuchea, the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces will be completed before the 1990 deadline, unilaterally decided upon by the Governments of Vietnam and Kampuchea. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, moreover, has declared its readiness to enter talks with the various groups and individuals in the opposition, aimed at discussing the bringing about of national reconciliation based on the elimination of the Pol Pot clique, as well as the organisation of general elections after the total withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea.

We should add that the proposal advanced by Malaysia on talks was considered by the recent Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of three Indochinese countries to be an initiative worthy of being taken into consideration.

Thus the conditions for a political solution to the problems in Southeast Asia and in Kampuchea are steadily developing. In this endeavour to build a peaceful and secure Southeast Asia, Vietnam's national interests and those of the international community coincide. Vietnam has done and will do its utmost to contribute to the success of this noble cause.

WITNESS MANGWENDE, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zimbabwe

UNITY OF PURPOSE is particularly vital when dealing with hotbeds of tension and conflict in the present world. Regional conflicts, if incorrectly handled, have the capacity to engulf us all in a major catastrophe. And of the many regions of tension and conflict today, few challenge the United Nations system with such poignancy as the tragic situation prevailing in southern Africa. The hallowed principles of "equal rights and self-determination of peoples", and the cardinal principles that "States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State" are all violated by the apartheid regime of South Africa. Aggression, intervention, interference, discrimination, destabilisation, colonialism and racism are the hallmarks of the Pretoria regime. The Pretoria regime's continued existence poses a threat to international peace and security. Apartheid is in every sense and meaning a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security of the same genre and origin as nazism, its spiritual and philosophic ancestor.

The inability, nay the unwillingness, of those great Powers that wield such obvious influence over South Africa to flex their muscles in order to force Pretoria to change its inhuman policies, is one of the greatest betrayals of the United Nations system and the concept of the brotherhood of man. Time and again we have seen the United Nations frustrated by the abuse of the veto power by the United States and the United Kingdom in defence of South Africa. I appeal to the leaders of these two great nations to live up to some of the noble traditions of their countries by accepting their responsibility in the fight for justice and human dignity in South Africa and Namibia and to stop being the misguided protectors of this evil regime.

Not content with inflicting such misery, destruction and bloodshed on its own citizenry, the racist regime has continued to export violence to neighbours. The recent barbaric and unprovoked acts of aggression unleashed against the innocent people of Angola is one in a litany of dastardly deeds that Pretoria has perpetrated against Angola. The action of the regime against the small Kingdom of Lesotho, against Zambia, Mozambique and my own country, Zimbabwe, are a matter of public record.

The now overdelayed independence of the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia represents one of the most glaring failures of the United Nations since its inception. The legality of the issue is not in doubt, and an internationally negotiated and agreed plan to bring the Territory to independence has long been in place—ever since the adoption of resolution 435 (1978).

Before the advent of the concept of what has now been renamed the policy of "active constructive engagement"—presumably as distinct from the previous and now discredited policy of "passive constructive engagement"—and its concepts of linkage and parallelism, the Pretoria regime had agreed to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978); but since then linkage has introduced an ideological content into Pretoria's resistance to granting Namibia its independence. Therefore it is heavily responsible for delaying Namibia's independence. For this reason the Government of the United States bears a special responsibility in the delaying of Namibia's independence.

The presence of Cuban troops in Angola is a matter between the sovereign States of Cuba and Angola. It has nothing to do with independence for the struggling masses of Namibia.

I want to leave this body with one message, and it is this. As we spin into the unknown void behind the galaxies, let no one ever forget that we are on this spaceship, planet Earth, together. Let us therefore pool our resources, our enormous scientific and technical know-how and our collective wisdom and will to make this, our Earth, a home worthy of man, a shining star among the stars of the Universe.

MANGALYN DÜGERSÜREN, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mongolia

THE COUNTRIES of the socialist community are taking active steps to avert the threat of war. Their efforts are aimed at maintaining military and strategic parity at a constantly decreasing level of armaments, achieving real measures of disarmament and strengthening the material, political and legal foundations of detente and peaceful cooperation.

The Soviet Union has undertaken concrete, practical steps. It has put forward at the Geneva negotiations a new proposal for a radical cut in the strategic armaments of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, unilaterally suspended the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and declared a moratorium on all nuclear explosions until January 1, 1986, to be extended further if the United States does likewise. It has also declared a moratorium on the stationing of anti-satellite weapons in outer space as long as the United States and other countries refrain from doing so. At this session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Government has advanced the concept of "star peace". The aims and principles of the use of achievements of space science and technology for the benefit of mankind are set forth in a memorandum on International Cooperation in the Peaceful Exploration of Outer Space in Conditions of Its Non-Militarisation submitted for consideration at this session.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers it exceptionally important for reducing the danger of a nuclear catastrophe that all nuclear Powers undertake an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, following the example of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The United Nations could play an important role in this regard. In particular, the Security Council could address itself to the question of elaborating a document acceptable to all the nuclear Powers envisaging such an obligation.

The policy of diktat, blockade, discrimination and protectionism in international economic relations not only breeds crisis phenomena in the world economy but also exacerbates international tension. The deterioration of the economic situation and the excessive growth of the external debts of developing countries are caused mainly by such practices by economic and financial colonialism and the ruinous consequences of the monetary and financial crisis of the capitalist economic system. We welcome the initiative of the Republic of Cuba which helps to concentrate the attention of the world community on these problems, which cause immense difficulties to the developing countries. We in Mongolia have welcomed with deep sympathy the decisions of the 21st Assembly of the Heads of State or Government of the States members of the Organization of African Unity and the Pan-African Conference on Security, Disarmament and Development, held in August this year. Implementation of the proposal of the Polish People's Republic on the creation of an international debt and development research centre under the aegis of the Secretary-General of the United Nations would provide an impetus to the activities of the United Nations on this vital problem.

Turning to regional problems, my delegation wishes, first of all, to address itself to Asia. The situation in many parts of the continent has become increasingly tense.

The United States is intensifying its efforts to realise its military and strategic plans in regard to this vast region. It encourages the revival of militarism in Japan in every way, drawing that country into its adventurist schemes against the forces of peace and socialism on the continent and throughout the world. Steps are being taken to create a military and political grouping in the Far East and the Pacific with the participation of Japan, South Korea and a number of other States of the region. The deployment of first-strike nuclear-missile weapons in different parts of the continent and surrounding seas and oceans is well under way.

The socialist and non-aligned States of Asia exert efforts to strengthen peace and cooperation on the continent and put forward concrete initiatives and proposals. The implementation, for example, of the Soviet proposal on the adoption of confidence-building measures in the Far East and on carrying out step-by-step measures in the joint search for constructive solutions to the problems of security in Asia would contribute to the establishment of a lasting peace on the continent.

The Mongolian People's Republic proceeds from the premise that collective security in Asia can be ensured only through the common efforts and political will of all the States of the region. Consideration at a broad and representative Asian forum of all the proposals put forward by the countries of the region concerning peace and cooperation on the continent would constitute a useful step towards achieving that objective.

ISMAEL GASPAR MARTINS, Minister of Foreign Trade, Angola

THE WORLD is currently experiencing growing international tension created by militaristic policies and the belligerent practices of imperialism, which sustain the escalation of the uncurbed arms race in all forms, including nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, thus irrefutably increasing the risk of nuclear war.

The People's Republic of Angola thinks that the States which possess nuclear arms, together with those equipped with massive weaponry, should negotiate the achievement of effective measures conducive to an immediate reduction of their military expenditures. The adoption of specific measures towards disarmament should save considerable resources that could be used directly for the improvement of the critical economic and social situation in developing countries.

The current international economic situation is characterised by a profound crisis whose causes are rooted in the present structure of international economic relations, which is based on inequality and dependence, with disastrous consequences for developing countries. While world commerce registered an increase of 9 per cent the developing countries were experiencing a recession in their economies because of the manipulation of the terms of trade, a fall in commodity prices, protectionist measures and increased interest rates, which made it difficult for those countries to retain their international solvency and consequently the stability of their balance of payments.

We are today seized of yet another open invasion of the People's Republic of Angola by South African regular armed forces. In fact, neither the earlier resolutions of the Security Council nor the resolution 571 (1985), of October 29, 1985, have been implemented, because of the arrogant intransigence of racist South Africa.

South Africa does not respect the most fundamental principles of international law. The actual situation is characterised by the direct intervention of the South African army against Angola with the objective of defending the puppets of the so-called UNITA, long since denounced as the South African army's surrogates, whose objective is to destabilise Angola.

On the other hand, the apartheid regime is doing everything possible to extend violence across the whole region in order to divert the attention of the international community from the serious situation in South Africa, where the black majority and other groups are determined to end a system that is inconceivable in the 20th century.

The recent statement made by the United States Secretary of State before this General Assembly is a clear demonstration of the encouragement given to South Africa to pursue the policy of destabilisation in our region. It is now high time for the Reagan Administration to demonstrate without ambiguity on whose side it stands: on the side of the sovereign States of southern Africa, members of this Organization, or on the side of the apartheid regime, which is condemned by the international community, including a growing number of American citizens.

When Pretoria claims that the climate of tension and aggression created in southern Africa is a regional expression of the East-West conflict, that is nothing more than a justification of the reinforcement of the military aid it has been receiving to impose its political and economic diktat by force of arms on the independent countries of the region.

The Cuban troops are in Angola at the request of the People's Republic of Angola under an agreement subscribed to by two sovereign and independent States.

As the international community knows, South African racist troops are illegally occupying the Territory of Namibia. Thus, the Cuban presence in Angola, which South Africa considers to be an obstacle to peace in southern Africa, is on the contrary a guarantee of stability and peace against Pretoria's expansionist designs.

In spite of the ambiguity and dishonesty of some of our partners, we are willing to pursue our efforts to achieve peace in southern Africa.

In Central America aggressive action by imperialist forces is ever present. A constant threat hovers over Nicaragua and we regret that certain countries of the region have taken a hostile position in relation to Nicaragua, helping the United States in actions aimed at destabilising that sovereign country, a member of the United Nations and a member of the non-aligned movement.

The People's Republic of Angola supports Nicaragua in its struggle to maintain its territorial integrity and its efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict. Our country also fully supports the peace efforts of the Contadora Group.

FREDERIK AFFO, **Minister of Foreign, Affairs and Cooperation, Benin**

IT IS TOTALLY inadmissible that today, 40 years after the emergence of our Organization, some people still live under colonial domination. Hence the situation prevailing in southern Africa deserves particular attention by the international community.

Although the question of Namibia has been on the agenda of all the regular and special sessions of the General Assembly since the adoption in 1946 of resolution 65 (I), the racist regime of South Africa continues to apply its odious annexation and colonialist policy. This arrogant attitude of South Africa, based on total disregard for Black peoples, United Nations resolutions and, consequently, the entire international community, is based on the more or less active support of certain circles which long for the days of colonialism and are determined champions of any and all neo-colonialist adventures designed to subjugate Third World countries.

Defying the United Nations settlement plan contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), South Africa has set up a so-called interim government in Namibia. Benin vigorously condemns the establishment of the puppet interim government in Namibia and welcomes the unanimous indignation against and condemnation of the international community this illegal act of South Africa has caused throughout the world.

On this occasion my delegation reaffirms once again its unswerving support for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and solemnly appeals to all countries that cherish peace and justice to do all in their power to support the colonised and exploited Namibian people in its just struggle to rid itself of the South African monster and restore its national sovereignty.

There is no need to reiterate here Pretoria's crimes and the atrocities of which the apartheid regime is daily guilty within the Republic of South Africa itself.

The establishment of a state of emergency in 36 districts of the country is clear evidence of the confusion sown by the apartheid regime, confronted by the determination of the South African peoples, who wish to live in an egalitarian nation and who, under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), shrink at no sacrifice to defend their rights as free men. This is now an appropriate time to hail the unshakable courage of Nelson Mandela, a worthy son of Africa, of whom we demand the unconditional and immediate liberation.

The virtually continuous acts of aggression perpetrated against Angola, Mozambique and the other front-line countries illustrate the mad desire of South Africa to destabilise the countries of this region.

The Beninese people once again would like to express, through me, to all the peoples of southern Africa and in particular to the people of Angola its unswerving support and militant solidarity.

Today more than ever, the international community is convinced of the absolute need to apply global and binding sanctions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter against the racist regime of South Africa.

My delegation is convinced that the problem of disarmament must take pride of place in the concerns of the present session of our General Assembly and must be dealt with objectively, with common sense and realism.

The exclusion of outer space from the sphere of the arms race must be treated as an issue that is closely linked to the global problem of preventing nuclear war and the United Nations must exert all its influence to combat any plans for the militarisation of outer space and do everything in its power to ensure that negotiations are undertaken immediately on this problem at the bilateral as well as multilateral level.

ANATOLY GURINOVICH, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

IN THE PRESENT complicated and dangerous international situation all States should abide by the purpose and principles of the UN Charter, that is unite the efforts and actions of all States, large or small, with or without major military potential, developed or developing. By consolidating what has been achieved, preventing existing progressive decisions from being undermined and isolating aggressive and militaristic circles—the instigators of the arms race—all of us should, by our deeds rather than our words, acts to promote peace and cooperation.

In the current general political debate most speakers have pointed to tensions in the present international situation and to the importance of stabilising it and putting it back on the track of detente and respect for the UN Charter. All this is indisputable. But it is also necessary to understand correctly what are the causes of this situation and what specific action should be taken to remedy it.

The most important task in our time is to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, which requires preventing an arms race in space and putting an end to it on the Earth. Not only the destinies of nations and States, but the fate of all mankind depends on finding a solution to this problem. There is no safe place on our planet where one could wait it out in case of a nuclear conflict, for such a conflict would destroy life itself on the Earth. This should be borne in mind when dealing with such current problems as overcoming the economic backwardness of a large group of young independent States, fighting hunger and disease, and other questions; it is important to see the main problem on whose solution everything else hinges, namely, the problem of averting the nuclear threat, of doing everything to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", as required by the UN Charter.

The fact that there has not been a world war for four decades and that the use of nuclear weapons has been prevented is mankind's greatest achievement. It is the result of the efforts of the Soviet Union, all countries of the socialist community, non-aligned States and other countries whose positions are based on responsibility for the destinies of their own and other nations. However, the threat of nuclear war, rather than decreasing, is growing as a result of the activities of militaristic forces which are eroding the foundations of peace.

What is necessary to achieve all that is above all joint, active efforts against the intention of certain circles in the United States to achieve military superiority and impose their will on others. The time has long come to realise that malicious rhetoric about "communist danger" and "Soviet threat" is not really convincing. Socialism, with its ideals and their practical realisation, has provided impressive proof of its devotion to the cause of peace and the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems and of its capacity to accomplish the tasks of economic and social progress in the interest and for the benefit of man.

Whatever problem we look at, it is perfectly clear that the States of the socialist community offer constructive solutions, based exclusively on the common interest, and seek no unilateral advantages or special benefits for themselves.

Speaking of human rights and fundamental freedoms, I wish to underscore the point that the socialist countries have in actual deed demonstrated to the whole world the validity of the ideas put forward by Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State, who said that without socialist transformation of society it was impossible to speak about true freedom for the individual rather than for proprietors, about genuine equality of men in the socio-political sense rather than about hypocritical equality between the haves and the have-nots, the sated and the hungry, the exploiters and the exploited.

Our achievements in the genuine realisation of a broad range of political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights of the individual are well known. They are recorded, in particular, in many United Nations documents, including those that deal with the implementation of the international legal instruments in this field, in which our Republic participates in good faith. That is why we reject the hypocrisy and demagoguery of those who represent a country which does not show the slightest desire to become a party to the international covenants on human rights and other international documents relating to that subject widely recognised and used by the world community.

TJON KIE SIM, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Suriname

GIVEN the present international situation, it is the inalienable right and the desire of the peoples of the Third World countries to liberate themselves from economic dependence and to build a strong national economy for their own interest and prosperity. Yet this uncontestable truth is often denied and is sometimes even met by economic, political or military aggression.

We condemn the use of economic measures by some developed countries as a means of exerting political coercion, and we urge Member States to develop effective ways to prevent embargoes, sanctions or any other coercive actions incompatible with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. We express the hope that this Organization will take effective measures to put an end to such practices, as they reflect the objectionable attitude of the right of the strongest.

Suriname is deeply concerned about the aggression and repression carried out against peoples struggling for their national liberation. Our position is based on the fundamental principles of respect for the national sovereignty of States, the right of self-determination, the principles of non-intervention and non-interference, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, and the establishment of relations based on mutual benefit. These are

founding principles of the non-aligned movement, of which my country is an active member.

We are deeply concerned about the tense situation in Central America. The people of that region have the right to determine their own future without any external political, economic or military interference. We categorically reject all plans for or threats of a military invasion of Nicaragua or El Salvador as a flagrant violation of the basic principles of the UN Charter. We fully support the untiring efforts of the Contadora Group to achieve a peaceful solution to this conflict. The Contadora countries are fulfilling an important task in this hemisphere.

The tense and dangerous situation, which can easily escalate into a total Central American war, has awakened the Latin American consciousness that a peaceful solution to the Central American conflict is possible. This has resulted in growing support for the efforts of the Contadora Group.

In the Caribbean, with its numerous small countries seeking viable development strategies, the existing socio-economic and political conditions are of great concern. Only the consolidation of Caribbean unity, based on the genuine interests of the people concerned, can solve the deep and prolonged crisis created by structural factors.

We are of the opinion that our region is basically confronted with problems which are caused by socio-economic stagnation. We therefore stress that solutions have to be found in the socio-economic field. We have noticed and we deplore the tendency to interpret these problems in the context of East-West tensions which, *inter alia*, has resulted in the military invasion of Grenada.

We reiterate our call that the Caribbean and Central American region should be declared a zone of peace, which will lay the basis for stability and economic development in this region.

ANEEROOD JUGNAUTH, Prime Minister, Mauritius

IT HAS BEEN said that people who do not understand the past are condemned to relive it. The parallels between the current world situation and that preceding the outbreak of the Second World War are too striking to be overlooked. It is not within anyone's power to undo the past, but we do have the power to use its lessons as guidelines to establish a course for an acceptable future for our children. In the process of doing so we have to face and answer the question whether we can find in ourselves the resources to overcome and reverse the obstacles to peace, or whether, lemminglike, we are condemned to the same catastrophic path down the precipice followed in the past.

Some of the best minds of the interwar period proclaimed their conviction that qualitative and quantitative improvements in arms could not create a safer world. Nevertheless, against sense and reason, policies continued to be based on the assumption that security could be made to rest on the accumulation of ever more destructive arsenals. It is an aberration that in a world where the majority suffers from chronic want and hunger military expenditure for 1984 is reported to have exceeded \$ 1,000 billion. The passivity in the face of the growing "weapons culture" raises the question whether the world is not already on an irreversible collision course.

More than 30 years ago, Albert Einstein warned us that the unleashed power of the atom had changed everything except our modes of thinking. The doctrine of deterrence which lies at the centre of current nuclear policies is based on a principle as old as the human race. The history of humanity is hardly proof of the validity of the principle. In the present circumstances, it does not offer any safeguard against errors or accidents, whether human or mechanical, or against some manic miscalculation.

We believe that the resumption of negotiations and the meeting between the leaders of the two great powers represent opportunities which must not be missed. We can say without fear of exaggeration that these discussions hold the potential of determining the future course of our civilisation. The right decisions would also pave the way for a fresh approach to the problems of development.

(Continued on page 151)

BEHIND WASHINGTON'S GLAMOUR

In America there is one State and many cities and population centres named after George Washington, one of the founding fathers of the United States. The country's capital also bears Washington's name. Situated on a territory which is not incorporated in any of the States it is set apart in the District of Columbia. It has an area of 69 square miles and a population of 638,000 (1982 census).

Together with its suburbs located on the territory of the States of Virginia and Maryland which adjoin the District the capital forms Greater Washington. Its population has topped the three million mark.

THE CAPITAL'S SELF-ASSERTION

For a long time New York was considered the country's political, economic, social and cultural centre, and Washington—something of a provincial hinterland. In 1961 President John Kennedy, during the inaugural parade along Pennsylvania Avenue, at different ends of which the White House and the Capitol building stand, was struck by the run-down appearance of the capital's centre.

However, the situation has begun to change over the past two decades. "The District of Columbia", states Washington Mayor Marion Barry, "is a healthy vibrant city, an exiting place to live, a meaningful place to work and especially beautiful place to visit. This has not always been the case, but in the last few years there has been a great improvement in the quality of life in Washington."

In evaluating the Mayor's statement allowances have to be made for his desire to promote his city's good name. "Quality of life", for that matter, is a loose concept that incorporates many components. Even if an improvement has been made, it has not affected the lives of very many Washingtonians. The Mayor and municipal council would indubitably like to impart to Washington a more attractive appearance, one that would correspond to its unprecedentedly heightened role both within the country and outside its boundaries. But doing this is not all that simple.

The streets, decorated with architectural monuments, in the central, parade, part of the city have, indeed, become cleaner. And the subway, built in the 1970s, looks tidy (by American standards).

"I think", says Oliver Carr, the owner of a large construction corporation, "people finally woke up and realised that Washington D. C., not New York, is the capital of the country." However, Carr's statement requires elucidation. What Americans? I put this question to Tim Wheeler, a long time resident of Washington who works as a correspondent for the US communist newspaper *Daily World*.

Wheeler believes that power and influence came to Washington after the Second World War when the monopolies, particularly the arms business, began to pay particular attention to it and when the interests of big capital and the government began to merge more intensively.

Over 500 corporations have permanent offices in the residency of the federal power in order to draw closer to the White House and Congress.

Housed here are the headquarters of all sorts of business, trading and other associations. The city is flooded with all kinds of law firms, consultative councils and solicitors' offices. Over a relatively short period the number of lawyers in the capital tripled, reaching 33,500.

Washington is "lobbyists' city", Senator Orrin Hatch once said. This word itself came into the American political lexicon from Britain. Lobbyists (from the word "lobby"—foyer, vestibule) was the term used for people who camped at the doorstep of the British Parliament and tried to win advantages for themselves through behind-the-scenes dealings with legislators. Far from all the lobbyists in Washington today bother themselves with running around the corridors of the Pentagon, the Department of State or Congress. Many act by just picking up their telephone receivers in their cozy offices. Their main job is to "push through" a deal profitable for a corporation or political grouping via the government or Congress. Their main lever is money.

Today there are some 6,500 officially registered lobbyists alone—twice the 1976 figure—in the American capital today. This number, however, does not reflect the actual state of affairs. According to the weekly *U. S. News & World Report*, "only a few of those whose business is to influence the government care to register".

Among the other means which big business uses to influence bodies of government power there are some 4,000 "political action committees". Their channels are actively used for financing support of candidates to electoral posts, who subsequently do not forget about the interests of their "contributors". In 1984, one third of the Senate, which consists of 100 members, was elected. In the overwhelming majority of instances victory was won precisely by those contenders who had elicited the most support of the committees, which had invested a total of some \$28 million in the senatorial campaign. "Congress is literally bought and sold through donations of PACs", Leon Panetta, a Democrat from the State of California and a member of the House of Representatives, was forced to admit.

Also very active on the banks of the Potomac are such "political action committees" as Americans for a Good Government, the Florida Committee of Congress, and the American Medical Association. What is hidden behind their signs? The first two were founded by Zionist organisations and uphold Israel's interests in Washington. As to the American Medical Association, its chief function is to ensure the interests of the US pharmaceutical business.

A number of commentators in the USA are concerned that Washington is stifled by the offices of big business and all sorts of lobbyist groupings, and that they have turned into parasites in the body of the federal government, incessantly sucking the funds of the American taxpayer from it.

Whereas under President Abraham Lincoln there were 2,200 government officials in the American capital, today their number is some 300,000. Although the current ruling elite is in word against "excessively big government", the staffs of such departments as the Pentagon and the main body of foreign policy propaganda—the United States Information Agency—are growing rather than decreasing in number. The latter has even set up a new headquarters—a large modern mansion.

Interest in Washington on the part of the mass media is greater than ever before. Suffice it to take any issue of *The New York Times*, the most influential newspaper in the USA, to become convinced of this: frequently a good half, or even more, of the correspondences printed on the front page are relayed from Washington. A capital assignment is considered the most prestigious for American journalists. In the early 1980s some 3,000 representatives of various media bodies were concentrated here.

Washingtonians believe that the level of "intellectual life" in the capital has risen over the past few years. Of course, it is still unable to compare itself to Boston and its Harvard University. All the same, universities and colleges in the suburbs are attracting more and more bright young people. A special place in the "intellectual sphere" is being assigned to all sorts of "think tanks" and "brain trusts" like the Brookings Institution or the American Enterprise Institute, which play a no mean role in the shaping of the country's domestic and foreign policies. Also, the recommendations elaborated by the ultra-conservative organisation, the Heritage Foundation, have been enjoying great demand of late with the federal government.

VISIT TO THE SENATE

On both sides of the tall, domed Capitol building, where the Senate and the House of Representatives sit in session, the administrative buildings of Congress have been built. Some of them are not inferior to palaces either in external appearance or in their interior splendour. In them entire suites of offices have been assigned to each of the legislators.

A new building, named after the deceased Senator Philip Hart, was opened with much pomp several years ago. This nine-storey complex of glass and beautiful white marble is called the most expensive palace in Washington. In it are gilded doorknobs and special subdued lights to impart a more majestic hue to the pink marble with which the interior is finished. With its entire appearance the palace is designed to instil awe of the senatorial power.

The current, 99th Congress has not undergone changes in its socio-property composition as compared to the previous one. The country's highest legislative body remains a privileged club of well-to-do figures, many of whom (23 Senators and 30 Congressmen, according to the most conservative estimates) are millionaires. They include Senators Robert Dole, Edward Kennedy, Claiborne Pell, and John Rockefeller—the great-grandson of the founder of the Rockefeller empire. John Heinz, the co-owner of a big food company, is also one of the richest Senators, his fortune topping \$20 million.

Blacks are not to be found in the Senate, nor are there representatives of the Spanish-speaking community. The number of women in it compared with the 98th Congress has not changed either.

As to the 435-member House of Representatives, there are still only 20 Blacks in it. The number of Hispanic Congressmen in the House of the new convocation has increased from nine to only ten. There are 22 women in the new body of the House (and this in conditions when women in the USA comprise the majority of the population).

The main concern of the current Congress is endorsement of the federal budget for the 1986 fiscal year. It was done "democratically". Factions of the Republican and Democratic Parties in both Houses elaborated and submitted, together with the government draft, their own variants. Although each of them was stating that the version submitted was "fairer and more balanced" than the Administration's variant, in reality the difference was patently inconsiderable.

...Senator Gary Hart, who in 1984 won the Democratic Party presidential nomination, is an authoritative and influential figure in the upper chamber of Congress. His office, which is situated in the Russell Administrative Building, is always crowded. Presently a group of residents of the State of Colorado, which Hart represents, leave their signatures in the visitors' book. At two desks covered with telephones sit secretaries who literally do not put down the receivers for a second.

That day the legislator himself was not in Washington—he had flown to his electoral district in Colorado on urgent business. The Senator,

relates his press secretary Alexander, is one of the leading experts in Congress on disarmament problems, which worry him most of all. He is concerned over the dire consequences to which the Administration's military policy can lead. Specifically, Hart was the initiator of an amendment to a bill on military allocations for the 1986 fiscal year which envisaged the removal from the budget of funds for the construction and deployment of MX intercontinental ballistic missiles. This amendment by the Senator was rejected. The Senate also failed to put through Hart's amendment on a considerable reduction in funding for the "strategic defense initiative". However, as Alexander admits, on the whole Hart is not against research and development within the framework of this programme if it does not run counter to the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems.

Many other legislators have been espousing similar views of late. One cannot fail to see that despite concerned pronouncements to the effect that the "star wars" programme can lead to an irreversible arms race in outer space on the whole the legislators are following in the wake of the White House, which claims that the programme does not extend beyond the framework of "research". For these purposes the Administration requested \$3,700 million for the 1986 fiscal year, or almost triple the 1985 figure. In the Senate the request was cut down to \$2,750 million. This is not of fundamental importance, however, since the majority of Senators, for one, have refused to do away with aspects of the programme which run counter to the 1972 Soviet-American Treaty limiting anti-ballistic systems. Many legislators explain their stand with references to the false argument of the Administration that it is the "strategic defense initiative" that is making it possible to hold talks with the Soviet Union and that it is only with the SDI's aid that workable arms reductions can be reached.

In recent decades Washington has been more and more confidently asserting itself as one of the main centres of the country's public life as well. This process accelerated during the Vietnam War, when the capital was constantly a tempest of antiwar demonstrations and rallies in which hundreds of thousands of people took part. The headquarters of prominent US social organisations moved to Washington from New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and other major cities.

Protests against different aspects of the White House's foreign and domestic policies are mounting here, too. So-called actions of civil disobedience attract great attention on the part of the public and the press. For example, on April 22, 1984, a sit-down strike was held in front of the White House, in which many Americans from various cities took part. A demonstration was staged under the slogan: "Money for people's needs, not for the Pentagon!"

Recent months have witnessed a new wave of antiwar protests, which in the past the White House was able to tone down with peace rhetoric and promises of a reduction of arms at the Geneva talks. Antinuclear and antimissile actions are becoming more frequent all over America.

A CITY OF CONTRASTS

The 17 million tourists who visit the capital annually are shown the palaces of Congress, the Lincoln and Jefferson memorials, the famous rectangular Washington Monument, museums and picture galleries, the Smithsonian Institution, the John Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, and so on.

Today other parts of the capital's festive facade are going through an unprecedented construction boom as well. Having restored some neigh-

bourhoods and imparted a fresher and more modern look to them, workers in plastic helmets and heavy boots reminiscent of those worn by mountain climbers move over to new construction sites.

The business section of the city, *The Washington Post* wrote recently, has undergone a virtually complete facelift over the past ten years. According to urban construction experts, in the 1970s more office buildings were put up in Washington than in the country's other metropolises. In these terms the American capital can well vie with Houston and Dallas, Texas, which are normally considered the country's most dynamically growing cities.

However, if one sets out from the centre of town to, say, the northeast section, here one sees dilapidated neighbourhoods covered with gravel and mud. The Washington slums are a horrible sight which leaves a sense of confusion: Can this really be possible in the capital of the West's richest state? With each passing year the city's slum areas, which are populated chiefly by poor non-whites who are unable to pay rents in more prosperous areas, are increasingly falling into decay. It seems that time has frozen and no one could care less about these people.

It will be reminded that 72 per cent of the population of the District of Columbia are Blacks and other national minorities. True, in the last few years the proportion of the Black population in the District of Columbia began to drop slowly but steadily. The main reason is the economic and social deprivations which the federal government is aggravating rather than alleviating. According to Maurice Jackson, head of the local organisation of the Communist Party USA, the decrease in the Black population in Washington is playing into the hands of the authorities in the best way possible. In his opinion, by the end of the century, it is evidently intended to turn the city, populated chiefly by middle-class White Americans, into a sort of showcase of the USA as it is understood by the ruling class.

One of the means of implementing this plan is the systematic raising of rents by apartment house landlords or the turning of these tenement-houses into cooperatives, the cost of which is prohibitive to non-whites. Black families are having to move out and search for affordable housing—either in ghettos or in other cities.

The population of the District of Columbia has dropped by 170,000 over the past 30 years. The outflow has affected predominantly white people, who for social, racial or economic reasons leave "black Washington" and settle in the suburbs around the capital.

One is stunned by the contrast between the decaying neighbourhoods of Washington and these prospering environs—Bethesda, Chevy-Chase, Maclean. It is here that high-paid government officials, senators, businessmen and lobbyists prefer to live.

The contrast between the areas of Washington that are falling into decline and its suburbs became even more astounding after 1968, when mighty racial unrest caused by the killing of Martin Luther King erupted in the capital. Today, too, a glum sign of those times is still preserved—streets with frames of houses that survived the fires.

Nor is the American tourist told that Washington today has one of the country's largest "community" of homeless. According to the most conservative estimates, there are now between 15,000 and 20,000 of them in the capital. Many of them have made steam-grates cut in the asphalt their abode. "Democracy of steam-grates" is the name given to this glum phenomenon by Mitchell Snyder, leader of the Washington social organisation—the Community for Creative Non-Violence.

Nor do few of the tourists that come to the capital know that today the District of Columbia is near the bottom among American cities in quality of medical care. Forty nine out of every 1,000 Washingtonians are

ill with tuberculosis—four times higher than the national average. And the cost of medical care in the capital is growing 50 per cent faster than in other cities. The infant mortality level in the capital of the richest capitalist state is higher than in many developing countries, and the life expectancy in the District of Columbia is the lowest in the country. The government, which allocates resources to the city in payment for the use of its territory and services, is trying to justify the constant decrease in allocations for medical care with references to the need for “budget austerity”.

Washingtonians have long been fighting not to be dependent on the whims of the federal government and Congress. One of the areas of this struggle is the movement for the granting of the status of 51st State to the District of Columbia. It is proposed to call it New Columbia. A constitutional amendment to the effect was passed by Congress as early as 1978. However, only a handful of States have ratified it since. And in order for an amendment to become law it has to be ratified by 38 States.

...Former British Ambassador to the USA Peter Jay once compared Washington to a “marketplace of ideas, of powers, of influence”. Almost a century and a half ago his great countryman Charles Dickens called the American capital a “city of magnificent intentions”. Well, a look at present-day Washington is enough to convince one that if its founders had magnificent intentions, they have remained just that. For the majority of people who consider themselves Washingtonians, the American capital is a city of dashed hopes.

A. LYUTY

Washington

An Influential Force of Today

The Non-Aligned Movement, Editor-in-Chief I. I. Kovalenko, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1985, 421 pp. (in Russian).

The non-aligned movement has become an important factor in current international relations and world politics, uniting at the present time close to 100 countries of all continents. Quite a few books, articles and other works have been dedicated to this theme, among which is the monograph under review, prepared by a group of Soviet scholars, specialists in the field of problems of developing countries.

The monograph sheds light on a wide spectrum of questions, beginning with the ideological-political roots of the non-aligned movement and ending with prospects for its development. The authors examine the process of growth and formation of the whole concept of non-alignment, uncovering its socio-political essence and international legal basis, revealing the principles and aims behind the movement, its organisational origins.

A significant portion of the book describes the actions of the non-aligned movement in support of peoples' national liberation struggle, its practical contribution toward strengthening peace and international security and to the cause of disarmament. A deep analysis of the basic principles underlying the non-aligned countries' struggle against imperialism and colonialism is given in the book and problems of the struggle of the non-aligned nations against racism and racial discrimination are illuminated, particularly the struggle for eventually eliminating the remnants of colonialism in the South of Africa.

The non-aligned movement at the current time has become a major factor of peace, which is especially important today when there is no greater problem than preserving peace, averting a nuclear war, bridling the arms race and preventing its extension into

outer space. The authors demonstrate how the aspirations of the developing countries toward preserving and strengthening peace in the world, toward defending national independence made their struggle for ending the arms race one of the main directions of the non-aligned movement policy.

Great interest is aroused by the authors' analysis of the influence of progressive norms of current international law on the formation of principles and policies of the non-aligned movement, as well as the reverse impact of the decisions being taken at its forums on the norms of international law. It is worth noting that the activity of the non-aligned nations in the UN is examined in detail.

In recent times the non-aligned movement has been forced more and more to deal with preventing and settling various disagreements and conflicts arising among its participants. As is shown in the monograph, this is a new, important direction in the movement's activity aimed at easing international tensions.

The sphere of economics is becoming a fundamental area of the struggle against imperialism of the countries participants in the non-aligned movement. The developing states are actively demanding a reorganising of international economic relations on a new basis, the creation of a new international economic order (NIEO). Concrete questions connected with the struggle for a NIEO, for the restructuring of international economic relations are examined in the book under review. Considerable attention in the work is also given to the approach of the non-aligned countries toward problems of ideological decolonisation, their liberation from "information imperialism", the creation of a new information order.

It is only natural that given the diversity of countries belonging to the non-aligned movement (ranging from states with reactionary feudal, pro-imperialist regimes to socialist-oriented and socialist countries) the aggravation of the international situation and growing pressure from the imperialist forces at times evokes within the movement a number of negative attitudes and tendencies which weaken its fighting nature. The authors vividly present the political and ideological struggle in the non-aligned movement between various tendencies within it.

From the very start the imperialist powers took a hostile attitude toward the non-aligned movement, trying to lead it away from its anti-imperialist path, drive a wedge between its member states and pit it against the socialist community. The methods and forms used by the imperialist forces and their agents in the struggle against the non-aligned movement are laid out in the chapter entitled "Imperialist Subversive Activities Against the Non-Aligned Movement".

It is especially important that the book contains a number of convincingly-based projected conclusions of great significance for foreign policy practices. In particular the authors emphasize that, notwithstanding the complicated socio-political differentiation processes and other disintegration factors in the non-aligned movement, in spite of varying approaches taken toward solving international problems which weaken the movement, this movement will continue to gravitate toward the cohesion and consolidation of its ranks against the constant threat posed by world imperialism. That is precisely why the centripetal forces will restrain the centrifugal tendencies and the non-aligned movement will persist as an influential and relatively firm international-political unity in the foreseeable future as well (p. 398).

The chapter entitled "Socialist Countries and the Non-Aligned Movement" uncovers the character and content of mutual relations formed between the non-aligned movement, on the one hand, and world socialism, on the other.

It is stressed in the book that the Soviet Union has always come out against political blocs and military alliances and has remained an active conductor of a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems. There-

fore the refusal of the newly-free countries to join with either military political alliance did not signify hostile relations on their part toward the USSR and other socialist countries. The position of the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community in relation to the non-aligned movement is defined by their common principled political line in their attitude toward the anti-imperialist, national liberation movement, as well as to the developing countries free from colonial rule.

"The potential of the non-aligned movement can be vastly augmented," it is stressed in the monograph, "if it takes full advantage of the tremendous possibilities of world socialism, makes use of the political and economic might of the world socialist community, of its great international prestige in the interest of strengthening independence and self-determination of the developing countries" (p. 402). Hence, questions of consolidating the cooperation between world socialism and the national liberation movement, including the non-aligned movement, take on decisive meaning.

In this connection it is important that the book levels convincing criticism at the "equidistance" and "super powers" concepts advanced by the West to isolate the non-alignment movement from the USSR and other socialist states.

Naturally, such an extensive and multifarious piece of work is not free of shortcomings. In our opinion a deeper analysis could have been given of the economic basis for the contradictions and antagonisms observed in relations between the developing, especially non-aligned, countries and the developed capitalist states. The attempt to explain these economic contradictions using political, legal and moral categories of "injustice" or the "undemocratic nature" of international capitalist economic relations, the "inequitable" position of developing countries in the world capitalist economy, is hardly sufficient for an economics scholar. At the same time, the book lacks deep analytical research into the basic forms, methods and channels of continuing economic exploitation of the developing countries by imperialism, the deep-seated reasons for the intensification of this exploitation, in particular the increasing uneven economic exchange between them despite the attainment of state independence by the developing countries.

Characterising the new international economic order conception put forward by the non-aligned countries, the authors emphasise certain shortcomings and weaknesses in it, but the fact that the conception of a NIEO basically and mainly conforms with the position of the socialist countries, remains in the background. The conception of a new international political order put forward by the non-aligned countries is not examined at all.

Among the shortcomings of the book are repetitions in the presentation of, for example, cases and facts characterising the subversive policies of the USA and other imperialist states against the non-aligned

movement, as well as the repetition of fundamental aims governing the principles and policy of the non-aligned movement. The general structure of the monograph could have been more streamlined, consistent and logical.

In spite of certain shortcomings, the book under review, on the whole, is a creative success and, undoubtedly, a contribution to the scholarly research of one of the most important and relevant, though still little-researched, problems of theory and practice of modern international relations.

Professor M. KAPITSA,
D. Sc. (Hist.)

A Diplomatic History of the Second World War

V. L. Issraelyan, *Diplomacy in the War Years (1941-1945)*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyie otnosheniya Publishers, 1985, 480 pp. (in Russian).

The course of events has already disproved the common notion that when cannons talk—diplomats keep quiet, and, vice versa, when diplomats talk—cannons are silent. Naturally, we understand the great role diplomats have played in averting wars, but at the same time, history has testified to the fact that the importance of diplomacy in no way decreases in wartime as well. This was very convincingly shown in the course of the Second World War, which turned out to be the most large scale, not only in terms of the number of states drawn into the war, the human suffering and material losses, but also in terms of the diplomatic activity of the belligerents. This explains, to a certain extent, significant world interest in the diplomatic history of the past war and the extensive bibliography of scholarly literature and memoirs on the topic, published both in the USSR and in other countries in the post-war period. On the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Victory over Nazi Germany and militarist Japan, many new books of this kind have appeared. Among them is the monograph under review by Professor Issraelyan.

First of all, some new archival documents

from the war period are used, allowing the author not only to reveal the extremely acute diplomatic struggle which unfolded between the two opposing military-political alliances, but to bring out in bold relief and in a more differentiated way, how relations between these alliances were formed.

This work is noteworthy and interesting in that its author, a scholar and diplomat, acquaints the reader with personal conversations with those who occupied and continue to occupy a prominent place among the statesmen and diplomats of the war years (Averell Harriman, Anthony Eden, et al).

And finally, Issraelyan's book attracts attention because it is relevant today. It is not only a lively and colourful account of facts and historical events, but also a deep analysis of their consequences and results for the current international situation. And precisely from that angle the course and results of the Teheran, Crimea, and especially, the Potsdam conferences of leaders of the Soviet Union, the USA and Britain, as well as the conferences in Dumbarton Oaks, San Francisco and some others, are examined. One can only assess positively the author's approach in referring to a particular source

by not only critically defining its correspondence to historical truth, but also by showing his own attitude to a given fact or event in the history of diplomacy of the Second World War. So, for example, disputing with the American historian Charles Mee over the appraisal of the final results of the 1945 Potsdam Conference, the author notes that Mee's assertion that at the conclusion of the Conference the leaders of the USSR, USA and Britain signed not a peace treaty, but something more like a tripartite declaration of the cold war does not hold up under serious criticism. The Potsdam Conference became the crowning point of political cooperation of the states of the anti-Hitler coalition, and not an overture to the cold war which was the result of Washington's and London's new postwar policies. (p. 446).

The author devotes much attention to an analysis of the foreign policy activities of the Soviet government, its diplomacy. From the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, Soviet foreign policy faced great and responsible tasks, the main of which was to secure more favourable international conditions for resistance to the enemy. Soviet diplomacy, under the leadership of the Communist Party, had to make sure that the bourgeois states, which were already fighting against fascist Germany and Italy would become allies of the USSR. For this the creation and strengthening of a coalition of states which were fighting against the fascist bloc were required, as well as the immediate opening of a second front in Europe. It was important that essential efforts be made to prevent states which had thus far maintained neutrality in Hitler Germany's war against the Soviet Union from attacking the latter. Finally, the aim of USSR foreign policy was to assist the peoples of Europe who found themselves under the yoke of Nazi Germany in achieving liberation and restoring their sovereign rights. The solution of these foreign policy tasks by Soviet diplomacy is traced in detail in the monograph under review.

The author analyses the position of British and American ruling circles in relation to their ally, the USSR, in which two specific tendencies can be observed. The national interests of both Western countries, the very logic of an armed struggle, demanded their active participation in the war against the common enemy, the earliest opening of the second front in Europe. This line was sup-

ported by wide sections of the population of Britain and the United States and some of their statesmen who understood the great significance of the part played by the Soviet Armed Forces in the struggle against fascist aggression.

The other line of the Western powers, expressed by the reactionary circles, was, together with routing the fascist bloc, to exhaust to the utmost the strength of the Soviet Union; they deliberately delayed the opening of the second front. "The reasons for the British government's stand on the opening of the second front," states the author, "were defined by the old strategic concept of British imperialism of fighting a war spilling the blood of others. Proceeding from this concept, the British ruling circles reckoned that since the Soviet Union continued carrying on mammoth battles with the Nazi hordes, time was working in their favour... On the whole, Washington shared the British government's policy as regards the opening of a second front" (p. 99). Naturally, this British-American line only made it easier for the Hitlerites and extended the duration of the Second World War. In the difficult period of fighting the German fascist aggressors, the burden of armed struggle lay chiefly on the USSR, on its heroic army and people.

In the book under review the author exposes the actions of fascist diplomacy at various stages of the war as well as the growing crisis of the fascist bloc and the increasing isolation of Hitler Germany in the international arena resulting from the defeat of the German fascist troops by the crushing blows of the Soviet Army. The author justifiably accentuates the fact that during the entire course of the war against the Soviet Union, fascist Germany was not able to recruit to its side a single new ally. On the contrary, in the course of the war its diplomatic ties were steadily decreasing. Thus, whereas in August 1940 Germany maintained diplomatic relations with over 40 states, by the summer of 1942 this number fell to 21, and among the latter were various puppet regimes that existed under Nazi occupation, for example Denmark, Serbia and Croatia (p. 159).

The author devotes a fair portion of the book to examining the important problem of how to create the conditions for universal security and lasting peace in the postwar period. To this end he studies in detail a

whole set of problems of postwar setup in Europe (the German question, decisions concerning Poland, Soviet-French relations, etc.), the creation of the United Nations, negotiations on the question of drafting the Charter of the United Nations at the conferences in Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta and San Francisco. In this connection the author places special emphasis on the significance of the decision adopted that the principle of unanimity of its permanent members should provide the basis for the UN Security Council's activity. By recommendation of the USSR, included in the UN Charter is a proposal on respecting the principles of equality and self-determination of the peoples, as well as of human rights and fundamental freedoms, regardless of race, language, religion or sex (p. 395). "It is difficult to overestimate the progressive importance of the UN Charter," the author states, "in which the important democratic principles such as equality and self-determination of peoples, international cooperation

and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means and refraining from the threat or use of force in international affairs, are formalised as generally recognised principles of modern international law. These principles testify to the fact that in the UN Charter there is the firm recognition of the principle of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between states with different social and economic systems" (p. 403).

In less detail the author examines problems pertaining to Asia, in particular, Soviet-Japanese and Soviet-Chinese relations from 1941 to 1945. It is believed that this will be completed by the author when the book is reissued.

The monograph under review is a contribution to the research of problems of the Soviet government's foreign policy and international relations during the Second World War.

Yu. LOSEV

Realities of the American Way of Life

E. P. Sevastianov, N. E. Korsakova, *The Last Boundary*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, 256 pp. (in Russian).

In his "Letter to American Workers" V. I. Lenin in 1918 wrote: "America has become one of the foremost countries in regard to the depth of the abyss which lies between the handful of arrogant multimillionaires who wallow in filth and luxury, and the millions of working people who constantly live on the verge of pauperism."¹ This definition by Lenin of the American way of life is a precise characterisation of the American society of today as well, a society where all evils and vices of the capitalist system are becoming more acute. In their book E. Sevastianov and N. Korsakova provide a highly readable

account of the social conflicts that are tearing apart the richest country of the capitalist world, of the ruthless exploitation of common Americans by monopolists and their henchmen—corrupted politicians. Working for a number of years in San Francisco, the authors became first-hand witnesses of many US events, and met representatives of different social groups, which gave them the opportunity to vividly describe the America of the 70s and early 80s.

Much attention in the book is devoted to the activities of the US state-political machinery. Drawing on a large body of factual material and private observations, the authors show the unscrupulousness, immorality and greed of the "makers" of destinies of the American public. For example, the dis-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 63.

closure that a gang of executive officials of municipal government, had year after year misappropriated millions of dollars from the budget, caused a big scandal in San Francisco (pp. 107-108).

The book contains numerous facts, showing manipulations of public opinion during an election campaign, the dishonest rivalry of candidates for seats in the Congress or the governor's post. The election of an aspirant to a state post depends not so much on his abilities as on his property and on which monopolies can back up this future lobbyist of one or another American business. No election campaign in the USA is without intrigues: the double registration of one and the same voter and the corresponding "resetting" of voting machines to enable a certain needed candidate to win.

The authors give much attention to the role of propaganda designed to fool the man in the street, convincing him of the uniqueness of the American nation. "Certain notions about the USA and the outside world," the authors point out, "are drummed into an average American from childhood. He is made to believe in the greatness of the American revolution, in the genius of its organisers and the founders of the United States, in the justice and perfection of the socio-political system of the USA" (p. 110). The viciousness of modern American society is concretely shown. Chronic unemployment, crime, overt racism, amorality, drug abuse, alcoholism—these are the characteristic features of the America of today. The ulcers afflicting the USA are so deep that even the leaders of the United States are forced to speak about problems like crime. The current head of the White House said in one of his speeches that the country lives in an atmosphere of raging crime, and he cited the fact that during the last decade the number of serious crimes increased more than 60 per cent. In 1982 alone about 40 million Americans were victims of crimes.

For such "achievements" the United States is considerably "indebted" to its TV and cinema. The authors cite an example where in just a 24-hour period the latest news, shows, documentary and feature films of one San Francisco TV channel told about

30 murders, 16 rapes, 13 fires, 20 traffic accidents, 23 robberies and 27 misdemeanours (pp. 112-113).

Speaking about the erosion of American society, the authors point out such a phenomenon of the American way of life as consciously cultivated disregard of high morals and spiritual values, which are pushed aside by pure consumer interests. At the same time we think that the book would have been considerably better, had the authors managed to give a more profound illustration of the role and importance of modern American "mass" literature and art as a powerful means of forming primitive stereotypes and manipulating the social consciousness.

The book is a convincing expose of the foreign policy course of both the current administration and the administrations of the 70s. The Washington politicians and mass media do not tire of repeating that the USA has a special mission in the world. They are doing their best to make the average American believe in the existence of an "external enemy" and persuade him of the necessity of intensified rearmament. The leading role in the formation and implementation of the aggressive foreign policy of the present American administration belongs to the military-industrial complex. "A bigger and bigger part of the US national income", the authors say, "is redistributed through the federal budget in favour of military industrial monopolies. And the voice of the military sounds louder and louder" (p. 45).

The book shows the difficulties faced by the progressive forces of the USA, American communists fighting against the reactionary home and foreign policy of the ruling quarters, for peace, against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, for the normalisation of American-Soviet relations on the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

The book by E. P. Sevastianov and N. E. Korsakova provides a fuller idea of what the American way of life, so trumpeted by bourgeois propaganda, really is.

V. DENISOV

Commitment to Internationalist Duty

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 O. Borisov, *The Soviet Union and the Revolutionary Stronghold in Manchuria (1945-1949)*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1985, 252 pp. (in Russian).  
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In his study the author focuses on the developments which unfolded in Manchuria, in the northeast of China, in 1945-1949. However, in his scrutiny of those events the author not only provides an insight into a number of international problems having to do with the situation in the Far East but also treats the state of affairs in Asia as a whole.

The introduction to the book covers the period in Sino-Soviet relations that was heralded by the October Revolution of 1917, calling attention to the most important thing, namely, that "being a major breakthrough of the capitalist system, the Great October to a great degree eased the pressure of imperialist powers on China, thus facilitating immeasurably the process of national liberation of the Chinese people" (p. 5). As a result of the Revolution, the author emphasises, the Soviet state consistently supported the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people. To buttress this point, the author amply demonstrates the Soviet state's invariable commitment, since the days of its inception, to the cause of internationalist solidarity with the struggle waged by the Chinese people. The author points out that Lenin's concept of national liberation struggle, which is basically a class struggle, "was of paramount practical significance to Chinese Communists, since it was in China that the bourgeoisie's proclivity to anti-Sovietism and to forming alliances with imperialism often took the shape of organised domestic counter-revolution and led to provoking war with the Soviet Union in foreign policies" (p. 8).

The book contains a wealth of facts about the internationalist stance taken by the Soviet Union vis-à-vis the great Chinese nation. A fine example of this is the time of hardships endured by China in 1937-1945 when the Chinese waged a heroic struggle repulsing the Japanese aggressors. The Soviet government did not confine itself to expressions of sympathy, but extended concrete help by supplying large quantities

of arms and hardware. Thousands of Soviet military advisers volunteered to fight on the Chinese side, many of them dying a hero's death.

August 1945 witnessed an event which went down in annals of world history. Soviet troops supported by Mongolian's armed forces and Korean partisans staged a brilliant blitz-operation in Manchuria and routed crack units of Japan's Kwantung Army on Chinese soil. This victory was instrumental in defeating Nazis' ally—militarist Japan—and in doing away with the presence of Japanese occupiers on China's territory.

Borisov examines in detail the situation in Manchuria in those years, the alignment of forces, economic development level and social problems and uses logical reasoning to bring home the point that the victory of the Soviet troops in Manchuria was the key international factor contributing to the triumph of the Chinese revolution. It was Manchuria that became in those years, both militarily and strategically, a rallying point of revolutionary forces in China and a new political centre of Chinese revolutionary movement drawing on which the Chinese Communists led the working people to the decisive struggle against the corrupt Kuo-mintang regime which served the interests of international and, above all, American imperialists.

Utilising the foothold in Manchuria as their principal strategic base and the impressive arsenal of top-class arms captured from the Japanese and placed at their disposal by the Soviet Army, the Chinese freedom-fighters, with renewed strength and confidence, mounted a series of offensives which culminated in the victory of the popular revolution in October 1949 and the proclamation of the People's Republic of China. During those difficult years the Chinese people had once again been able to tell from their own experience friends apart from foes.

The book provides an in-depth analysis of that period characterised by large-scale

US interference in China's affairs. One case in point was a full-fledged American intervention. The interventionists expected to alter the correlation of political forces in China, precipitate an outbreak of civil war by the local reactionaries, suppress the popular democratic movement and restore the rule of Chiang Kai-shek throughout the country. In a bid to fill the slot left vacant by the defeated Japan, the American imperialists planned to overrun Manchuria and colonise the entire country, turning China into a bridgehead of their own for staging an armed aggression against the Soviet Union.

This was what Washington's criminal designs were all about. Had it not been for the rout of the Kwantung Army by the Soviet troops, the USA, according to the estimates of some American politicians and military commanders of that time, would have been bogged down in a bloody war with Japan well into 1946. Washington, however, had little to show for its efforts to turn China into a pliant junior partner, although it had not given up its attempts to dominate China by force and colonise it economically till 1949. The firm stand taken by the Soviet Union coupled with the selfless struggle of the Chinese people were to play once again the key role in defusing the exceptionally complex and explosive situation.

The book is rich in factual material and replete with accurate principled individual observations and reflections. It shows convincingly that the China policy of the CPSU has invariably served the basic interests of

enhancing the unity of world's socialist system and international communist movement as well as consolidating all anti-imperialist forces.

The author rightly stresses that Asian security is one of today's priorities. The proposal formulated by the Soviet Union in May 1985 to convene a representative forum for exploring ways and means to solve this problem has aroused a wide response in Asia. One cannot help noting that the Soviet Union does not stand alone here. Initiatives by other peace-loving Asian countries, above all, socialist ones, go to further the same objective. Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have been consistently and constructively advocating that Southeast Asia be turned into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation.

The people's Mongolia has proposed a convention on non-aggression and non-use of force among the countries of Asia and the Pacific. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has called for a political dialogue between the parliaments of South and North Korea with a view to signing a non-aggression treaty between the two countries.

The book has drawn upon a wide range of historical sources revealing controversial points in the development of the revolutionary struggle in Northeast China and the position taken by the Soviet Union towards this struggle. This makes the book interesting for Soviet and foreign readers at large.

V. KHROMOV

A Country in Perspective

B. T. Koloskov, *Malaysia Yesterday and Today: A Study in the History of Developing Countries*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1984, 303 pp. (in Russian).

The choice of Malaysia as a subject for his research gives the author an opportunity to explore the aspects of the home and foreign policy it has in common with other developing countries, in particular, those within the ASEAN, of which it is a member, and the specific features of its history and ethnic background, the state system, and its approach to the solution of economic, social and foreign policy problems.

The monograph falls into three independent, yet closely interconnected sections: a historic survey (Chapters I-IV), a study of the country's socio-political problems since its liberation from colonial dependence (Chapters V-VIII), and an analysis of Malaysia's foreign policies (Chapters IX-X). The author does not confine himself to retracing the path travelled by the country's peoples over many centuries, but rather seeks

to bring out events and factors which are responsible for the shaping of internal patterns or foreign policies of the present-day Malaysia.

Foremost among the historical factors were the first contacts between Malay sultanates and foreigners in the period from the 14th to 16th centuries, when the ethnic Malay population was left out of the economic mainstream by its rulers who permitted trade, the backbone of the local economy, to come under foreign control, with the deplorable result that the Malay ruling elite developed into a parasitic, spineless class (pp. 23-24), a situation that was eventually taken advantage of by English colonialists.

It will be recalled that the large-scale migration of Chinese and Indians to Malaya resulted in the emergence of three large ethnic communities in the country. Resorting to the tested principle of "divide and rule", the English colonial administration in Malaya recruited the local officialdom and police of Malays pitting them against the Chinese and Indians. Under the impact of colonial authorities, the dominant roles in society were distributed among the ethnic elites in a peculiar manner—the Malay landowners and bourgeoisie held the key positions in the government and administration, while the Chinese bourgeoisie ran all fields of the country's economy, where foreign business had gained no foothold. Neither side is, however, satisfied with its position, and is pressing for a change: the Malay leaders are seeking a stronger weight in the economy, using their political influence and government muscle to achieve their ends, while the leaders of the Chinese community relying on its big economic potential are demanding a greater say in the country's political leadership. Still, both the Malay and Chinese exploiting elite as well as the Indian high society are going out of their way to prevent dangerous growth of conflicts between their communities that could destabilise politically the ruling regime.

The intercommunal relations have a tangible effect on the Malaysian leadership's foreign policy as well as on the internal affairs of the young independent state. The author stresses the fact that the new leadership that came to power in the summer of 1981, which is not encumbered by familial loyalties and owes no allegiance to British colleges or colonial administration, revised its "special relations" with Great Britain and proclaimed a policy of "orientation on

the East" in late 1981 (pp. 202, and 276-280). In the wake of this about-face, relations with Britain deteriorated, the Malaysian leaders blaming the former colonial power for the economic inequality between the Chinese and Malay communities in the country. Turning to the exaggerated role of the Japanese experience in the Malaysian context, the author regards it as deference to the relations that existed between the Malay community and the Japanese regime of occupation during the Second World War (pp. 82-83).

In examining the problems facing the present-day Malaysia, the author pinpoints such barriers impeding the country's advance as general backwardness, overdependence on foreign markets, domination of foreign capital in the country's economy, and insufficient diversification of the economy (p. 224). Like the problem of intercommunal relations, all these problems are a direct legacy of the British colonial rule that weighs heavily on the country. Today, for example, Malaysia generates nearly one half of its gross national product by exports, two-thirds of which go directly or through intermediaries to the main three developed capitalist centres—Japan, the USA and the European Economic Community. This imbalance makes Malaysia's economic standing highly vulnerable, with its immense dependence on foreign investment that accounts for nearly 50 per cent of the country's joint stock capital.

Despite its numerous merits the book is not free from drawbacks. What the author calls "racial" problems, and "racial" differences actually have "communal" and "intercommunal" underpinnings. He does not pay enough attention to an analysis of the prospects of the country's new internal and external policies which are associated with the name of the Prime Minister, Mohathir Mohamad. It appears that the country's part in the non-aligned movement, an important aspect of Malaysia's foreign policy, has not been given the attention it deserves.

Koloskov's study is based on numerous original sources and covers a wide spectrum of problems confronting the young Southeast Asian state and it will certainly make for rewarding reading by those interested in the life of newly independent nations.

Yu. DUBININ,
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

The Nuclear Deadlock: Looking for a Way Out

Dietrich Fischer, *Preventing War in the Nuclear Age*, Rowman & Allanheld, Totowa, N. J. 1984, XI+236 pp.

The work by Dietrich Fischer, Professor of Economics at New York University, provides a substantial proof of a real possibility of preventing nuclear war. Deserving attention is its main well grounded assumption—"peace with freedom [from outside aggression—*Yu. Sh.*] is attainable" (p. IV).

Underlying Fischer's logic and rationale is the scheme of the Austrian economist and mathematician Karl Menger (1840-1921), pertaining to... human characters combinations of which result in various relations among states—from peaceful to hostile. This does not mean that taking this scheme as a premise Fischer "biologises" or "psychologises" the laws of social and political development of human society. In fact, drawing a conclusion on the possibility of eliminating war as a political institution, he states, quite unambiguously, that in his view human nature is not inherently warlike (p. 209).

However, one way or another, the author invokes Menger's scheme throughout his book, subdividing states into aggressive and peace-loving, political leaders into "hawks" and "doves", and weapons into offensive and defensive. He repeatedly points to the erosion of the distinction between the phenomena of the first and the second categories, as well as to the existence of a whole range of intermediate positions or standings. Fischer juggles them to formulate a series of alternatives ranging from a high probability of war to a guarantee of stable peace, which in terms of seeking meaningful and realistic ways towards peace seem to be inoperative and unproductive.

The book's strong points are the arguments not directly related to the above-mentioned scheme. The author is repeatedly trying to convey a well-grounded thought that in the final analysis under present conditions aggression can bring no benefits to the aggressor and can even be suicidal for him. He refers to the opinion of Jonathan Schell, author of *The Fate of the Earth* who says

that an all-out nuclear war would result in the destruction of the belligerents rather than in the attainment of their political objectives, since it would mean the annihilation of mankind. However, Fischer goes further than that and draws a picture of the relations of peace, in his words an "attractive peace" (p. 8 and on) which a potential aggressor would be more interested to preserve than to destroy by war, while a potential victim of aggression would maintain its independence and security.

Unlike most bourgeois scholars concerned with the problems of war and peace, Fischer harbors no illusions as to the prospects of creating, already at the present stage, some supranational authority to settle international conflicts, although he does see it as an ideal solution (p. 5 and on). He suggests that for the time being each country seek to implement the following "interim" measures: shift to the acquisition of exclusively or predominantly defensive weapons instead of offensive systems; move gradually towards disarmament on a unilateral basis; abandon the strategy of delivering the first nuclear strike; introduce a moratorium on nuclear testing and so on; conclude an agreement on safety measures to prevent a war caused by miscalculation or by nuclear weapons falling into the hands of terrorists; develop mutually beneficial trade, scientific, technological and cultural ties with other countries.

This is Fischer's vision of the "attractive peace" he wishes to build on Earth. One can only welcome one of his general conclusions: "The Romans used to say, 'If you want peace, prepare for war'. But a country that wants peace must prepare *against war*, not 'for' war—otherwise it will get war" (p. 70).

Fischer justly condemns the United States for having ignored the unilateral commitment made by the Soviet Union in 1982 not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, although in an earlier context he also "condemns" the USSR for failure to accept several US proposals (pp. 39-40). Further on

Fischer extensively criticises the US "star wars" programme (pp. 72-74 and on). He observes in this respect that the United States has always held the initiative in the development and deployment of new types of nuclear weapons (p. 109). He states that "a comprehensive test ban would reduce the instability of nuclear deterrence" (p. 78).

However legitimate some of his general ideas and specific recommendations aimed at preventing nuclear war may be, the author's overall rationale suffers from excessive formalism and, at times, appears somewhat scholastic. Not a single word is said about the social and economic origins of wars, and the two major nuclear powers—the USSR and the USA—are portrayed as analogous "superpowers" with virtually no fundamental distinction made between their foreign policy actions and the corresponding political tenets.

Guided by his non-differentiating dogma of the approximate equality of the "superpowers", the author accuses the world peace movement of allegedly taking a "bia-

sed" position against the aggressive designs of imperialism (pp. 30, 198). In the same vein, he is generally indisposed to rely on governments as such, appealing instead to individuals and public organisations and calling for the establishment of "alternative security commissions" which in his view should work for peace everywhere independently of governmental activities (pp. 27, 199). It is obvious, however, that the real distinction on matters of war and peace is not that of individuals and public organisations versus governments but that of aggressive forces versus peace-loving forces.

On the whole, with all its flaws and merits, Fischer's book is highly illustrative of modern public thought in the West. The fact that the book was published reflects not only the growing concern of the US public over the issues of preserving peace in the nuclear age, but also gives evidence of its efforts to promote an early solution of those issues.

Yu. SHKOLENKO,
D. Sc. (Phil.)

CUBA: ON THE EVE OF THE THIRD PARTY CONGRESS ★ A DANGEROUS PARTNERSHIP ★ NATO'S WEST EUROPEAN BUTTRESS

Cuba: On the Eve of the Third Party Congress

The Cuban people marked the 27th anniversary of the victory of the revolution amidst the preparation for the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba held this February. In an atmosphere of high political enthusiasm permeating the entire country—from Punta de Quemados in the east to the San Antonio Bay in the west—the Party held election meetings and conferences. The Communists paid particular attention to such problems as raising production efficiency and increasing returns, saving of labour and material resources, extending the range and improving the quality of the service industry, boosting the country's exports, etc.

Close to 3 million working people took part in discussing the Draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the Country for the 1986-1990 Period. The considerations and amendments advanced at the meetings were forwarded to the Central Preparatory Commission to be taken into account at the final stage of examining and approving the Guidelines at the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba.

A major goal of the next five-year plan period is to raise the productivity of labour, to improve the use of the production capacities, machine-tools and equipment, to carry out a policy of strict economy, especially of fuel and lubricants. In agriculture the task is to ensure a stable increase of produce by state farms, cooperatives and private holdings.

Over the 1986-1990 period it is envisaged to raise the national income by 4 to 4.5 per cent, and exports by 5 per cent annually. Labour productivity will grow by 3 per cent. Science and technology will be developed. It is planned to improve environmental protection and to use natural resources more rationally. As before, health services, education, culture and sports figure prominently in the plan.

The Guidelines strongly emphasise that Cuba will continue pursuing the policy of

economic integration with the socialist community countries. The document indicates that only this cooperation makes it possible to attain a high level of development required by modern production and progress in science and technology.

The Third Congress examined the preliminary draft of the CPC Programme to be subsequently discussed by the country's working people. The final draft of the Programme is to be approved at an extraordinary session of the Third Congress, scheduled for the close of 1986. The supreme forum of the Cuban Communists also discussed and endorsed the Report by the Central Committee and amendments to the Party's Rules, approved resolutions on the economic management and planning system and on the improving of the political and administrative division of the country.

The Congress served as a stimulus to labour enthusiasm of the working people of Cuba. More than 2,500,000 people took part in a *voskresnik* (labour freely given to the state on days off, in this case on Sunday—*Ed.*) dedicated to the 68th anniversary of the October 1917 Revolution and the Third CPC Congress. The longshoremen at the port of Mantanzas took upon themselves a pledge to fulfil the year's quotas in only eleven months, to process 440,000 tons of cargo. The construction workers of the Ernesto Che Guevara Nickel Plant, which was being built in Punta Gorda with Soviet technological and economic assistance, pledged to complete the plant by the time the Congress opens. The international emulation drive in honour of the Third Congress of the CPC and the 27th Congress of the CPSU was extended.

By their selfless efforts the Cubans, on the eve of the Party Congress, were multiplying the successes scored by the country over the past 27 years since the January 1, 1959 Revolution. Cuba, a former semicolonial US appendage, is now one of the most advanced

countries in Latin America. Its economic growth rates in the recent years averaged 4.6 per cent, while the per capita GNP has grown by 22 per cent from 1981 to 1984. At the same time, growth rates in industry were 5 per cent, those in agriculture 2.9 per cent, while the labour productivity was rising by 2.7 per cent annually.

Thirty-three per cent of the population are enrolled in various educational programmes. Some 240,000 students study at 46 higher learning establishments. Since the Revolution, close to 200,000 teachers have been trained, and many of them are now teaching children and adults in Nicaragua, Angola, Ethiopia and many other countries how to read and write. Impressive achievements by Cuba in health care have become common knowledge. In 1984, there was one physician for every 486 people. Cuba occupies a leading place in bringing down the infant death-rates not only in Latin America but in the world. The average life span has reached 73 years.

The state spares no effort in steadily raising living standards. Salaries and wages are on the rise, as are pensions and other social benefits. At present, there are 75 TV and 135 radio sets, 40 refrigerators and

45 washing machines for every one hundred families. The acute housing problem is being tackled. In the 1981-1984 period more than 100,000 flats have been built by the state, and 220,000 by individuals.

Cuba's progress is inseparable from the assistance and fraternal support extended by the CMEA countries, above all the USSR. And this aid will grow. In the draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000 it was stated: "To continue, jointly with the other CMEA member countries, to render internationalist assistance to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic in accelerating the development and raising the efficiency of social production and in expanding their participation in the international division of labour."

The 27th Congress of the CPSU and the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, undoubtedly, will make a new, tangible contribution to consolidating friendship and cooperation between the fraternal Parties and peoples, and strengthening the entire socialist community.

I. NEMIRA

A Dangerous Partnership

The US-Canadian military partnership embraces an entire complex of agreements and institutions among which NORAD, as the most integrated system of routine operational military cooperation between the two countries, is playing the leading role.

The agreement on NORAD was reached on May 12, 1958, by an exchange of notes between the governments of Canada and the United States. The alliance emerged at the height of the cold war unleashed by the US against the Soviet Union, when Washington was making the most of the myth about a "Soviet threat", using this propaganda device to cover up its own expansionist plans and the arms buildup.

The true nature of joint measures undertaken within this alliance is shrouded in strict secrecy. However, one can hardly doubt the logic of the Canadian experts who came to the conclusion that "Washington unilaterally defines the strategic objectives of NORAD". NORAD's commander-in-

chief, who is invariably an American general, exercises "operational control" not only over the American, but also over the corresponding Canadian military units based on Canadian territory. The Canadians saw what this amounted to in practice during the "Caribbean crisis", when, on President Kennedy's instructions, the NORAD commander-in-chief placed his forces on red alert. Despite the Canadian Prime Minister's refusal to sanction the order in respect of the Canadian troops, it was immediately put into effect.

When the ten-year term initially envisaged by the NORAD agreement expired, it was renewed practically without any modification in 1968, 1973, 1975 and 1980. Last time, in 1981, it was extended for another five years, but this time with substantial amendments, making NORAD the joint North American Aerospace Defense Command¹.

¹ Before 1981 NORAD was a Joint Air Defense Command.

"In addition to performing the airspace surveillance and control functions related to air defence," says the Canadian note on the renewal of the agreement, "NORAD will monitor and report on space activities of strategic and tactical interest and will provide warning of aerospace events that may threaten North America."

A notable detail is that, although under the agreements the NORAD commander-in-chief is accountable to the two countries' supreme commands and, through them, to the governments of the USA and Canada, the instruction emphasises that "temporary reinforcement from one area to another, including the crossing of the international boundary, to meet operational requirements will be within the authority" of the NORAD commander-in-chief. It follows that US troops can be moved to Canadian territory without the Canadian government being given any notification of the event.

However, it would be erroneous to argue that by imposing its military-political partnership on Canada the United States is acting against the will of the Canadian ruling elite. There are influential forces in Canada which are interested in a stronger and more developed Canadian-US alliance, including the total integration of the two countries. Among major Canadian corporations involved in military supplies many are in fact subsidiaries of US monopolies. Canadian military production is channelled mainly to the external market, primarily meeting the needs of the US military-industrial complex. For instance, Litton Systems of Canada, a leading Canadian corporation engaged in military business, is now filling a large order from the Pentagon for missile homing devices. So, it comes as no surprise that the captains of the war business openly approve of the pledge of Mulroney's Conservative government substantially to increase the country's military spending.

It was mostly from this angle—new orders, new profits and further rapprochement between the two countries—that the Canadian press viewed the results of President Reagan's visit to Canada last March. During the visit Washington got Canadian Conservatives to agree to their country's taking a more active part in US nuclear-missile preparations and to its making a greater contribution to NORAD and NATO. The talks produced a memorandum on the modernisation of the North American anti-missile defence system, providing for the re-

placement of obsolete NORAD's early-detecting and warning radar system with the "northern early-warning line". This will consist of 52 powerful radar stations in Alaska and Canada's arctic regions, capable of detecting flying targets at any altitude. It is planned to use these new stations (47 of which will be located on Canadian territory) to carry out constant surveillance of the air lanes in the Polar regions.

According to reports in the American press, the "northern line" is expected to be reinforced with a network of modern radars in order to survey the eastern, western and southern approaches to North America from US territory. The system will thus become a "closed" one, which makes Ottawa justly concerned about the possibility of US anti-missile weapons being deployed on Canadian territory and whether all this will result in the integration of the "North American early-warning line" into the large-scale space system contemplated by the Americans.

The opposition parties in the Canadian parliament voice their concern that, by giving in to Washington's pressure, the Mulroney government is embarking on a dangerous road which may in one way or another lead Canada into the US "star wars" programme. These apprehensions were caused, in particular, by the frank admissions of US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who made no bones in an interview with Canadian TV about the possible deployment of US missile installations in Canada "under certain circumstances", as well as of system components for waging "star wars". The fears of being drawn into the US nuclear orbit were further strengthened by a deliberate or unwitting disclosure of the Pentagon's plans to station 32 nuclear depth charges on two Canadian air force bases in an "emergency situation".

The Canadian government, its Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Secretary of State for External Affairs Joseph Clark declare that no nuclear weapons will be deployed on the country's territory, and that before giving an answer to Washington's offer to take part in scientific research within the framework of Reagan's "strategic defense initiative" "it would be very helpful for us [the government] to receive the views of Canadians" as one element on which to base a decision. Time will show how firm Ottawa's current position is. So far, it is clear that

US influence on all aspects of its northern partner's life, particularly in the military and political spheres, is not diminishing, to say the least. The Canadians cannot help

wondering what this may lead to, if the present situation persists.

V. LUGIN

NATO's West European Buttreass

The anniversary session of the Council of the Western European Union was held with pomp in the autumn of 1984 in Rome. For the first time in the history of this military alliance its session was attended simultaneously by the foreign and defence ministers of the member countries. Devoted to the 30th anniversary of the WEU, the session clearly showed that certain forces intend to rouse this military alliance from its "long hibernation" and breathe fresh life into it.

The treaty setting up the Western European Union (the Brussels Treaty), signed in 1954, brought together Belgium, Britain, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands in a closed military-political alliance. The Brussels Treaty pursued a dual purpose: it undertook, first, to bring the military plans of the WEU members into accord with NATO strategy and, second, to verify the observance of the limitations on arms manufacture imposed on the FRG after the Second World War. But when the FRG joined the WEU in 1955, the subsequent developments showed that instead of "containing" German militarism the Union encouraged and promoted it. This is evidenced by the practical activities of the WEU which changed or cancelled some or other limitation on arms manufacture at the first request from Bonn. Ultimately the last restrictions on the manufacture of offensive arms by West Germany were lifted at the London session of the WEU Council in the summer of 1984 as "outdated". After that all types of conventional arms, including guided missiles, long-range missiles and strategic bombers, became accessible to the West German militarists. But even before that the WEU had already given Bonn the green light for building warships, submarines included, of any displacement.

The results of the Rome session of the WEU Council and also the session of the WEU Assembly convened in December 1984 in Paris clearly confirm the intention to

revive this military-political grouping. It has been planned, for instance, to modify the organisational setup of the Western European Union—the council of ministers, the standing council and various committees, primarily those which deal with armaments—and to enhance the role of its Secretary-General. From now on the ministers of foreign affairs and defence will meet twice a year to discuss "strategic cooperation" matters, to coordinate positions on possible crisis situations on the European continent and to consider the impact of conflicts in various parts of the world on the situation in Europe. A possible expansion of the WEU by admitting Portugal and Spain is now being debated openly. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, commenting on the results of the Rome session, wrote that the WEU member states intend to turn it into a long awaited "West European buttress" of NATO.

But why has the WEU become an object of close attention for the leadership of its member countries after 30 years in NATO's shadow? The point is that the deployment of US first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe and the submission of NATO to US militarist diklat have shaken the prestige of the North Atlantic alliance and its political positions. In these conditions urgent measures were needed to spruce up the NATO façade and, at the same time, to neutralise and undermine the antimissile movement in Western Europe, i. e., measures which would help implement new militaristic programmes. Thus, the Atlanticists focused on the WEU which, in their opinion, had not yet "compromised" itself in the eyes of West European peoples.

The West European capitals figure that the WEU would enable them to demonstrate a wish to distance themselves somewhat from the excessively dangerous (for them alike) adventurist course of the US Administration. Emphasising the fact that the United States is not a WEU member, the advocates of the WEU's revival keep repeating that this

will give the European members of NATO greater independence from the "senior partner".

In actual fact, most WEU members do not as much as think about true independence. For instance, FRG Minister for Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher assured the Americans in an interview after the anniversary session that the desire to restore the Union did not at all mean it would be a substitute for such NATO bodies as the Eurogroup or the Nuclear Planning Group. The WEU, he went on, is not directed against the United States, for there is one common strategy for Americans and Europeans. He was echoed by another Bonn minister, Alois Mertes, who stressed that any WEU measures should be viewed not as a substitute for NATO but as an "additional security factor" for Europe.

There is yet another, latent aspect behind the WEU's revival. For almost two decades now NATO advocates in France (France withdrew from the military organisation of NATO in 1966) and in other countries insist on France's return to the military organisation of this alliance. It is noteworthy that in the past few years France has clearly come closer to NATO, though its leaders keep on saying that the country intends to have a "free hand" in the military sphere in future as well and is not going to return to the NATO military organisation. At the Rome session the French delegate declared that Paris had no intentions of being subordinate to the Allied Supreme Command of NATO. But the WEU's revival, in which France has shown the greatest zeal, makes statements of this sort little convincing, for the Western European Union is looked upon by Washington and its closest NATO allies as the main "lever" for drawing France into NATO's, and therefore also into the American, global strategy.

The European public is following with growing concern the actions of the French-West German tandem—the chief WEU reanimator. Backing up the WEU's revivification and the formation of an "integrated European nuclear force", the FRG is reaching out for the nuclear button. This cherished dream of West German generals has been reported by *Wall Street Journal* which wrote that the formation of a European defence force including the FRG would help by-pass the insoluble problem of a "nuclear" West Germany.

Washington watches with obvious approval this "independence" of the European NATO members and regards the efforts to reinforce NATO's "European department" as a good addition to its own plans of turning Europe into an American nuclear-missile bridgehead. The US Administration expects, and not without reason, to use the WEU for tethering its NATO partners still closer to the arms race, get them to increase their military budgets and make fuller use of the scientific, technological and industrial potential of these countries for developing and manufacturing new systems and types of armaments.

Today, the NATO leaders, and especially the leaders of West European countries, are fond of talking about a need to ease world tensions. But these words are never backed by deeds. On the contrary, the revival of the WEU military grouping, this "West European buttress" of NATO, the plans to create a so-called European defence system, the desire to exploit West German militarism and revanchism—all this is evidence of the intention of the Western ruling elite to continue to pursue a policy of adventurism and recklessness, which only leads to a greater war menace and obstructs mutual understanding among nations.

V. VLADIMIROV

RECOGNITION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Diplomatic relations between states are regarded as a form of maintaining official relations between them, which are established upon their mutual consent and practiced in accordance with the norms of international law and the practice of international intercourse.

The first step in the establishment of diplomatic relations is usually the recognition of one state by another, as the former emerges as a result of certain developments — social revolution, national liberation struggle, merger of states or, vice versa, as a result of their separation into independent states. One may also refer to the recognition of a government having seized power by non-constitutional means, particularly, as a result of a coup (change of governments through constitutional process does not require recognition).

There exist two main forms of recognition — *de jure* and *de facto*.

De facto recognition is an official, yet not full recognition, also known as a "semi-recognition". Describing the policy of imperialist states towards revolutionary Russia, Lenin said that "international imperialism has proved unable to strangle Soviet Russia... and has been obliged for the time being to grant her recognition or semi-recognition, and to conclude trade agreements with her".¹ *De facto* recognition implies limited political contacts, commercial ties, and, occasionally, the settlement of consular matters.

De facto recognition, which, in fact, may be revoked, is usually substituted by another form — *de jure* recognition — in other words, by full official international recognition. It is this type of recognition that creates conditions for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two sides. However, sometimes there may be a long time interval between the recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations.

While both forms of recognition — *de jure* and *de facto* — are official, procedures of recognition, *per se*, may differ. It may be explicit, that is, expressed by an act on the part of the recognising state — a statement or a document sent to the side being recognised (the most common form of *de facto* recognition) — but it may also be tacit or implied when the actions of the recognising side cannot be interpreted otherwise.

There is yet another form, an *ad hoc* recognition for this particular case, in other words the actual development of relations in the context of official non-recognition. This form is frequently used by imperialist states, especially with respect to socialist countries. In this respect it would be pertinent to recall a long period in the relations between the United States and China when the United States refused to grant official recognition to the People's Republic of China. For a number of years a similar tactic of *ad hoc* recognition was used by Western states with regard to other countries, for example the GDR.

Apart from the recognition of states and governments, modern international practice has seen cases of the recognition of belligerent parties, as well as organs of resistance movements (as occurred actually in the Second World War) and national liberation organs leading the struggle of peoples against colonialism. The recognition of these organs provided weighty international and legal support to the fighting peoples.

The establishment of diplomatic relations occurs as a result of direct negotiations between representatives of the states concerned, or through diplomatic representatives of third parties. It may be formalised in different ways — by an exchange of messages, telegrams, letters or notes between heads of state and government, foreign ministers, or by signing an agreement and negotiating a joint communique (usually published simultaneously).

For instance, diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States were established in November 1933 through an exchange of personal notes by the USSR People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Maxim Litvinov, and US President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The notes exchanged expressed both sides' confidence that the two nations would in the future be able to cooperate for their mutual benefit and for safeguarding universal peace.

Another form was chosen for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Canada. It was done by concluding an agreement to which the USSR Ambassador to Great Britain and the Canadian High Commissioner to England affixed their signatures on June 12, 1942.

Cases of diplomatic relations established by issuing a joint communique include those between the Soviet Union and Portugal in June 1974 and diplomatic relations established by the Soviet Union at various times with certain Pacific Island countries.

The establishment of diplomatic relations implies exchanging diplomatic missions. In certain cases, particularly when diplomatic relations are not sufficiently developed, the sides agree to accredit their appropriate representatives on a non-residential basis which may entail the setting up in the host country of a mission with limited staff to be run by a Charge d'Affaires during the absence of the formal head of mission. Sometimes even such missions are not established, and the non-residential envoy pays periodic visits to the country of accreditation from the country where he is accredited permanently.

The accreditation of a head of diplomatic mission, usually an ambassador, although other categories of diplomatic envoys exist, namely Minister (Envoy) and Charge d'Affaires, cannot take place unless the receiving side agrees to accept the candidate designated for the post. When such acceptance (an agreement) is granted, the ambassador-designate becomes "persona grata", i. e. a desirable person. After he presents his powers — the letters of credence — in the receiving state, he is considered to have taken office.

The receiving state may withhold the agreement, which will mean that the candidate is regarded as "persona non grata", i. e. an undesirable person. Such cases are fairly rare. A more frequent case of "persona non grata" involves a diplomat or embassy staffer charged with activities incompatible with his official status and constituting interference in the host country's internal affairs. For example, this was the reason for the recall in October 1959 of John Cabot, the then US Ambassador to Brasil who had taken it upon himself to instruct the government of that country with the purpose to prevent it from restoring diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

Sometimes, however, certain Western governments tend to abuse their right to declare a person "persona non grata". This is what the British government did in September 1985 when it resorted to unjustified and totally groundless charges to demand the departure from the country of a number of Soviet representatives. Those actions were legitimately perceived by the Soviet side as malicious and designed to damage Soviet-British relations.

Diplomatic relations are not limited to an exchange of diplomatic missions. They translate into other forms of contacts as well, such as summit meetings, reciprocal visits and exchanges of views between heads of foreign services, interparliamentary ties, etc. They are also reflected in documents adopted and signed by both sides: communiques, joint statements, treaties and agreements.

Diplomatic relations may be suspended or discontinued (broken off) on the initiative of either side, as well as in the event of war between them. In this case each of the partners may request a third state to represent its interests. Naturally, they also cease if one of the partners loses its statehood (e. g. by merging with another state) or if, as a result of a union formed with another state or states the foreign policy functions of such a state are taken over by the central bodies of the new state entity (federation, confederation or other).

It goes without saying that diplomatic relations, being a form of international relations as a whole, which are composed of a wide range of social processes and cover such fields as economy, politics, culture, science, and others, reflect the social structure of the societies involved. The Soviet Union acts on the assumption that diplomatic relations should promote the development of friendly ties among states, increase mutual understanding, between states with different social systems included, contribute to the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security.

O. PAVLOV



FROM SPEECHES BY HEADS OF DELEGATIONS AT THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

(Continued from page 126)

The world spends more on military expenditure today than it does on health and education combined. Every year 15 million children in the developing countries are allowed to die through famine and malnutrition. This appalling tragedy occurs in a world which has the resources to feed them. More than two thirds of the world population live in a twilight economic zone, dependent on decisions over which they have no control. Many of them are condemned to the attrition of their living standards, to unemployment, hunger and a wrenching adjustment process, which for them takes place at the margin between life and death.

It is recognised that the current arms race represents not only an enormous waste of resources, but condemns us to live in fear of a possible nuclear holocaust. It is also recognised that the current disorders affecting international economic relationships create the kind of instability which might make a catastrophic war inevitable. The challenge that we face therefore is to harness the intelligence and imagination at our disposal in the struggle for a peaceful and prosperous world. We have the resources to that end.

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STATEMENT

BY MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The new year 1986 has begun. It will be an important year, one can say a turning point in the history of the Soviet state, the year of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. The Congress will chart the guidelines for the political, social, economic and spiritual development of Soviet society in the period up to the next millennium. It will adopt a programme for accelerating our peaceful construction.

All the efforts of the CPSU are directed towards ensuring a further improvement in the life of the Soviet people.

A turn for the better is also needed in the international arena. This is the expectation and the demand of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the peoples throughout the world.

Being aware of this, at the start of the new year the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government have adopted a decision on a number of major foreign policy actions of a fundamental nature. They are designed to promote to a maximum degree an improvement in the international situation. They are prompted by the need to overcome the negative confrontational trends that have been growing in recent years and to clear up ways towards curbing the nuclear arms race on Earth and preventing it in outer space, an overall reduction of the risk of war and the building of confidence as an integral part of relations among states.

I

Our most important action is a concrete programme aimed at the complete elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world and covering a precisely defined period of time.

The Soviet Union is proposing a step-by-step and consistent process of ridding the Earth of nuclear weapons, to be implemented and completed within the next 15 years, before the end of this century.

The 20th century has given mankind the gift of the energy of the atom. However, this great achievement of the human mind can turn into an instrument of self-annihilation of mankind.

Is it possible to solve this contradiction? We are convinced it is. Finding effective ways towards eliminating nuclear weapons is a feasible task, provided it is tackled without delay.

The Soviet Union is proposing a programme of ridding mankind of the fear of a nuclear catastrophe, to be carried out beginning in 1986. And the fact that this year has been proclaimed by the United Nations the International Year of Peace provides an additional political and moral incentive for this. What is required here is rising above national selfishness, tactical calculations, differences and disputes, whose significance is nothing compared to the preservation of what is most valuable—peace and a safe future. The

energy of the atom should be placed at the exclusive service of peace, a goal that our socialist state has invariably advocated and continues to pursue.

It was our country that as early as 1946 was the first to raise the question of prohibiting the production and use of atomic weapons and to make atomic energy serve peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind.

How does the Soviet Union envisage today in practical terms the process of reducing nuclear weapons, both delivery vehicles and warheads, leading to their complete elimination? Our proposals can be summarized as follows.

Stage One. Within the next 5-8 years the USSR and the USA will reduce by one half the nuclear arms that can reach each other's territory. On the remaining delivery vehicles of this kind each side will retain no more than 6,000 warheads.

It stands to reason that such a reduction is possible only if the USSR and the USA mutually renounce the development, testing and deployment of space strike weapons. As the Soviet Union has repeatedly warned, the development of space strike weapons will dash the hopes for a reduction of nuclear weapons on Earth.

The first stage will include the adoption and implementation of the decision on the complete elimination of intermediate-range missiles of the USSR and the USA in the European zone, both ballistic and cruise missiles, as a first step towards ridding the European continent of nuclear weapons.

At the same time the United States should undertake not to transfer its strategic and medium-range missiles to other countries, while Britain and France should pledge not to build up their respective nuclear arms.

The USSR and the USA should from the very beginning agree to stop any nuclear explosions and call upon other states to join in such a moratorium as soon as possible.

We propose that the first stage of nuclear disarmament should concern the Soviet Union and the United States because it is up to them to set an example for the other nuclear powers to follow. We said that very frankly to President Reagan of the United States during our meeting in Geneva.

Stage Two. At this stage, which should start no later than 1990 and last for 5-7 years, the other nuclear powers will begin to engage in nuclear disarmament. To begin with, they would pledge to freeze all their nuclear arms and not to have them in the territories of other countries.

In this period the USSR and the USA will go on with the reductions agreed upon during the first stage and also carry out further measures designed to eliminate their medium-range nuclear weapons and freeze their tactical nuclear systems.

Following the completion by the USSR and the USA of the 50-per cent reduction in their relevant arms at the second stage, another radical step is taken: all nuclear powers eliminate their tactical nuclear arms, namely the weapons having a range (or radius of action) of up to 1,000 km.

At the same stage the Soviet-American accord on the prohibition of space strike weapons would have to become multilateral, with the mandatory participation of major industrial powers in it.

All nuclear powers would stop nuclear weapons tests.

There would be a ban on the development of non-nuclear weapons based on new physical principles, whose destructive capacity is close to that of nuclear arms or other weapons of mass destruction.

Stage Three will begin no later than 1995. At this stage the elimination of all remaining nuclear weapons will be completed. By the end of 1999 there will be no nuclear weapons on Earth. A universal accord will be drawn up that such weapons should never again come into being.

We have in mind that special procedures will be worked out for the destruction of nuclear weapons as well as the dismantling, re-equipment or destruction of delivery vehicles. In the process, agreement will be reached

on the numbers of weapons to be destroyed at each stage, the sites of their destruction and so on.

Verification with regard to the weapons that are destroyed or limited would be carried out both by national technical means and through on-site inspections. The USSR is ready to reach agreement on any other additional verification measures.

The adoption of the nuclear disarmament programme that we propose would undoubtedly have a favourable impact on the negotiations conducted at bilateral and multilateral forums. The programme would identify specific routes and reference points, establish a specific time-frame for achieving agreements and implementing them and would make the negotiations purposeful and goal-oriented. This would break the dangerous trend whereby the momentum of the arms race is greater than the process of negotiations.

In summary, we propose that we should enter the third millennium without nuclear weapons, on the basis of mutually acceptable and strictly verifiable agreements. If the United States Administration is indeed committed to the goal of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere, as it has repeatedly stated, it is being offered a practical opportunity to begin this in practice. Instead of wasting the next 10-15 years on developing new, extremely dangerous weapons in space, allegedly designed to make nuclear arms useless, would it not be more sensible to start eliminating those arms and finally bring them down to zero? The Soviet Union, I repeat, proposes precisely that.

The Soviet Union calls upon all peoples and states and, naturally, above all nuclear states, to support the programme of eliminating nuclear weapons before the year 2000. It is absolutely clear to any unbiased person that if such a programme is implemented, nobody would lose and everybody would gain. This is a problem common to all mankind and it can and must be solved only through common efforts. And the sooner this programme is translated into practical deeds, the safer life on our planet will be.

II

Guided by the same approach and the desire to make another practical step within the context of the programme of nuclear disarmament, the Soviet Union has taken an important decision.

We are extending by 3 months our unilateral moratorium on any nuclear explosions, which expired on December 31, 1985. Such a moratorium will remain in effect even further if the United States for its part also stops nuclear tests. We propose once again to the United States to join this initiative whose significance is evident to practically everyone in the world.

It is clear that adopting such a decision was by no means simple for us. The Soviet Union cannot display unilateral restraint with regard to nuclear tests indefinitely. But the stakes are too high and the responsibility too great for us not to try every possibility of influencing the position of others through the force of example.

All experts, scientists, politicians and military men agree that the cessation of tests would indeed block off the channels for upgrading nuclear weapons. And this task has top priority. A reduction of nuclear arsenals alone, without a prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests, does not offer a way out of the dilemma of nuclear danger, since the remaining weapons would be modernized and there would still remain the possibility of developing increasingly sophisticated and lethal nuclear weapons and trying out their new types at test ranges.

Therefore, the cessation of tests is a practical step towards eliminating nuclear weapons.

I wish to say the following from the outset. Possible references to verification as an obstacle to the establishment of a moratorium on nuclear ex-

plosions would be totally groundless. We declare unequivocally that verification is no problem as far as we are concerned. Should the United States agree to stop all nuclear explosions on a reciprocal basis, appropriate verification of compliance with the moratorium would be fully ensured by national technical means as well as through international procedures—including on-site inspections whenever necessary. We invite the USA to reach agreement to this effect.

The USSR is strongly in favour of the moratorium becoming a bilateral, and later a multilateral action. We are also in favour of resuming the trilateral negotiations involving the USSR, the USA and Great Britain on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. This could be done immediately, even this month. We are also prepared to begin without delay multilateral test ban negotiations within the framework of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, with all nuclear powers taking part.

Non-aligned countries are proposing consultations with a view to making the 1963 Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water apply also to the underground tests, which are not covered by the Treaty. The Soviet Union is agreeable to this measure too.

Since last summer we have been calling upon the United States to follow our example and stop nuclear explosions. Washington has as yet not done that despite the protests and demands of public opinion, and contrary to the will of most states in the world. By continuing to set off nuclear explosions the US side continues to pursue its elusive dream of military superiority. This policy is futile and dangerous, a policy which is not worthy of the level of civilization that modern society has reached.

In the absence of a positive response from the United States, the Soviet side had every right to resume nuclear tests starting already on January 1, 1986. If one were to follow the usual "logic" of the arms race, that, presumably, would have been the thing to do.

But the point is that it is precisely this dubious logic that has to be resolutely repudiated. We are making yet another attempt in this direction. Otherwise the process of military rivalry will become an avalanche and any control over the course of events would be impossible. To submit to the force of the nuclear arms race is inadmissible. This would mean acting against the voice of reason and the human instinct of self-preservation. What is required are new and bold approaches, new political thinking and a heightened sense of responsibility for the destinies of the peoples.

The US Administration is once again given more time to weigh our proposals on stopping nuclear explosions and to give a positive answer to them. It is precisely this kind of response that people everywhere in the world will expect from Washington.

The Soviet Union is addressing an appeal to the United States President and Congress, to the American people. There is an opportunity of halting the process of upgrading nuclear arms and developing new weapons of that kind. It must not be missed. The Soviet proposals place the USSR and the United States in an equal position. These proposals do not attempt to outwit or outsmart the other side. We are proposing to take the road of sensible and responsible decisions.

III

In order to implement the programme of reducing and eliminating nuclear arsenals, the entire existing system of negotiations has to be set in motion and the highest possible efficiency of disarmament machinery ensured.

In a few days the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms will resume in Geneva. When we met with President Reagan last November at Geneva, we had a frank discussion on the whole range of problems that

constitute the subject of those negotiations, namely on space, strategic offensive arms and intermediate-range nuclear systems. It was agreed that the negotiations should be accelerated and that agreement must not remain a mere declaration.

The Soviet delegation in Geneva will be instructed to act in strict compliance with that agreement. We expect the same constructive approach from the US side, above all on the question of space. Space must remain peaceful, strike weapons should not be deployed there. Neither should they be developed. And let there also be a most rigorous control, including opening the relevant laboratories for inspection.

Mankind is at a crucial stage of the new space age. And it is time to abandon the thinking of the stone age, when the chief concern was to have a bigger stick or a heavier stone. We are against weapons in space. Our material and intellectual capabilities make it possible for the Soviet Union to develop any weapon if we are compelled to do this. But we are fully aware of our responsibility to the present and future generations. It is our profound conviction that we should approach the third millennium not with the "star wars" programme but with large-scale projects of peaceful exploration of space by all mankind. We propose to start practical work on such projects and their implementation. This is one of the major ways of ensuring progress on our entire planet and establishing a reliable system of security for all.

To prevent the arms race from extending into space means to remove the obstacle to deep cuts in nuclear weapons. There is on the negotiating table in Geneva a Soviet proposal on reducing by one half the relevant nuclear arms of the Soviet Union and the United States, which would be an important step towards a complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Barring the possibility of resolving the problem of space means not wanting to stop the arms race on Earth. This should be stated in clear and straight-forward terms. It is not by chance that the proponents of the nuclear arms race are also ardent supporters of the "star wars" programme. These are the two sides of the same policy, hostile to the interests of the peoples.

Let me turn to the European aspect of the nuclear problem. It is a matter of extreme concern that in defiance of reason and contrary to the national interests of the European peoples, American first-strike missiles continue to be deployed in certain West European countries. This problem has been under discussion for many years now. Meanwhile the security situation in Europe continues to deteriorate.

It is time to put an end to this course of events and cut this Gordian knot. The Soviet Union has for a long time been proposing that Europe should be freed from both intermediate-range and tactical nuclear weapons. This proposal remains valid. As a first radical step in this direction we are now proposing, as I have said, that even at the first stage of our programme all intermediate-range ballistic and cruise missiles of the USSR and the USA in the European zone should be eliminated.

Achieving tangible practical results at the Geneva talks would give meaningful material substance to the programme designed to totally eliminate nuclear arms by the year 2000, which we are proposing.

IV

The Soviet Union considers as fully feasible the task of completely eliminating even in this century such barbaric weapons of mass destruction as chemical weapons.

At the talks on chemical weapons within the framework of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament certain signs of progress have recently appeared. However, these talks have been impermissibly protracted. We are in favour of intensifying the talks in order to conclude an effective and verifi-

able international convention prohibiting chemical weapons and destroying the existing stockpiles of those weapons, as agreed with President Reagan at Geneva.

In the matter of banning chemical weapons, just like in other disarmament matters, all participants in the talks should take a fresh look at things. I would like to make it perfectly clear that the Soviet Union is in favour of an early and complete elimination of those weapons and of the industrial base for their production. We are prepared for a timely declaration of the location of enterprises producing chemical weapons and for the cessation of their production, and are ready to start developing procedures for destroying relevant industrial base and to proceed, soon after the convention enters into force, to eliminating the stockpiles of chemical weapons. All these measures would be carried out under strict control, including international on-site inspections.

A radical solution to this problem would also be facilitated by certain interim steps. For example, agreement could be achieved on a multilateral basis not to transfer chemical weapons to anyone and not to deploy them in the territories of other states. As for the Soviet Union, it has always strictly abided by those principles in its practical policies. We call upon other states to follow that example and show equal restraint.

V

Along with eliminating from the arsenals of states the weapons of mass destruction, the Soviet Union is proposing that conventional weapons and armed forces become subject to agreed reductions.

Reaching agreement at the Vienna negotiations could signal the beginning of progress in this direction. Today it would seem that a framework is emerging for a possible decision to reduce Soviet and US troops and subsequently freeze the level of armed forces of the opposing sides in Central Europe. The Soviet Union and our Warsaw Treaty allies are determined to achieve success at the Vienna talks. If the other side also wants this, 1986 could become a landmark for the Vienna talks too. We proceed from the understanding that a possible agreement on troop reductions would naturally require reasonable verification. We are prepared for it.

As for observing the commitment to freeze the numbers of troops, in addition to national technical means permanent verification posts could be established to monitor any military contingents entering the reduction zone.

Let me now mention such an important forum as the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. It is called upon to place barriers against the use of force or covert preparations for war, whether on land, at sea or in the air. The possibilities have now become evident.

In our view, especially in the current situation, it is essential to reduce the numbers of troops participating in major military exercises subject to prior notification under the Helsinki Final Act.

It is time to begin dealing effectively with the problems still outstanding at the Conference. It is known that the bottleneck there is the issue of notifications regarding major ground force, naval and air force exercises. Of course, those are serious problems and they must be tackled in a serious manner in the interests of building confidence in Europe. However, if their comprehensive solution cannot be achieved at this time, why not explore ways of their partial solution, for instance reach agreement now about notifications of major ground force and air force exercises, postponing the question of naval activities until the next stage of the Conference.

It is not an accident that many of the new Soviet initiatives are directly addressed to Europe. In achieving a radical turn towards the policy of pea-

ce, Europe could have a special mission. That mission is erecting a new edifice of detente.

For this Europe has the necessary historical experience which is often unique. Suffice it to recall that the joint efforts of the Europeans, the United States and Canada produced the Helsinki Final Act. If there is a need for a specific and vivid example of new thinking and political psychology in approaching the problems of peace, cooperation and international trust, that historic document could in many ways serve as such an example.

VI

Ensuring security in Asia is of vital importance to the Soviet Union, which is a major Asian power. The Soviet programme for eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of the current century is in harmony with the sentiments of the peoples of the Asian continent, for whom the problems of peace and security are no less urgent than for the peoples of Europe. In this context one cannot fail to recall that Japan and its cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki became the victims of nuclear bombings and Vietnam a target hit by chemical weapons.

We highly appreciate the constructive initiatives put forward by the socialist countries of Asia and by India and other members of the non-aligned movement. We view as very important the fact that the two Asian nuclear powers, the USSR and the People's Republic of China, have both undertaken not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The implementation of our programme would fundamentally change the situation in Asia, rid the nations in that part of the globe, too, of the fear of nuclear and chemical threat, and bring the security in that region to a qualitatively new level.

We regard our programme as a contribution to a search, together with all Asian countries, for an overall comprehensive approach to establishing a system of secure and durable peace on this continent.

VII

Our new proposals are addressed to the whole world. Initiating active steps to halt the arms race and reduce weapons is a necessary prerequisite for coping with the increasingly acute global problems, those of the deteriorating human environment and of the need to find new energy sources and combat economic backwardness, hunger and disease. The pattern imposed by militarism—arms instead of development—must be replaced by the reverse order of things—disarmament for development. The noose of the trillion-dollar foreign debt, which is now strangling dozens of countries and entire continents, is a direct consequence of the arms race. Over \$250,000 million annually siphoned out of the developing countries is the amount practically equal to the size of the mammoth US military budget. Indeed, this coincidence is far from accidental.

The Soviet Union wants each measure limiting and reducing arms and each step towards eliminating nuclear weapons not only to bring nations greater security but also to make it possible to allocate more funds for improving people's life. It is natural that the peoples seeking to put an end to backwardness and achieve the level of industrially developed countries associate the prospects of freeing themselves from the burden of foreign debt to imperialism, which is draining their economies, with limiting and eliminating weapons, reducing military expenditures and switching resources to the goals of social and economic development. This theme will undoubtedly figure most prominently at the international conference on disarmament and development to be held next summer in Paris.

The Soviet Union is opposed to making the implementation of disarmament measures dependent on the so-called regional conflict. Behind this is both the unwillingness to follow the path of disarmament and the desire to impose upon sovereign nations what is alien to them and what would make it possible to maintain profoundly unfair conditions whereby some countries live at the expense of others, exploiting their natural, human and spiritual resources for the selfish imperial purposes of certain states or aggressive alliances. The Soviet Union, as before, will continue to oppose this. It will continue consistently to advocate freedom for the peoples, peace, security, and a stronger international legal order. The Soviet Union's goal is not to whip up regional conflicts but to eliminate them through collective efforts on a just basis, and the sooner the better.

Today, there is no shortage of statements professing commitment to peace. What is really in short supply is concrete action to strengthen its foundations. All too often peaceful words conceal war preparations and power politics. Moreover, some statements made from high rostrums are in fact intended to eliminate any trace of that new "spirit of Geneva" which is having a salutary effect on international relations today. It is not only a matter of statements. There are also actions clearly designed to incite animosity and mistrust and to revive confrontation, which is antithetical to detente.


We reject such a way of acting and thinking. We want 1986 to be not just a peaceful year but one that would enable us to reach the end of the 20th century under the sign of peace and nuclear disarmament. The set of new foreign policy initiatives that we are proposing is intended to make it possible for mankind to approach the year 2000 under peaceful skies and with peaceful space, without fear of nuclear, chemical or any other threat of annihilation and fully confident of its own survival and of the continuation of the human race.

The new resolute measures now taken by the Soviet Union for the sake of peace and of improving the overall international situation give expression to the substance and the spirit of our internal and foreign policies and their organic unity. They reflect the fundamental historic law which was emphasized by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The whole world sees that our country is holding high the banner of peace, freedom and humanism raised over our planet by the Great October Revolution.

In the questions of preserving peace and saving mankind from the threat of nuclear war, no one should remain indifferent or stand aloof. This concerns all and everyone. Each state, large or small, socialist or capitalist, has an important contribution to make. Every responsible political party, every social organization and every person has also to make an important contribution.

No task is more urgent, more noble and humane, than uniting all efforts to achieve this lofty goal. This task is to be accomplished by our generation without shifting it onto the shoulders of those who will succeed us. This is the imperative of our time. This, I would say, is the burden of historic responsibility for our decisions and actions in the time remaining until the beginning of the third millennium.

The course of peace and disarmament will continue to be pivotal to the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. In actively pursuing this course, the Soviet Union is prepared to engage in wide-ranging cooperation with all those who take positions of reason, good will and an awareness of responsibility for assuring mankind a future without wars or weapons.



LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY OF THE CPSU AND THE SOVIET STATE .

Professor A. A K H T A M Z Y A N.

D. Sc. (Hist.)

A characteristic feature of our Party's policy is the continuity of its basic theoretical and political tenets. As was emphasised at the CPSU Central Committee's Plenary Meeting in October 1985, that is a matter of its principled and consistent character, its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism.

The new edition of the Party Programme and the other documents drawn up for the 27th Congress of the CPSU rest on a solid foundation of Lenin's political and scientific legacy, which enables to specify the latest urgent problems of social development and point out ways of their resolution.

Our Party sees Lenin's teaching as a source of realistic ideas engendered by the greatest social revolution in history, as an integral world outlook, a system of views on the present-day world, and a methodology for the cognition of internal and international life. The Soviet Communists cherish the memory of the founder of their Party and the socialist state, carefully safeguarding the treasury of knowledge—the teaching created by a man from whom, as Mikhail Gorbachev wrote in the visitor's book of Lenin's memorial museum in Paris, “we have all learned, learn and will continue to learn”.

The abiding value of Lenin's teaching is that, being essentially internationalist, it equips the working class of different countries with a scientific method of cognition and transformation of the society. As a brilliant continuator in the new historical conditions of the cause championed by the founders of scientific communism, Lenin analysed with amazing depth and insight the fundamental problems of his period and answered the crucial questions of world development. He elaborated a harmonious theory of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and a scientific system of views on the problems of war and peace.

The principles of Leninist foreign policy have recently been developed by the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meeting. It stressed the need for a more active peace effort on the part of the Soviet Union along the entire frontier of international relations.

Proceeding from the fact that eliminating the nuclear threat is a call of our time, this country does everything, as far as it depends on it, to secure peace for the present and the future generations. The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government started their activities in 1986, proclaimed by the United Nations the International Year of Peace, by adopting a decision on the implementation of cardinal large-scope foreign-policy actions. These actions are geared to radically improve the situation in the world, to overcome the trends

leading to confrontation, and to clear the way to bridling the arms race. The Statement of January 15 this year by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, contains a set of new foreign-policy initiatives and proposals aimed at eliminating the nuclear threat. It is of a truly historic significance.

The theoretical and political documents drafted for the 27th Congress of the CPSU, primarily the new edition of the Party Programme, contain a further creative elaboration of the fundamental propositions of the Marxist-Leninist theory, including such components as the essence of the present epoch and the system of views on the problems of war and peace.

A scientifically substantiated examination of the character and main content of the present epoch is of decisive importance for understanding the essence of international relations. It is precisely from that angle that the new edition of the CPSU Programme gives an indepth scientific analysis of world development in the 20th century.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened a new chapter in world history. Lenin defined the epoch that started in October 1917 as an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale, an epoch of struggle "to liberate nations from imperialism, to put an end to wars among nations".¹ The whole course of world development confirms Lenin's analysis and his conclusions on the main uniformity of history. On the strength of their collective experience, the Communist and Workers' Parties have repeatedly validated and reaffirmed at their meetings the abiding importance of Lenin's definition. Their programme and policy, past and present, are based on that definition.

In full accordance with Lenin's criteria and demands, the new edition of the CPSU Programme analyses the main laws and the basic tendencies of world development. On the strength of the Marxist-Leninist methodology, it gives a detailed definition of the character and basic content of the present period: "This is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, and of a historical competition between the two world socio-political systems, an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions, and of the disintegration of colonialism, an epoch of struggle of the main motive forces of social development—world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, the peoples of the newly free states and the mass democratic movements—against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression, and for democracy and social progress."

Proceeding from their scientific, Marxist-Leninist understanding of the character and main content of the present period, the socialist states structure their international policy on the basis of a knowledge of the major laws and tendencies of world development. They act in accordance with historical laws, and that is an important earnest of success in world politics.

Socialism is a society whose thoughts and deeds on the international scene are aimed to support the peoples' striving for independence and social progress, and are geared to the main task: maintaining and strengthening peace.

The present conditions for its realisation are much more favourable than before. The emergence of the world socialist system, the formation and strengthening of the socialist community have led to a radical change in the world correlation of forces in favour of the peoples fighting for social progress, democracy, national freedom and peace. The socialist com-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 167.

munity is a force which commands the greatest international prestige and without which it is impossible to solve any question of world politics. It is a reliable bulwark of peace on the Earth.

The present stage in the Soviet Union's development throws into particularly strong relief the profound and law-governed interconnection between politics and economics, between the state's domestic and foreign policies: the growing dynamism of internal life and more rapid scientific and technological progress help to invigorate the Soviet Union's foreign policy, its efforts aimed at improving the international situation. In the crucial sphere of human activities—in economic life—which will ultimately determine the outcome of the historical contest between socialism and capitalism, the Party formulates majestic tasks.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme and the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, their constructive character show that the projected plans can be realised only in a peaceful setting. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are launching gigantic plans for an acceleration of socio-economic development, so giving a clear answer to the question of what kind of external conditions they are interested in. The peaceful nature of the plans and the peaceful policy of the socialist states expose the false propaganda being spread by the militarist circles of the capitalist countries against the socialist community, against the allegedly mounting military threat on the part of the USSR and other socialist states.

The large-scale tasks and goals advanced by the Party in the economic and social spheres call for favourable international conditions, primarily for an elimination of the threat of world war, attainment of universal security, and a solution of the problems of disarmament. The main task of the CPSU's international policy is defined as that of defending and strengthening peace: "A world without wars and without weapons is the ideal of socialism."

Organic unity of domestic and foreign policy remains the most important and, one could say, fundamental proposition in the foreign-policy and diplomatic activities of the Soviet state. An interconnection between domestic and foreign policies is a practical tenet of the CPSU.

The problems of social development now arise in the context of the complicated mutual relations between the capitalist and the socialist systems and are closely tied in with present-day global problems. The most important of these is the problem of preventing a new world war. The questions of war and peace are now at the centre of world politics. In the present conditions, it is no longer a matter of confrontation between the two social systems, but also of a choice between survival and mutual destruction.

A study of the material, military-technological realities of the nuclear age keeps providing fresh proof that qualitative changes have taken place over the past decade in the character of a possible armed conflict, as well as its catastrophic consequences for the whole of mankind. That naturally calls for a new way of thinking, for a different approach to the whole set of problems in preventing a world war.

In analysing the origins and nature of the First World War, Lenin predicted that the development and use of new and ever more destructive technical means of warfare would "undermine the very foundations of human society".² Such a threat has now become a reality. It is a matter of preserving the conditions for the existence of our civilisation. That is why the question of preventing a world thermonuclear war and war in general is constantly at the centre of attention of the CPSU and the

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, 1965, p. 422.

Soviet state, the socialist community countries, and the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The danger looming over the planet has never been as grave as it is today. But nor have the possibilities for maintaining and strengthening peace ever been so real. The potential of the peace forces has grown immeasurably, and the sphere of imperialist domination is inexorably shrinking. A historic gain of socialism was the establishment of a military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO, something that has dashed the hopes of the aggressive imperialist circles for a victory in a world nuclear war. All of that has enabled the CPSU in the new edition of its Programme to reaffirm its conclusion that "world war is not fatally inevitable. It is possible to avert war and to save mankind from catastrophe. This is the historical mission of socialism, of all progressive and peaceloving forces of the world".

It was the founders of scientific communism who first formulated as a programmatic goal of the working class an assertion of "the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations".³ Continuing the traditions of the international working-class movement the Soviet state and the other socialist community countries have introduced new, just and democratic principles into the practice of international relations. The socialist countries have been consistently working to develop normal, equable and civilised relations of cooperation between all states of the world, to expand and deepen mutually beneficial economic ties, to make war itself impossible and rule it out from international life altogether.

The basic principles, goals and lines of the socialist state's international policy are determined by the very nature of the new society, a society without man's exploitation by man and without any oppression of one nation by another, a society without any classes or social groups which derive profit from preparation or waging of wars.

Leninist principles of international policy have, since the Great October Socialist Revolution, been at the root of the foreign-policy activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state, being comprehended in ever greater depth at each new historical stage.

Proletarian, socialist internationalism has been and remains the pivotal principle of the Communists' international policy. Lenin emphasised that there is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle, and supporting *this struggle*, this, and *only this* line, in *every* country without exception⁴, and mutual support of working-class parties in different countries.

Proletarian internationalism, applied and embodied in the relations between the socialist states as the principle of socialist internationalism, means mutual assistance and all-round cooperation between the socialist states with a view to bringing their peoples closer together.

In elaborating the principle of socialist internationalism, the new edition of the CPSU Programme specifies the conditions that are necessary for a further strengthening of the unity and progressive development of the community of socialist states.

The CPSU and the Soviet state attach paramount importance to the

³ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 18.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, 1964, p. 75.

further development and strengthening of their friendly relations, of close cooperation with the other socialist states constituting the world socialist system. Strengthening of all-round ties with the socialist states is a priority line of Soviet international policy. The fraternal parties take particular care to deepen the all-round cooperation between the states of the socialist community. Over the past decades, the relations between the community states have been put on a solid contractual basis for the development of all-round ties and socialist economic integration.

Socialist economic integration is the decisive factor in bringing the peoples of the socialist community countries closer together. The recent period has seen a marked invigoration and deepening of the political and economic ties between the socialist community states, which have long-term programmes of cooperation in the field of the economy and scientific and technological progress, a smoothly running mechanism for multilateral cooperation and coordination of foreign-policy activities. International organisations—the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation—operate on the basis of the full equality of all their member states.

The military-political alliance of the European socialist states has stood the test of time. The Warsaw Treaty, an instrument of collective security, has taken shape over the past three decades as a reliable bulwark of the socialist states against the aggressive aspirations of imperialist military blocs, NATO above all. The prolongation of the Warsaw Treaty for another 20 years, effected in the spring of 1985, was an expression of the people's will, reaffirming the need to strengthen and perfect the defensive organisation of the socialist states so long as NATO, the aggressive military bloc, is still in existence.

At the Sofia Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in October 1985, the Warsaw Treaty member states came out with a Statement for Elimination of the Nuclear Threat and a Change for the Better in European and World Affairs. The Statement emphasises: "The chief objective of the foreign policy of the Warsaw Treaty states has been to remove the threat of nuclear war, reduce the level of military confrontation, and develop international relations in a spirit of peaceful coexistence and detente."

Another major line of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is an extension and development of equitable friendly ties with the newly-free countries. In that field as well, the Soviet Union has consistently abided by Leninist principles and traditions.

In its very first acts, the Soviet state proclaimed a policy of support for the peoples' liberation struggle against the colonialists. In one of the documents adopted at the time when Soviet diplomacy was preparing for the international conference at Genoa, Lenin emphasised the idea formulated as a programmatic proposition of Soviet foreign policy: "The novelty of our international scheme must be that the Negro and other colonial peoples participate on an equal footing with the European peoples in conferences and commissions and have the right to prevent interference in their internal affairs."⁵

Proceeding from that Leninist propositions, the Soviet Union has been giving and continues to give all-round support to the former colonial countries and peoples in their striving for full political and economic independence. A vivid manifestation of that policy is the USSR's activities at the United Nations, whose members 25 years ago adopted a Soviet-initiated historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is precisely owing to the admission to the United Nations of the newly free states of Asia, Africa and Latin America that

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 45, 1970, p. 509.

it became a truly worldwide organisation of security and cooperation, with almost 160 member states.

In accordance with Leninist traditions, the CPSU has been deepening its relations with the revolutionary-democratic parties of newly-free states, attaching much importance to solidarity, to political and economic cooperation with socialism-oriented countries. The Soviet Union has also been developing interstate relations with those newly-free countries which are following the capitalist road. Such cooperation rests on a real ground-work of common concern for maintaining peace, strengthening security and ending the dangerous arms race. Abiding by the Leninist principles, the Soviet Union has been giving assistance to the newly free countries in economic and cultural construction and in training national personnel. With a number of Asian and African states, the Soviet Union has agreements on friendship and cooperation.

The CPSU views with understanding the newly-free countries' goals and activity in the non-aligned movement and their struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism, it has come out and will continue to come out against their involvement in military-political groupings. The growing political activity of the non-aligned states is a positive factor in present-day international relations, a factor working for peace, for the equality, freedom and independence of nations. As is emphasised in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "the alliance of the forces of social progress and national liberation is a guarantee of a better future for mankind". The growing political activity on the part of the non-aligned countries is a positive factor in the present-day international relations working for peace, equality, freedom and the independence of the nations.

The USSR's relations with the capitalist states are based on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, which has been creatively developed in the documents of the CPSU and the Soviet state and serves as a guide in their practical activities. History itself, and not merely theory, has borne out the viability of the policy of peaceful coexistence. The new edition of the CPSU Programme gives a clear-cut definition of that policy and envisages purposeful effort to get the peaceful coexistence principle asserted throughout international relations as a generally recognised and generally observed norm of interstate relations.

In their striving to distort the essence of the Soviet Union's policy, the reactionary imperialist circles have been trying to present this country as an "empire of evil", thus falsifying historical facts. It was only recently that the US President adduced as an argument which was to have confirmed the thesis about an alleged Soviet threat a "statement" by Lenin which the latter had never made: We shall seize Eastern Europe, organise Asian hordes, and push onward to Latin America, so that we shall not have to occupy the United States, which will fall into our outstretched arms as an overripe fruit. US newsmen first assumed that the "statement" came from a B movie script, but then discovered the source of the falsehood: a *Blue Paper* issued by the John Birch Society, an anti-communist organisation with fascist leanings.

One may well ask why US ideologists and politicians could not use the numerous true and historically valid statements made by the founder of the Soviet state, statements which, incidentally, have been published in English and which show the Soviet government's consistent striving for peace, for friendly relations of cooperation with the USA. For instance, a *Chicago Daily News* correspondent asked Lenin in October 1919: "What is the position of the Soviet government in respect of an economic

understanding with America?" Lenin's answer was brief and distinct: "We are decidedly for an economic understanding with America—with all countries but *especially* with America."⁶ The Soviet state's principled line for the development of mutually beneficial business relations with the capitalist countries in the interests of stronger peace remains consistent and undeviating. The Soviet Union invariably advocates equal relations without any discrimination, and compliance with the norms of relations between sovereign partners.

Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence between states with different systems in our time assumed from the very beginning that they should in principle recognise the equality of "property systems". It is only true equality, rather than a claim to superiority, that can provide a basis for agreements signed by states as equal partners and leading to a truly lasting peace. In the conditions of the rough equilibrium that has taken shape between the military and strategic forces of the two opposite military alliances, the Soviet Union has in full agreement with the Leninist approach put forward and consistently advocated the principle of equality and equal security of states.

Over the past decades, radical changes have taken place in the world which call for a new approach to foreign policy, for a new way of thinking on the part of responsible political leaders. The security concept of any modern state cannot be based solely on the priority of its own selfish interests, misconceived as "vital". International security is only possible with due account for the interests of all the participants in the world system of states, with an understanding of the constantly growing interdependence of all countries on the planet. And it is perfectly obvious that now, as never before, mankind's general, global interests urge the need to maintain peace on the Earth and eliminate the threat of a thermonuclear conflict.

Present-day reality is such that the future of universal peace largely depends on the mutual relations between states, the USSR and the USA, which bear a special responsibility for the character and consequences of world development in view of their military, economic, scientific and technological potential and their international weight.

In the 1970s, protracted and complicated talks between the USSR and the United States resulted in an understanding and recognition of the fact that in the nuclear age there is no other basis than peaceful coexistence for maintaining relations between them. The two sides elaborated and signed a number of treaties and agreements limiting the nuclear-missile race and opening up perspectives for a relaxation of international tensions.

In the 1980s, however, the US Administration came to be dominated by forces which discarded the line of detente and adopted a line of confrontation, launching programmes for the USA's nuclear and other rearmament in order to attain military superiority over the USSR. They called in question the observance of earlier attained treaties and agreements, including those on strategic arms limitation, and severed virtually all bilateral ties and cooperation links. That put in doubt the very prospect of peaceful coexistence. It was the Soviet Union's consistent and constructive line alone that made it possible to reach an understanding on a summit meeting and negotiations between the two powers.

At the Geneva meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan in November 1985 the parties issued a Joint Statement expressing a mutual understanding that a nuclear war should never be unleashed and that there can be no victors in such a war. As a result of the summit, both

parties recognised the need to prevent any war between them, either nuclear or conventional, for any conflict between them would have catastrophic consequences. The supreme representatives of the USSR and the USA declared on behalf of their states that they would not seek to attain military superiority.

Of course, the consequences of the Geneva summit and the mutual understanding attained can only manifest themselves in full measure in further practical steps and understandings. But the whole world has already noted that a positive step has been taken towards greater security, detente and peaceful coexistence. Herein, undoubtedly, lies the historical importance of the dialogue held in 1985.

Development of trade and economic relations between states with different social systems is a major factor in the policy of peaceful coexistence. In the present complicated conditions of the contest between the two systems, extension of economic, scientific and technological ties and contacts is a political problem. Trade relations should serve to stabilise international relations. "If we want truly lasting and stable relations capable of ensuring reliable peace," Mikhail Gorbachev noted, "these should rest, among other things, on developed business relations."⁷

It was Lenin who connected the possibility of peaceful coexistence with the development of businesslike trade ties between different countries. In his letter *To the American Workers*, written in September 1919, when the Western powers were pursuing a policy of blockade and isolation of the Soviet Republic, he emphasised that economic ties were desirable for the latter from the political standpoint as well, "during the period of the coexistence side by side of socialist and capitalist states".⁸ Lenin's idea on the need to create a material basis for peaceful coexistence between states with different systems has an ever more urgent ring in our day.

Evidently, the situation in the world remains complicated. The key question of world politics is now that of preventing the militarisation of outer space. In defiance of public opinion, the US Administration and the ruling circles of Britain and the FRG are pressing ahead with the militarisation of outer space. Many people naturally ask: how do the attempts by Washington and some of its NATO allies to turn outer space into a sphere of confrontation and a race in new weapons systems square with their assurances of "adherence to the cause of peace"?

The CPSU and the Soviet state have always assumed that in a world rife with sharp contradictions, in the face of a looming catastrophe, the only reasonable and acceptable way out lies in peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. There is no, nor can there be, any alternative to peaceful coexistence.

From Lenin's Decree on Peace to the new edition of the CPSU Programme, the idea of a just and lasting peace between nations and of ruling out war from the life of mankind stands out in strong relief. Mankind has now reached a point where the danger of a nuclear conflict with the use of the latest scientific and technological achievements jeopardises its very existence.

In these conditions one can hardly overestimate the significance of the Soviet programme, whose aim is to limit and eventually eliminate the nuclear arsenals. It provides for a step-by-step elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world on the basis of mutually acceptable accords under a strict control. The Soviet programme of nuclear disarmament

⁷ *Pravda*, Dec. 11, 1985.

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, 1965, p. 39.

ment calculated for a precise period of time—up to the year 2000—proposes: to begin, from 1986, the elimination of nuclear weapons and to complete this process before 2000; to turn the moratorium on all nuclear explosions from a unilateral action (the USSR extended its moratorium for another three months) into a bilateral and, subsequently, a multilateral action; to agree upon a total ban on all nuclear tests; to rid Europe of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical; to prohibit and eliminate chemical weapons; to reach an interstate accord on the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces; to reach an accord at the Vienna talks and the Stockholm Conference; in the course of the implementation of this programme to find ways to the formation of a system of security and lasting peace in Asia.

The USSR Supreme Soviet, the supreme body of state power in this country, appealed to US Congress to voice its support of the programme providing for the elimination of nuclear weapons before the year 2000. It is absolutely clear to any unbiased person that if such a programme is implemented, nobody will lose and everybody stands to gain.

The new peaceful initiative of the Soviet Union is a vivid proof of the fact that the course of peace and disarmament will remain the pivotal line in the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, the policy which meets the aspirations of the whole of mankind.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS IN THE CMEA COUNTRIES

Assistant Professor *O. C H U K A N O V,*

Cand. Sc. (Econ.)

The Economic Summit Conference of CMEA Member Countries held in June 1984 stated that one of the chief directions in the work to coordinate their economic policies is to elaborate a coordinated, and on a number of issues, a unified scientific and technological policy. And this is only natural. Learning to utilise the highest achievements of modern science and technology, introducing them into mass production are the most efficient way of tackling the chief internal and external problems facing the socialist community.

Participants in the Economic Summit Conference arrived at the conclusion that the way to a unified scientific and technological policy lies first and foremost through elaboration of a fundamental Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of CMEA Countries up to the year 2000. The 39th CMEA Session (Havana, October 1984) noted that joint work on this document is to be carried out on the basis of CMEA members' national programmes for scientific and technological development. Even as the suggestions were in the process of preparation, i.e. at the initial stage of the work, it became clear that the fraternal countries seek to tie up the development of the Programme with elaboration of their new five-year plans of economic and social development, and to make provisions for the resources required to carry through concrete projects under the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress underway.

Reflecting the will of all fraternal Parties, the Economic Summit Conference defined elaboration of this document as an urgent practical task whose accomplishment would help accelerate scientific and technological progress in the socialist countries.

The international situation and the goals of the socialist countries' all-round internal development both demanded that work on the Programme be concluded faster. The Economic Summit Conference had decided to adopt it at the regular CMEA session in 1986. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government suggested that the preparation for, and adoption of, this highly important document be speeded up. This suggestion attached particular significance to the fact that the Programme was being drawn up on the eve of the new five-year-plan period, which must become the time of rapid advance for each of the socialist countries. Naturally the measures agreed on are to be integrated into their five-year plans and into guidelines for the social and economic development up to the year 2000.

The leadership of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the governments of CMEA member states supported the Soviet proposal and expressed their readiness to take part in the early elaboration and adoption of the Comprehensive Programme believing that its implementation will give a strong impetus to the development of each socialist country and the community as a whole.

On December 17-18, 1985, Moscow hosted the 41st Extraordinary Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance at the heads-of-government level.

The Session was chaired by Nikolai Ryzhkov, head of the Soviet delegation. It adopted the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of CMEA Member Countries up to the Year 2000. Considering that in the current five-year plan a great number of research institutes, scientific and production amalgamations, and enterprises will be involved in R&D and practical application of innovations on the basis of specialisation and cooperation, and that direct contracts will have to be established, the CMEA countries have undertaken to do whatever may be necessary to ensure the organisational, legal, economic and other conditions for a timely implementation of the Programme. The Session instructed the CMEA bodies and international economic organisations of CMEA states to make this document the basis of their activities.

Implementation of the programme will promote mutual cooperation, and specialisation of production, consolidate the material and technological basis of the CMEA countries, and enhance the prestige and attraction of socialism in the world.

As a first step towards the realisation of the programme, participants in the session signed a general agreement on multilateral cooperation in the development and introduction of automated designing systems; a general agreement on multilateral cooperation in the development, production and exploitation of a light conduit information transfer system; and an agreement on the establishment of an international scientific and production Interrobot association for the purpose of developing robotics.

The Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of CMEA Member Countries up to the Year 2000 (basic provisions) was made public through the press and other mass media in the fraternal countries.

On December 17, 1985, the Kremlin hosted a meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and heads of government delegations and secretaries of Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties taking part in the work of the CMEA Session. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the Session was a landmark event in the life of the socialist community. High acclaim was extended to the joint work that had been done to prepare the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member Countries up to the Year 2000.

The socialist system opens up broad opportunities for the advanced development of science and up-to-date technologies. Success in this field will help to better demonstrate the advantages of socialism, rapidly build up the economic, social and cultural potential of the fraternal countries, and make them technologically independent from imperialism and impervious to its pressure and blackmail. The way to attain this is to dramatically intensify social production on the basis of the most recent achievements of science and technology and the pooling of efforts and closer interaction between the key directions of cooperation.

Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the realisation of the Comprehensive Programme was to make a significant contribution to the acceleration of social and economic development and promote the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries in full accord with the common course agreed on at summit meetings of their leaders.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress as a political task of both the state and the Party. Its chief provisions have been included into the draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period End-

ing in 2000. The CPSU Central Committee has called on Party organisations and economic management bodies urging them to take an active part in the joint work of scientific establishments and enterprises in the socialist countries aimed at developing, and utilizing up-to-date technologies.

The Marxist-Leninist parties in a number of socialist community countries have entered upon the period of immediate preparations for their regular congresses, which are to sum up the work done in the past five-year plan period, set the targets for the upcoming one, and map out the measures towards improving the forms and methods of socialist economic management in order to make better use of the opportunities and advantages of socialism. Naturally enough, the congresses will concentrate on questions of accelerating scientific and technological progress, and the goals set by the Comprehensive Programme will be realised through national five-year and annual plans.

Implementation of the Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress opens up broad opportunities for creative activity and initiative on the part of all the working people, especially the young. Party organisations have been instructed to do their best to encourage this trend. At the same time, the qualitatively new goals require that the CMEA and joint organisations and enterprises improve their work and raise it to a higher level.

The Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of CMEA Member Countries up to the Year 2000 is counted upon to do a great deal to accelerate the social and economic development of the socialist countries. The socialist community is a stronghold of peace and social progress. It grows steadily stronger building up its political and economic potential, and is turning into an increasingly more advanced scientific and technological region of the world.

Following the course begun by Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union works to further improve socialism and ensure society's advance towards communism. The April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meeting has developed the concept of the country's accelerated social and economic development, which has become the foundation of this work. Other socialist countries are also fulfilling large-scale tasks of an overall development of socialist society.

At the present stage of the scientific and technological revolution, a new shape of social production is being evolved based on intensive factors of economic development. Mikhail Gorbachev said that the Party regards the acceleration of social and economic progress as the key area of its economic strategy, the principal lever for intensifying and raising the efficiency of the national economy and, consequently, for solving major social problems¹.

For this reason, the issue of efficiently fusing the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in the USSR's national economy has moved to the forefront in the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress and is regarded as the principal target for the 12th Five-Year Plan (1986-1990) and the country's long-term economic development up to 2000. Its attainment will allow the intensification of the Soviet economy to be completed, will accelerate its advance, carry through progressive structural economic changes, further raise the people's living standards, and build up the country's defence potential. The transition towards greater effectiveness of economic growth is to be carried out within a very short time-limit.

The socialist economic management mechanism will have to be dras-

¹ M. S. Gorbachev, *The Vital Question of the Party's Economic Policy*, Moscow, 1985, pp. 3-4 (in Russian).

tically improved, a vigorous scientific and technological renovation of production accomplished, and labour productivity and the quality of output and work as a whole drastically raised. The April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee made the quality issue chief element of its economic policy. In spite of all that is being done in the country to secure a headway in improving the quality and raising the technological standard of the output, this problem has retained its urgency.

Working to solve the questions involved in the scientifically grounded development of productive forces, the Party also attaches a great deal of importance to the improvement of socialist production relations. The centre of our efforts is restructuring the system of planning and management. The principle of centralism in management, especially in its key sectors, will continue to be consolidated, but life itself prompts the need for deepening economic relations, granting enterprises and production and scientific-production amalgamations more extensive rights and greater independence, in economic ties with socialist countries included. This is of particular importance for undertaking large-scale projects in the field of direct contacts, specialisation, cooperation and scientific and technological cooperation.

The trend towards accelerating social and economic development of the Soviet Union and consolidating its technological and economic independence from the West has found expression in the new edition of the Party Programme and the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000. The peoples and Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries are setting themselves similar objectives. There, approval of them has been registered in Party and government documents pertaining to the current and long-term development plans.

In the next fifteen years, the Soviet Union is planning to build an economic potential equal to that created in all the time of the existence of the Soviet state, to almost double the national income and industrial output, and to attain a 2.3- to 2.5-fold increase in labour productivity. The USSR's foreign economic ties will develop at a rapid pace, and the advantages offered by the international division of labour (involving, first and foremost, socialist countries) will be put to extensive use. The other socialist countries also intend to carry through measures of comparable dimensions. Realising the Comprehensive Programme, the CMEA countries have set themselves *a truly revolutionary task*—to reach the highest standard of science, technology and production in all key directions of scientific and technological progress. Attaining it will reduce per national income unit consumption of energy and materials. As a result, socialism will be able to considerably strengthen its positions in its peaceful competition with capitalism.

Our plans rest on a solid foundation. The CMEA countries have built a considerable economic and scientific and technological potential and have accumulated a great deal of experience of joint work within the boundaries of large-scale projects. Against the background of the "technological blockade" which the US Administration and the governments of a number of other NATO countries are attempting to launch in order to restrict the supplies of new machinery and equipment to CMEA states the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress is called upon to play a particularly important role in consolidating the socialist community's technological and economic independence.

The Programme adopted by the 41st Extraordinary Session of CMEA takes due account of world-wide development trends and is guided by the Comprehensive Programme of the USSR's Scientific and Technological Progress for the Period Ending in 2005 and by other national pro-

grammes of scientific and technological development of the CMEA countries.

The CMEA countries are convinced that international scientific and technological cooperation should assume a global scale. They advocate normal international relations in the economic, scientific and technological fields; removing all artificially erected obstacles and restrictions; introducing confidence-building measures in international economic relations; elimination of all forms and varieties of economic aggression, including technological ones; restructuring, on a just and democratic basis, the overall system of economic and scientific and technological relations, and the establishment of a new international economic order; and overcoming the low level of economic development as an acute global problem. The Programme pursues humane peaceful aims and is not directed against the interests of any nation or state.

The scientific and technological revolution and a rapid acceleration of progress in the field of fundamental and applied research and experimental design works have a global scope. The discoveries and achievements of national research teams and individual scientists find their way into the technological exchange market, which has grown nearly four times over in the past ten years, and are rapidly becoming the property of other countries, no matter which social system they belong to, thanks to the rapid development of information exchanges. At the same time, there is a glaring difference between the purpose and forms of the application of what has been attained by the technological revolution, and attempts at a "technological blockade" against the socialist world undertaken by the West under pressure from Washington. It is finding a striking expression in the "strategic defense initiative" (SDI), probably the most wide-scale programme throughout the postwar years directed at militarising outer space and stepping up the nuclear and conventional arms race.

On opposite pole from the militarist thrust of the imperialist strategy in accelerating scientific and technological progress is the socialist policy in this field. Speaking at the 41st Extraordinary Meeting of the CMEA Session, Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said: "The whole of mankind is comparing and will continue to compare the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution in the socialist countries and in the capitalist world. It can see even now that we are adopting a programme of peaceful construction for the sake of man. We do not attempt to set up a privileged club of states which will hold the monopoly for the latest scientific and technological achievements."²

The CMEA countries are sparing no effort to prevent the arms race in outer space and to terminate it on Earth, ensure disarmament and broad international cooperation aimed at an exclusively peaceful use of the revolutionary advances of science and technology.

CMEA countries have undertaken to include the commitments assumed under the Comprehensive Programme in their social and economic development plans and other relevant documents. When working to realise it, *they will proceed from both their national interests, the common interests of the world socialist system and the tasks of preserving peace and safeguarding the security of the peoples.*

The Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of CMEA Member Countries up to the Year 2000 has a truly all-embracing character. It was drawn up on the basis of an in-depth analysis of the

² *Pravda*, Dec. 18, 1985.

key areas in the scientific and technological progress throughout the world and in the CMEA countries.

At the request of all states represented at the Economic Summit Conference of CMEA Countries, the Soviet Union agreed to prepare a draft of such a comprehensive programme. International teams were formed comprising leading scientists and specialists from all CMEA countries to conduct research in the various branches of science, technology and production. They are headed by Soviet scientists, including Academicians A. P. Alexandrov, Ye. P. Velikhov and Yu. A. Ovchinnikov. An agreement was reached to lay the emphasis on five priority areas whose accelerated development was essential for economic intensification and attaining high standards along all the lines of scientific and technological progress, and for reaching the heights necessary to enter into the new technological era of the 21st century.

The Comprehensive Programme adopted by the 41st Extraordinary CMEA Session notes that more rapid scientific and technological progress of the CMEA countries will be ensured above all by accelerated development of the five priority areas of the scientific and technological revolution. Within their framework, the major targets of scientific and technological progress have in their turn been singled out with a view to concentrating on their achievement. They have been defined by summing up the experience gained by the socialist community and the world as a whole, and on the basis of joint scientific and technological forecast. Considering the rapid, and in many ways, unpredictable development of modern science, technology and production, the indices that have been set may have to be specified in the course of the Programme's realisation.

Attainment of the targets set will be secured mostly through concerted efforts of the CMEA member countries themselves. They have everything required for this purpose, including the outstanding achievements scored by fundamental science, a high general standard of its development, models of many types of up-to-date technology and production, and considerable experience both in the building of unique appliances and mass production of science-intensive types of commodities on the basis of a integrated technological policy.

Within short time limits, CMEA countries have launched and developed production of up-to-date computers, including a unified system of computers and their element basis, and of complete sets of equipment for atomic power stations and space equipment for the joint use of outer space for peaceful purposes. At present, the CMEA countries are able to solve problems of any degree of complexity in any of the priority areas of scientific and technological progress. To build a theoretical reserve in these areas, steps will be taken to further develop cooperation in the field of fundamental research.

CMEA countries have agreed on concerted action with a view to creating and using radically new branches of science, technology and production by concentrating their efforts and organising close many-sided cooperation within the CMEA framework predominantly in the five priority areas: the electrification of the national economy; comprehensive automation; the development of nuclear power engineering; creation of new materials and the technologies of their production and processing; and biotechnology.

Careful scientific analysis shows that these areas are indeed the vital components forming the core of scientific research work throughout the globe. They are the chief ones in the wide spectrum of other trends in scientific and technological progress, ranging from chemistry to the agro-industrial complex. Their practical realisation will help attain the chief goals set by CMEA members and accelerate the intensification of their economies.

The Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress has singled out the most urgent problems in the field of science, technology and production. The solution of the above problems will enable the fraternal countries to reach the new heights of scientific and technological progress and technically re-equip the key branches of their economies.

The ultimate goals and ways of attaining them have been mapped out, as well as the organisational economic mechanism of the Programme's realisation. Let us briefly take a look at the potential possibilities of the priority directions determined by the CMEA countries in the Comprehensive Programme.

Its principal part is the introduction of electronics into the national economy through rapid development of computer, informatics, micro-electronics and telecommunication systems. Viewed in a broader perspective, this will allow labour productivity to be significantly raised and will accelerate scientific and technological progress in the national economy, including the non-productive sphere and the service industry.

Whether the targets set by the Programme in this field will be attained depends not only on the scope of production of electronic equipment but also on providing a whole system of conditions necessary to make effective use of the potential existing in this field (methods of communication and communication equipment, software and technical support of automated information processing and management systems, etc.), i. e. comprehensive development of the capacities of the informatics, which would allow a manifold increase in society's intellectual ability to be reached. Extensive introduction of electronics, including overall computerisation of all aspects of society's life, will require considerable changes in the character and methods of labour in science, production, management and communal services. They will decide the efficiency of the introduction of electronics. The Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries are unanimous in their opinion that preparations for these changes must begin well in advance and start with the education and training of the rising generation. The outcome of the development of this trend will be not only a transition to new types of electronic equipment with their vast potential, but also the training of a new generation of people who will be able to make the most of this potential.

As Academician Ye. P. Velikhov said, computers in the broad sense of the word are needed by mankind in all branches where people are engaged in intellectual work, i. e. in virtually all fields of society's life, beginning with production in its most general form and ending with the most advanced scientific research.

The programme of cooperation in the field of the electronisation of the national economy provides for developing computer systems with a speed of over 10,000 million operations per second. To perform that amount of work without the help of computers, mankind would need several decades.

The programme of cooperation in the field of comprehensive automation envisages the creation and extensive introduction of flexible automated production lines, primarily machine-building, automated plants, systems of automated design and control of technological processes and production, robotised complexes, rotor and rotor-conveyer lines, and high-precision processing and measuring equipment.

There is urgent need to launch the development and production of high-precision instruments in the CMEA countries. The rapid advance of the scientific and technological revolution has called for a radical increase in the degree of precision when building processing and measuring equipment and instruments. While only five years ago the precision of process-

ing did not exceed 3 to 5 micron,³ at present, making parts for, say, video- and some other types of equipment requires that the degree of precision reach 0.1 to 0.5 micron.

All this calls for a leap in the *reproduction of the highest precision*, without which there can be no question of raising whole important sectors of our machine-building to meet world standards.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries are doing a great deal to supply the work towards realisation of the Programme with a sound organisational basis. Setting up head organisations as the main link securing the implementation and coordination of projects provided for by the Programme, has been acknowledged as expedient.

In the Soviet Union, this role is performed by large inter-branch scientific and technical complexes, scientific and production amalgamations and research bodies. They have already accumulated considerable experience in researching and coordinating problems of major magnitude, heading, as a rule, the elaboration within the framework of all-Union and branch scientific and technological programmes. For instance, the inter-branch scientific and technological complex set up on the basis of the world-famous Paton Institute of Electric Welding has become head organisation on automated equipment for welding, surfacing, soldering and thermocutting; the Experimental Scientific and Production Institute of Metal-Cutting Machine-Tools—on the building of flexible production systems for various technological purposes; the Institute of General Genetics of the USSR Academy of Sciences—on developing the methods of genetic engineering. As leaders of the fraternal parties stated, active involvement of Soviet organisations in carrying out the Comprehensive Programme and the huge economic and scientific potential of the Soviet Union guarantee the success of the work lying ahead.

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The far-reaching plans for scientific and technological advances of CMEA countries are aimed at enhancing man's well-being and promoting the cause of peace on Earth, not the arms race. Pooling their efforts in peaceful work, the socialist community countries advocate active participation of all interested socialist states in scientific and technological interaction and come out in favour of broader international cooperation in the field of science and technology.

The peace-oriented and humane constructive programme adopted by CMEA states will undoubtedly give a powerful impetus to their progress, promote their unity and cohesion, and consolidate the position of socialism in the world.

³ One micron=0.001 mm.

THE USSR AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

(Tangible Results of Economic and Technological Cooperation)

I. K A P R A N O V, A. D O G A Y E V

The dynamic policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government aimed at ensuring a favourable world climate for perfecting socialist society and advancing to communism in the USSR, strengthening the positions of the world socialist community, eliminating the danger of war, achieving disarmament and ensuring universal security, and establishing genuine equality, including in the economic sphere, of all peoples and countries, is manifested in the development of economic ties with the newly free countries. The essence and nature of the Soviet Union's relations with these states is vividly expressed in the following thesis which has been confirmed in the new edition of the CPSU Programme: "The CPSU supports the just struggle waged by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and the oppression of transnational monopolies, for the assertion of the sovereign right to be master of one's own resources, for a restructuring of international relations on an equal and democratic basis, for the establishment of a new international economic order and for the deliverance from the debt burden imposed by the imperialists."

Proceeding from this principled policy in support of the developing countries' efforts to overcome economic backwardness and strengthen their political and economic independence, the Soviet Union allocates with the object of assisting these countries a part of its resources created exclusively by its people's effort. This assistance is free of all mercenary motives and is rendered in forms which have proved their effectivity in practice and have been acknowledged by the developing countries.

An indicative feature of the Soviet Union's economic assistance to this category of countries is its concentration, at the request of their governments, in the state sector. The strengthening of this sector provides the developing countries with greater opportunities for implementing socio-economic changes, reinforces their stand in combatting the baneful consequences of TNC activities, and affords greater possibilities for pursuing an independent policy in the sphere of international economic ties. This aid is based chiefly on intergovernment agreements and is rendered in keeping with long-term programmes which determine the priority spheres of cooperation. Thus the Soviet Union's economic assistance to its partners is free of time-serving fluctuations and is known for its reliable and stable character. One of its distinctive features is that the Soviet Union does not share in the returns of the projects built with its assistance in the developing countries: all the national economic facilities built along these lines are in the full ownership of the countries in whose territories they have been built, and serve their national interests.

It must also be noted that in distinction to Western "aid" Soviet economic and technological assistance to the developing countries is rendered on a comprehensive basis and includes designing and building large-scale enterprises for different spheres of the national economy; delivering complete plant and equipment, materials and spare parts; assembly work and adjustment of the equipment; geological prospecting; granting credits;

providing scientific documentation; training qualified technological, management and scientific personnel.

The Soviet Union's economic and technological assistance to the developing countries is concentrated first and foremost in the sphere of material production: nearly 80 per cent of all aid is directed towards industry and the power industry. The channelling of this cooperation into the sphere of production, above all into industry, reflects the developing countries' awareness of the dire need to create their own base for independent economic development. This approach promotes the development of their productive forces, makes the latest achievements of engineering and technology accessible to them, allows them to create effective prerequisites for the successful implementation of their policy to strengthen economic independence and the effective solution of acute socio-economic problems, such as doing away with the lopsided economic structure and developing backward areas, raising living standards, settling the food problem, and so on.

Highly important to the young national states is the fact that Soviet economic assistance is channelled first and foremost into the basic branches of their national economies, which is precisely what is avoided by Western countries and firms. When they do agree to this it is only because the world of socialism has long eliminated their monopoly on economic relations with the developing countries.

In the USSR's economic ties with the developing countries in the 11th Five-Year period a prominent place belonged to economic and technological assistance in the power industry (nearly a fourth of all its commitments to these countries). It has a comprehensive character and is aimed at creating fuel bases and at building power facilities, and developing power systems for this group of countries. Among the countries where the Soviet Union has already built or is building thermal and hydroelectric power plants, power transmission lines and other power facilities, one can name Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Syria, Turkey, Algeria, Angola, Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, Morocco, Nigeria, Tunisia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Zambia, Mali and many other countries.

At present the Soviet Union has commitments to the developing countries along the lines of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations for the building of 241 power facilities of which 156 are already operating, and among them power stations with the total capacity of 30,000 megawatts (with 13,500 megawatts already in operation).

In India, for instance, to whom the Soviet Union has been rendering technical assistance for the development of its power industry since 1957, power stations have been built with a total capacity of 2,100,000 kW and a large power engineering base has been created. Power plants built with Soviet assistance generate over 10 per cent of the country's electricity. An agreement has been signed for the development of Soviet-Indian cooperation in the power industry in the 12th Five-Year period which envisages the rendering of financial and technological assistance to India in the construction of the 1,260,000 kW Vindhyachal thermal power plant and a 570-kilometre-long power transmission line. The construction of these facilities is already under way. The intergovernment agreement signed in May 1985 envisages assistance in the next five-year period for the construction of the first phase of the high-capacity Kahalgaon thermal power plant in the State of Bihar.

And fruitful cooperation of this kind is no exception. Of unique significance for the Syrian economy is the Euphrates hydroengineering comp-

lex with a 800-megawatt hydropower station (which began working at full capacity in March 1980) built with the USSR's assistance, which, according to SAR President Hafez al-Assad, is a symbol of eternal Arab-Soviet friendship, a model of fraternal cooperation between the Syrian and Soviet peoples. The cheap electricity generated by the Euphrates hydropower station satisfies one-fourth of Syria's electricity requirements. Moreover, surveying operations have been started for the construction of the Tishrin 400-megawatt thermal power plant in the vicinity of Damascus, which will be the second in capacity after the Euphrates hydropower plant (this plant will be one of the principal projects of Soviet-Syrian economic cooperation in the 12th Five-Year period). Also envisaged are surveying operations for the construction of the Tishrin 400-megawatt hydroelectric generating station on the Euphrates. Cooperation will also be continued in building a power transmission line.

Well known throughout the world is one of the biggest power generating facilities built in Egypt with Soviet assistance—the Aswan hydroelectric complex with a 2,100,000 megawatt hydroelectric power station. By 1970 all its 12 units (175,000 kW each) had begun operating. Since then the Aswan hydropower station has already generated over 90,000 million kWh of lowcost electricity and continues to work flawlessly at full capacity. This has enabled the country to save 30 million tons of liquid fuel which would have been needed to produce the same amount of electricity at thermal power plants. The Soviet Union will continue its programme of assistance in electrifying Egypt's rural areas in the 12th Five-Year period.

Highly important for producing electricity for the needs of towns and cities, rural areas and different industrial facilities are the thermal and hydraulic power stations built with Soviet assistance in Morocco, Nigeria, Tunisia, and diesel power plants in Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Zambia, Mali, Sudan and other countries.

The growing business prestige of Soviet specialised organisations responsible for economic and technological assistance to the developing countries and the fine quality and high economic indices of the projects under construction are steadily increasing the number of their customers. In this connection one can recall that in the period 1979-1981 Soviet organisations took part in surveying operations for the construction of the first phase of the Parana Medio hydroengineering complex in Argentina and in working out plans for its design embracing a 3,100 megawatt hydroelectric power station, a system of locks, dams and other facilities. A contract has been signed for the participation of the USSR in building the Ilya Grande 2,400-megawatt hydroelectric power plant on the Parana in Brazil. A preliminary agreement has been reached on cooperation in organising the production of low-and mean-capacity facilities for the hydropower station in Brazilian plants.

Alongside the building of power plants, power transmission lines, substations and other facilities of this kind the USSR renders assistance in building up the fuel and power base of the newly-free countries to ensure their national economic development. As of early 1985, put into operation in the developing countries with Soviet technological and economic assistance were facilities with the output of 67.3 million tons of oil and 19 million tons of coal, and rich gas deposits. In the 12th Five-Year period geological prospecting for oil, coal and gas will be continued in many of these countries.

The Soviet Union with its up-to-date engineering base for ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and vast experience of building and running large-scale metallurgical complexes renders extensive assistance to the newly free countries in building facilities in this sphere. Over 25 per cent of the sum total of this assistance falls to ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy.

The technological schemes of projects built by Soviet organisations conform to the strictest requirements of environmental protection and ensure an installed capacity within the shortest time. By 1985 at enterprises built in these countries with the help of Soviet organisations capacities had been introduced for the production of 14.6 million tons of pig iron, 16 million tons of steel and 13.8 million tons of rolled metal.

The USSR's present commitments concern the building and reconstruction in the developing countries of 32 facilities for ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, of which 26 have already begun operating.

The Soviet methods of economic and technological assistance, which cover virtually the construction of the entire industrial complex and the pertaining structures; the training on a large scale of local personnel at different levels; active handover of technological knowledge, licenses and know-how pertaining to the building and running of the enterprises; the attraction of local building and industrial firms-subcontractors; the high level of Soviet technology and the latest achievements of the USSR in the metal industry—all these factors account for the economic success of this cooperation. In 1984 the iron-and-steel works in Bhilai and Bokaro built with Soviet assistance accounted for about 40 per cent of India's steel and rolled metal output. At present the capacities of these plants are being developed to bring their yearly steel output up to 4 million tons each, and will be raised in the future to 5 and 5.5 million tons respectively. Metallurgical combines have been built or are under construction with Soviet assistance in Egypt, Algeria, Turkey, Iran and Nigeria.

The contribution of Soviet organisations to the development of the oil refining, petrochemical and chemical industries in the developing countries is also growing. The rich experience of the Soviet oil refining and petrochemical industries in developing and mastering the latest technology, intensifying oil processing and reducing losses of oil and oil products, ensures the highly effective work of the facilities built in the developing countries. In the last twenty years the geography of cooperation in this sphere has considerably expanded and its volume has more than doubled. As of the beginning of 1985 the Soviet Union's commitments to these countries covered 61 projects of which 27 were already in operation.

The Soviet Union renders the developing countries substantial help in the development of the engineering and metal-working industries. It has helped build facilities for the production of metallurgical and mining equipment, hoisting and transportation equipment, and other mechanical devices, farm machinery, metal-cutting machine tools, and forged pieces. Large engineering facilities have been constructed in Afghanistan, India, Bangladesh, Iran and Egypt, among other countries.

Using their geological experience Soviet specialists carry out extensive surveying and prospecting operations in many developing countries. The Soviet Union's approach to the study of these countries' mineral and raw-material resources differs radically from the colonialist and neocolonialist policy of the Western countries, whose mining companies prefer to develop only the more easily accessible deposits that ensure the highest returns, and virtually have no interest in comprehensive geological studies. At present Soviet organisations are engaged in geological prospecting in 30 developing countries where over 2,000 Soviet specialists are working. Altogether nearly 60,000 Soviet geologists have already contributed to the development of these countries' mining industries in the course of their cooperation with the USSR.

The Soviet Union also renders the newly free countries substantial assistance in developing their agricultural economy and food industries, thereby laying the foundations for a sound and lasting material ba-

se that will make it possible to increase their agricultural output, ensure its processing, and provide their peoples with a reliable supply of food products. Help is given in the form of developing new lands and building irrigation systems, setting up state crop-growing and animal-husbandry farms, building machine-and-tractor stations and providing them with machinery, building and equipping workshops, veterinary laboratories and stations, research laboratories, research and experiment stations. Thus, there is a radical difference in the approach of the USSR to the agricultural problem in these countries and that of the Western states, whose "aid" usually boils down to deliveries of foodstuffs, which takes care only of the immediate requirements.

Soviet assistance in developing agricultural production in these countries gives priority attention to the development of new lands and the building of irrigation systems, bearing in mind that there is still a great shortage of arable land there. With the present rates of population growth and the existing soil productivity it would take nothing less than one hectare per head of the population in the developing countries to reach by the end of the century the standards of consumption of agricultural produce in these countries to those of the industrialised states. Moreover, in most of the developing countries irrigation is the basic means of raising soil productivity.

As in the industrial and power engineering sphere, Soviet assistance in agricultural development is extremely diverse. In Afghanistan, for instance, with its specific natural conditions, substantial help is rendered in the building of water-supply systems. The Jalalabad irrigation system was completed in 1965. The Soviet Union helped set up in the irrigated lands two state farms specialising in the production of citrus fruits and olives, which have been exported to the USSR since 1970. The Soviet-Afghan agreement signed in August 1979 envisaged technological assistance to Afghanistan in the construction of seven machine-and-tractor stations and the delivery of farm machinery. At present the country has four such stations.

To raise Afghanistan's agricultural production the USSR has helped set up field-management services, a state seed-growing system, the reconstruction of artificial insemination stations and has organised make-shift veterinary stations. Soviet organisations took part in building the Kabul bread-baking combine, several mills, elevators, two local bread-baking plants, and a cannery in Jalalabad.

The Soviet Union renders substantial assistance in building agricultural facilities to Iraq, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Algeria, Syria, the Yemen Arab Republic, Tunisia, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and several other countries, where this assistance invariably brings in tangible results. One of the biggest projects of this kind in Syria—the hydroengineering complex on the Euphrates—has not only considerably increased the production of low-cost electricity but has done away with the threat of floods, while the reservoir included in the project now offers great opportunities for irrigating the near-lying lands and increasing cotton, grain and other crops. In the future its waters will be used to irrigate nearly 640,000 hectares of arid land thereby almost doubling the country's irrigated ploughlands. Many other undertakings dealing with the building of irrigation systems and developing new lands are in progress or have been envisaged in partnership with the USSR.

An identical example is to be had in the Aswan Hydro-Electric Power Complex in the Arab Republic of Egypt, which is of foremost importance for its agricultural development. In the early 1970s the notorious US political scientist Zbigniew Brzezinski was compelled to admit that in Egypt only a few remembered US food aid, but no one would ever forget that the Aswan High Dam was built by the Russians. The reservoir of

the Aswan High Dam will make it possible to develop nearly 600,000 hectares of new lands where 126,000 will be brought under the plough with Soviet help (at present over 400,000 hectares have already been put under crops, and of this number nearly 30,000 hectares were developed with Soviet assistance). Moreover, nearly 400,000 hectares more have been virtually transferred from seasonal to year-round irrigation, thus making it possible to take in two or three crops yearly. Crop yields have also gone up.

The Aswan High Dam has repeatedly saved the country from destructive floods and severe droughts. Had it not been for the Dam, vast ploughlands would have been left without water, like in neighbouring Sudan, and the two countries' economy would have suffered great losses. An eloquent appraisal of the project's significance was made by Egypt's Minister of Irrigation Assam Abdel Hamid Radi in an interview to a representative of the newspaper *al-Gomhuriya* in November 1984: "We have been receiving all these years a steady 55,000 million cu. m. of water from Lake Nasser to meet our irrigation requirements. To imagine what this actually means, suffice it to say that 1,000 million cu. m. of water is enough to produce 375,000 tons of wheat, suffice to feed 1 million people. We owe all this to the High Aswan Dam."

Among other countries where Soviet assistance contributes to similar undertakings, the development of the agricultural infrastructure, the setting up of model farms specialising in various produce, the building of different processing facilities, one can name Angola, Zambia, the Congo, Mali, Madagascar, Mozambique, Sudan, Tanzania, Nepal, Ethiopia, Tunisia and Peru. Although nearly all of these countries have become the sites of building projects now in progress with Soviet assistance, for convenience sake we shall quote only a few general figures.

In the developing countries Soviet organisations have helped build grain elevators with a total capacity of nearly 1.9 million tons (agreements envisage capacities exceeding 2.1 million tons), and irrigate and develop over 1.7 million hectares of land (envisaged more than 2.2 million hectares). The industrial facilities built with their assistance produce mineral fertilizers, manufacture tractors, different farm machines and equipment, which are all essential for the solution of these countries' acute food problem.

A highly important and traditional aspect of the USSR's economic and technological assistance to the developing countries is the training of national personnel. This is a large-scale and comprehensive sphere of cooperation which is usually translated into life through intergovernment agreements. It is also concentrated in the state sector which is highly effective for coordinating the plans for training national personnel with national economic development programmes.

Soviet organisations always strive to make maximum use at joint cooperation projects (in building and operating) local specialists and workers (who receive on-the-job training), in order to make a contribution towards solving the acute problem of providing employment for the population in these countries. With the training of national personnel in their own countries, the number of Soviet specialists is systematically decreased and the production is gradually transferred to national cadres. Such an approach is essentially different from the practice of many Western countries and their firms, which often hinder the growth of national personnel.

Note must be made that the Soviet Union gives priority to the training of local personnel at building sites and on-the-job. It has made it pos-

sible as of early 1985 to train or raise the skill of more than 900,000 people, among them 95,000 in India; 86,000 in Afghanistan; 85,000 in Egypt; 58,000 in Iraq; and 33,000 in Syria.

Another important form of assistance to the developing countries in raising the people's educational level and training qualified personnel is the building of various educational establishments and centres. The Soviet Union has helped build and equip in 26 developing countries over 300 educational centres, vocational-technical schools, and regular courses which have trained about 500,000 skilled workers for different economic branches, including ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the light and food industries, the electric power industry, and agriculture. The largest number of such educational centres falls to Egypt, Algeria, Iraq, Iran, Angola and Mozambique. At present another 150 educational centres are under construction with Soviet assistance in the developing countries.

The more than 50 higher educational institutions and technical secondary schools built in these countries with the assistance of the USSR have also become a major source of training engineers and technicians for their national economies. Among them one can name an institute of mining and metallurgy, an institute of oil, gas and chemistry, and an institute of light industry in Algeria, a polytechnical institute and a technical secondary school of mines and an automotive technical secondary school in Afghanistan, polytechnical institutes in Ethiopia and Guinea, and an institute of technology in India. They have trained over 120,000 specialists for more than 50 professions. These and other educational establishments are well known in their own countries and abroad. To ensure a high level of training over 2,000 Soviet teachers are sent yearly to these countries.

A special place in the system of training national specialists for the developing countries belongs to the vocational and technical education of foreign citizens in the USSR. It introduces them to the latest achievements of science and technology, provides the use of equipment identical to the kind that is delivered to the projects built with Soviet economic and technical assistance, and is in tune with the practical tasks that will have to be tackled by the national specialists in their own countries. To provide these facilities, up to 200 enterprises, establishments, and research and designing institutions are singled out by ministries and departments—chief suppliers of equipment and plant to the developing countries. Among them one can name big enterprises and facilities boasting the latest technology, such as the Azovstal Metal Works in Zhdanov, the production amalgamation Elektrosila in Leningrad, the Bratsk Hydropower Plant, the Novovoronezhskaya Atomic Power Plant and the Minsk Tractor Works. Over 88,000 specialists and workers from the developing countries have received vocational and technological training and consultations in the USSR. In 1984 alone nearly 7,500 specialists and workers from 28 partner countries came to the Soviet Union to receive training.

Soviet secondary and higher educational establishments play an important role in training national personnel for the developing countries. There are now nearly 80,000 foreign students, post-graduate students, and probationers from 113 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, irrespective of their socio-economic systems and foreign policy orientation, studying in the USSR. They are trained in more than 300 Soviet higher colleges and technical secondary schools in approximately 270 specialities. Half of this are future engineers, 20 per cent—teachers, 20 per cent—medical workers, and the remaining—agronomists and zoo technicians.

The Soviet Union is constantly increasing its assistance to the newly free states in training skilled national personnel; this is also carried out on a multilateral basis—along the lines of the UN international institutions.

Large-scale economic and technological cooperation of the Soviet Union and other socialist states with the developing countries has helped do away with monopoly imperialism in this sphere of international relations. This has given the developing countries real opportunities to begin their struggle for the satisfaction of their legitimate, and among them economic, interests on the world arena, which has found reflection in their fight for the establishment of a new international economic order. Such a state of affairs enrages the imperialist circles. That is why bourgeois propaganda organs spare no efforts to distort the nature of economic relations between the socialist and the developing countries so as to vilify these relations, thereby eroding them. To achieve these ends Western propaganda resorts to manipulations with facts and figures and even to blatant lies.

The malicious attacks of bourgeois apologists on the USSR's economic assistance to the young sovereign states stem from their endeavours to gloss over the critical state of the imperialist policy of "aid", striking evidence of which is the unprecedented growth of the developing countries' foreign debt which has reached, according to the latest data, the astronomical sum of \$1,000,000 million. This situation confirms the indisputable truth that Western "aid" had always been aimed not at overcoming the internal economic, and among them financial, difficulties of these countries, but at securing the strategic objective of imperialism, that is to keep the developing world in the orbit of capitalism and intensify its exploitation.

The attempts of bourgeois propaganda to falsify the principles underlying economic cooperation between the socialist countries and those of Asia, Africa and Latin America are extremely diverse. For instance, on the one hand, it offers incomplete and odd data on the socialist countries' loans to the developing countries, and on the other, cites "huge" sums of Western "aid" into which it does not hesitate to include private capital investments. This allows it to draw allegedly objective conclusions on the insignificance of the socialist countries' economic assistance to these states. All this runs counter to the actual state of affairs.

At present the USSR has intergovernment agreements on economic and technological cooperation with 82 countries (including socialist countries). It has rendered assistance in the building of over 3,000 industrial facilities, electric power stations, hydroengineering, agricultural and other national economic projects, already in operation, and has commitments for the building of another 1,660 facilities. It has also helped train over 2 million specialists and skilled workers for the most diverse industries. Agreements with 70 developing countries envisage Soviet cooperation in the building of more than 3,200 national economic facilities (over 1,900 have been put into operation). Speaking of the USSR's participation in rendering economic assistance to the developing countries during his visit to France last October, Mikhail Gorbachev was fully justified in underlining that the "Soviet Union does not neglect this duty and is doing even more in this respect than many other countries".

While widely advertising the allegedly easy terms of the Western countries' "official aid" to the developing countries, bourgeois propaganda harps on the "unbearable" terms of Soviet credits and the "burden" of their debt to the socialist countries. Figures, however, once again show an entirely different state of affairs. In its reports the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) makes use of a synthetic index known as the grant element which is used as a gauge of development assistance to other countries (the higher the per cent of the grant element, the more favourable are the terms of crediting). The terms under which the developing countries receive financial means on loans and credits from Western states have recently grown harsher. IBRD experts have calculated that the average grant element level on their loan capital

dropped from 37 per cent in 1970 to 11 per cent in 1980. For the countries of Tropical Africa it dropped from 46 to 31 per cent in the 1970s. The calculations with regard to Soviet credits granted to African countries show the fluctuation of the grant element between 38 and 58 per cent, evidence of the more favourable terms of Soviet economic assistance as against those of Western "aid".

In the West a misleading interpretation is given to the fact that loans from socialist countries can be repaid not only in hard currency but also by deliveries of traditional exports goods, or by part of the produce manufactured at the jointly built facilities. The absurd conclusion is drawn that socialist countries use their economic relations with the developing countries to satisfy above all their own internal requirements. Yet, the developing countries find it exceedingly profitable to pay off their debts by means of export goods thus ensuring a stable long-term market for their national industries, which is an important factor in view of the rough competition on the world capitalist market.

These bourgeois propaganda ploys are unable to discredit the noble principles of the USSR's economic cooperation with the developing countries, which know by their own experience the fruitful results of this cooperation which they seek to keep up and develop. Evidence of this are the new intergovernment agreements and other documents signed by the Soviet Union and the developing states for the further development of their economic and technological cooperation. During the visit of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to the USSR in May 1985 two significant agreements were signed which map out the guidelines and the major spheres of long-term cooperation.

The October 1985 official visit by Muamar Gaddafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution, resulted in the signing of the Long-Term Programme for Economic, Scientific, Technological and Commercial Cooperation Between the USSR and Libya up to the year 2000 and the longer term which mapped out guidelines for cooperation between the two countries. In 1985 new major agreements were also signed on economic and technological cooperation with Afghanistan, Algeria, Syria, Iraq, Zimbabwe and several other countries.

The further growth of the Soviet Union's economic potential envisaged in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress provide an additional base for extending and intensifying its cooperation with the developing countries.

COOPERATION, NOT CONFRONTATION

[The Results of the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly]

V. P E T R O V S K Y

D. Sc. (Hist.)

Last December the 40th Session of the United Nations General Assembly by and large concluded its proceedings. It took place at a difficult and in many respects a decisive moment in world developments. In his message to the participants in the jubilee sitting of the General Assembly on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the UN, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that today more than ever before the joint efforts of states and peoples are needed to eliminate a nuclear catastrophe threatening mankind.

Concern over the current explosive state of political relations, and economic ones, too, for that matter, among states ran throughout the speeches made from the session rostrum. Alongside the increased danger of a nuclear conflict and the continuation of the wasteful and ever destabilising arms race that threatens to encompass circumterrestrial space as well, other objects of particular concern are still, as the debate at the session showed, the continuation, and in a number of instances the exacerbation of hotbeds of regional conflicts and tension, the disastrous economic state of many developing countries, and the worsening problem of their foreign debt to developed capitalist states. Persistent demands were made for a shift from stating such a situation to the adoption of practical steps to rectify it.

An important factor which exerted a favourable influence on the proceedings of the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly were the new initiatives and actions undertaken by the Soviet Union following the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee to eliminate world tensions and ensure a constructive solution to acute international problems. Many at the UN are of the view that the Soviet actions to pave the way for such a central event in international affairs as the Soviet-American Geneva summit and to create a favourable climate for it were of particular importance. The imposition by the Soviet Union of a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, the suspension of the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and the removal from combat alert of SS-20 missiles additionally emplaced earlier in the European zone, the advancing of specific proposals on the non-militarisation and peaceful exploration of outer space, and a radical, 50-per cent, reduction in the existing nuclear armaments of the USSR and the USA were perceived by the participants in the Assembly as convincing proof of the USSR's responsible approach to the crucial issues of the day.

The trends, recently outlined in international affairs, towards a normalisation of East-West relations were named at the session as one of the foremost hopeful signs today. Particular mention in this context was made of the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to France and his meeting with US President Ronald Reagan as pursuing the aims not only of establishing a bila-

teral dialogue between the respective countries, but also of improving the international situation overall.

At the initiative of a large group of non-aligned countries the UN General Assembly passed a resolution urging the participants in the Geneva meeting to impart a decisive impetus to the Soviet-American talks so that they might lead to the immediate attainment of effective accords on the cessation of the nuclear arms race, which is having a negative influence on international security and also on socio-economic development, on a reduction of their nuclear arsenals, and the prevention of an arms race in outer space, and the use of outer space for peaceful purposes. In this fashion the majority of the UN member states took a stand not of outside passive observers, but of vigorous supporters of the line for constructive, palpable results at the Soviet-American Geneva talks, i. e., in effect, of the line being upheld by the USSR. The results of the voting on this vital resolution of the session speak for themselves: the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and virtually all the member states of the non-aligned movement and a number of other countries voted in favour. No one voted against. The USA and several of its military-political allies abstained.

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The stepped up actions of the non-aligned movement was a positive factor at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly. The chairman of this movement, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, of India, made the impassioned appeal to the session participants to cure the world of the insanity of nuclear militarism and to direct the creative genius of mankind at serving the cause of prosperity, not destruction.

Alongside the non-aligned countries, neutral, and in a number of cases several states allied with the USA, which are inclined to a realistic assessment of the world situation, dealt with many issues at the session from generally constructive positions. Particular mention should be made of the important proposals pertaining to the scaling down of the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, and the prevention of the militarisation of outer space, which were jointly advanced during the General Assembly proceedings by the leaders of six states representing the continents -- Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden. The ideas expressed in their appeal were mirrored in a number of session resolutions, which were supported by the USSR and other socialist countries.

As to the paramount decisions of the session, they not only reflect the collective will to ensure a turn from confrontation to cooperation, but also map out specific ways to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, bridle and reverse the arms race and prevent its spread to new spheres, and the formation of a solid system of universal security and law and order, which should stem from the revival of detente. Particular mention should be made in this regard of the role the socialist countries played in the attainment of such a result of the session. It, incidentally, accords with the goals which were set by the fraternal states, jointly, when their line was being coordinated prior to the General Assembly and during it. It was largely the result of their energetic united efforts to push through the peace initiatives advanced by the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states at the PCC meeting in Sofia in October 1985. Pursuing a coordinated course, virtually each fraternal country came forth with productive proposals or acted as coordinator of joint efforts to advance peace proposals made earlier.

The prestige of socialist Poland on the international scene was enhanced by the speech made at the session by the leader of the Polish state, Wojciech Jaruzelski, in which he advanced a number of specific ideas, including the conducting of research into the consequences of an arms race in space; the points of his statement were later reflected in the session resolutions. The

GDR delegation played an important role in the drafting at the session of resolutions on a number of nuclear issues; the Czechoslovak delegation—on the problem of international cooperation in disarmament; the Bulgarian delegation—on the mobilisation of public opinion in support of disarmament or, as it is customary to say at the UN, the World Disarmament Campaign; the Hungarian delegation—on the cessation of nuclear tests; and the Mongolian delegation—on the holding of a Week of Disarmament and Ensuring the Right of the Peoples to Peace; at Vietnam's initiative consideration of the question of peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia was continued. The initiative with which socialist Cuba came forth lent urgency to the discussion at the session of the problem of the developing countries' foreign debts to the West. At a proposal by Romania, which was backed up in the documents of the Sofia meeting of the Warsaw Treaty, the Assembly passed an appeal to countries in a state of conflict to immediately cease hostilities and go over to negotiations, and an address to all UN member states to resolve conflicts and controversies by political means.

Overall, the delegation of the PRC spoke out constructively on some issues. It is telling that it supported the majority of useful decisions passed on arms limitation issues, and proposed its own draft resolution aimed at preventing an arms race in outer space.

To sum up, it would be no exaggeration to say that the socialist countries again displayed at the UN their cohesion and an active role in resolving the key issues of the day.

Figuring prominently on the very extensive—144-points—agenda examined at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly are questions directly pertaining to the cardinal task of the day—the prevention of the spread of the arms race to outer space and the cessation of it on Earth. This task was in the focus of the delegates. Efforts to resolve it were promoted by the USSR's posing the question at the session of the development of international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space. The principal idea of this proposal is to take measures, before it is too late, so that the era of large-scale exploration of outer space that is being opened up before mankind might not lead to the saturation of this limitless area with weapons and therefore to a greater threat of an all-destructive conflict, but, on the contrary, might open up new horizons for the creative endeavour of mankind and ensure its efforts in the peaceful utilisation of outer space. Having again urgently called for all nations not to create, develop, test or deploy space-based attack systems, the Soviet Union has unfolded before the international community a large-scale and specific programme of "star peace", of cooperation among states in the peaceful exploration of outer space.

The participants in the Assembly and the world public at large took a great interest in the specific elements of the Soviet programme, which had been set forth in the document Main Directions and Principles of International Cooperation in Peaceful Exploration of Space in Conditions of Its Non-Militarisation (proposals of the USSR), which had been submitted in good time, a month prior to the opening of the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly.

The debate that took place at the session showed that the governments and broad public in many states are coming to comprehend the dangerous consequences which an arms race in outer space can have, and not only for international peace and security, but also for the development prospects of international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space. It is quite natural that at the UN the Soviet "star peace" concept was unequivocally perceived as an alternative to the ominous "star wars" plans, a reasonable, workable alternative geared to the future.

The advancing at the session of five draft resolutions on this issue was a definite indicator of the desire of very many states to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space. Aside from the Soviet Union, such draft resolutions were submitted by the PRC, Poland, a large group of non-aligned countries, and also a number of the Western states allied to the USA.

As a result, a single resolution was elaborated with the active participation of the Soviet delegation, based on a draft of the non-aligned countries with due account for the positive elements of all the other documents. It contains a timely warning about consequences extremely dangerous from the standpoint of the increased risk of war and prospects for the exploration of outer space, which the orbiting of the arms race could have, and a decisive appeal for urgent and effective measures to forestall such developments. States' concern over the American "star wars" plan which, together with the US delegation, was vigorously justified at the session by representatives of Great Britain and the FRG, was reflected by the appeal, included in the resolution for the first time, to refrain from any actions running counter to the goal of preventing an arms race in outer space. In addition, the General Assembly, also for the first time, proposed that the states explore the possibility of developing international cooperation in furthering advance towards the aforementioned goal and in the field of peaceful exploration of outer space. The international community thus unequivocally made a choice in favour of peaceful cooperation, not confrontation and the arms race in outer space. The results of the voting amply show this as well. Virtually all the participants in the session—151 countries—voted in favour. The USA and Grenada abstained. Even Washington's closest allies did not want to associate themselves with an unconstructive stand in voting on this issue.

A distinguishing feature of the debate at the session on issues of arms limitation and disarmament was the understanding by the majority of the forum's participants of the fact that the world is at the crossroads today: either the continued uncontrolled arms race, or the cessation and reversal of this race.

The speeches and resolutions of the session in effect reject the logic of militarism according to which, in order to disarm, one must first build up armaments and carry them to outer space. It can be said most definitively that the General Assembly showed another road, a more reliable and a safer one, and most importantly, one which leads right to the goal of curbing the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race, and the prevention of its spread to outer space. The session pointed not only to the direct way to ensuring reliable security, above all by means of disarmament, but also mapped out the path to attaining this goal.

The importance in this respect of the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests cannot be rated too highly. It was received not only as a manifestation of good will on the part of one of the mightiest nuclear powers, but also as real proof of the possibility of practical measures aimed at preventing mankind's slide into an abyss.

A total of 124 states voted at the session in favour of the resolution in which the Soviet unilateral moratorium is acclaimed and in which hope is expressed that all other nuclear states accede to the moratorium as well. At the same time the resolution urges an immediate start of talks for the purpose of preparing a treaty which would effectively prohibit all test explosions of nuclear weapons by all states and everywhere. The attempts, however, of the American delegation to speak of the untimeliness of a ban on all nuclear weapon tests were rejected by the overwhelming majority of delegates.

The topicality and priority of this measure were stressed in the speeches not only of the representatives of the socialist and non-aligned countries but also of many of the USA's allies, including Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Greece. Indicatively, three more resolutions passed at the session contained the appeal to elaborate the aforementioned treaty. Two of them, proposed by non-aligned countries, mapped out ways to a practical solution of the problem. Unfortunately, the third, which was endorsed according to a draft of Australia and a number of other countries, divorced questions of control from the elaboration of the agreement itself on a nuclear test ban, even though it reflected the importance of this problem.

The session again demonstrated the collective will of states to halt the arms race on Earth, above all in its most dangerous sphere—nuclear arms. A freeze on nuclear weapons is being examined as an urgent measure. This is mentioned in three session resolutions passed at the initiative of the socialist and non-aligned states. This was a major political defeat for the proponents of the continued stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Contrary to the American delegation's claims that a freeze would give unilateral advantages to the Soviet Union, which supposedly has superiority in several aspects of nuclear might, the Assembly stated the existence of a rough parity in the nuclear armaments of the two powers and made the point that this provides a good opportunity for halting their buildup. The session decisions also stress that a freeze would contribute to the start and successful conduct of talks on nuclear disarmament, right down to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

A serious discussion was also held at the session on the problem of preventing the start of a nuclear war. The tenet of the apologists of "star wars" to the effect that space weapons would make it possible to lower the risk of a first nuclear strike was criticised, with logical arguments adduced. Here, too, many delegates emphasised, the answer should be sought not in "technological solutions", but through political accords. A resolution which contained an appeal to all the nuclear powers to follow the example of the USSR and the PRC and to pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons was passed by an overwhelming majority of votes. Also receiving support in the resolution was the proposal of the socialist countries to formalise such a pledge by all the nuclear powers.

The session endorsed numerous decisions on the entire gamut of issues pertaining to the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms. It urged the start of talks at the Conference on Disarmament for the purpose of drafting a nuclear disarmament programme. The question of nuclear-free zones was brought up at the session. The Assembly again spoke out for the creation of such zones in various parts of the world, including the Middle East and Africa, pointing to the extreme danger posed by the nuclear ambitions of Israel and South Africa and the cooperation between several Western countries and these aggressive regimes in the nuclear sphere. A fresh impulse to the discussion of the problem of nuclear-free zones was imparted by the initiative of the South Pacific states on the creation of such a zone in their region. It was acclaimed in the speeches of many delegates.

An authoritative resolution was passed at the session in support of the results of the Third Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference, aimed at consolidating the highly important international agreement and enhancing the effectiveness of the nuclear non-proliferation regime. The idea was clearly stated at the session that the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons worldwide is a sort of "second front" of the struggle against the nuclear threat.

This constructive thrust of the session proceedings as regard the elimination of the nuclear war threat was not to the liking of the supporters of the NATO militarist doctrines which came under the fire of criticism. In these conditions the delegations of the FRG and a number of other

NATO members advanced, as at the last session, the draft resolution *The Prevention of War in the Nuclear Age*. In effect, however, the draft sidestepped specific measures to prevent nuclear war, and the priority importance of this issue was drowned in a vague demand to "eliminate the threat of war at any level of hostile actions" and replaced by tenets on the need for greater openness and improved mutual notification of military activity, extended exchange of information and views on military issues, etc. The obstructionist nature of this entire undertaking was seen through by the delegates of the non-aligned states, who prepared amendments to the West German draft pointing to the dire need for practical measures to eliminate, above all, the danger of a nuclear conflict and the elimination of nuclear arms. Inasmuch as such a turn of events was clearly not to the liking of the authors of the aforementioned draft, they considered it better to recall it and not put it up to a vote. A proper response to this political and ideological subterfuge were the resolutions passed by the General Assembly which state that the elimination of the threat of nuclear war is the most urgent task of the day.

While underscoring the priority of the task of eliminating the nuclear threat, the General Assembly did not at all close its eyes to the danger of any war altogether.

The decisions of the 40th Session urgently pose the task of an immediate ban on chemical mass destruction means and point to the particular danger posed by binary chemical weapons which have been developed, as is well known, to enable NATO to wage war in Europe. The Assembly decisively urged stepping up talks on the conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons.

One of the major impediments to the effective work of the UN and other international forums and to the elaboration of urgent political decisions, including on issues of arms limitation and disarmament—and this was patently manifest at the recent session—is the pliancy of a large number of non-aligned countries to the militarist propaganda tenet that the responsibility for the arms race and the exacerbated world situation is born by the two superpowers—the USSR and the USA. Attempts are often made not only to put this responsibility on the two countries but even to all but divide it in half. As a result, demands to take measures are also addressed not directly, but in the air, so to speak, equally to the USSR and the USA. Evidently such a posing of the issue is to the liking only of those who would like to evade responsibility for the dangerous development of international events and to veil their militarist course in various ways.

It should be noted in this regard that the entire course of the session and the resolutions adopted at it leave no doubt as to who is indeed at fault for the absence of workable steps to limit and reduce arms. The voting at the session was a sort of moment of truth which clearly showed who is who on issues of arms reduction. No commentary is necessary on the fact that of the 71 decisions adopted on them the USSR and the other socialist countries voted against only three (the resolutions on the "openness" of military activity apart from measures to limit it), while the USA voted against 28, including against 6 in complete isolation and against 8 together with one or two other countries. What is meant here are resolutions on such large-scale problems as the prevention of nuclear war, a nuclear freeze, the cessation of nuclear tests, a ban on the development and production of new types of mass destruction weapons, security safeguards for non-nuclear states, the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons, etc.

The session clearly displayed an understanding on the part of the majority of states that the formation of a reliable system of universal security and law and order does not end with the adoption of arms limitation and disarmament measures given all their priority importance. This progress should also include decisive improvements in settling dangerous regional situations and the elimination of armed conflicts and hotbeds of colonial and racist oppression. The session accorded these issues signal importance on its scale of priorities.

The Assembly vigorously advocated the observance of law and order in international relations, and above all enhanced efficacy of the principle of non-use of force. This stand of the UN is particularly valuable today, when the imperialist circles are incessant in their attempts to bring back the might-makes-right times, dictate their writ to peoples and sovereign states, and halt the process of national liberation and social emancipation in the world. The resolution underscoring the task of concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force, and the drafting of a declaration on this issue as a first step was passed by a majority vote (119 in favour). Having marked the 15th anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly at the Soviet Union's initiative of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the session again underlined the topicality of this document's provisions and made a number of important recommendations on ways of implementing it.

The participants in the Assembly definitively spoke out in favour of Central American problems being resolved without outside interference, and of respect of the right of the peoples of this region to map out the paths of their development independently and choose their social system by themselves. Indicatively, during the discussion of economic issues at the session a resolution was passed which denounces the economic pressure which the USA is exerting upon Nicaragua for the purpose of changing the political system in this country. However, as a result of the opposition offered by the USA and a number of Central American regimes, the session failed to adopt a political resolution that would reject aggressive actions against Nicaragua clearly enough. Admittedly, the attempts to put through a decision at the session that the Nicaraguan delegation would not agree to proved unsuccessful as well.

The urgency of the situation in the Middle East could most clearly be felt at the General Assembly. Many session resolutions condemned various aspects of Israel's aggressive policies. In particular, they stress that Israel is perpetrating acts of terror, repression and violence against the Palestinian people. The international community thus clearly indicated who is the conductor of the policy of terrorism in the Middle East. As if to counter the attempts of Israeli and American propaganda to portray as terrorists the very victims of terror—the Palestinians themselves and their vanguard, the Palestine Liberation Organisation—the Assembly affirmed anew that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It confirmed the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state, and the importance of PLO involvement in all efforts to reach a settlement of the Middle East conflict. The General Assembly gave a principled assessment to the role of external forces as well. For example, despite stiff US opposition, the session resolutions clearly point to the danger posed by the so-called strategic partnership between Washington and Tel Aviv as a factor encouraging Israel to continue its aggressive policy. The session demanded an end to support for Israel, meaning the provision of weapons, among other things.

The Assembly resolutions corroborate the basic parameters of a genuine, fair settlement in the Middle East, above all the need for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories occupied in 1967. They also pointed to a system of attaining such a settlement—the need for the convocation of

an international conference for all interested sides, the PLO included. The Assembly urged the USA and Israel to cease blocking the possibility for the holding of such a conference.

The Assembly strongly denounced the apartheid regime in South Africa and this country's aggressive actions against neighbouring states, and the occupation of Namibia. The racists' stepped up repressions and terror in South Africa forced even a number of Western countries to make statements condemning Pretoria. However, the essence of their stand was revealed during the consideration of the question of taking decisive measures, as provided for in the UN Charter, to force the racists to put an end to their crimes. In one of the resolutions the General Assembly severely condemned two powers—permanent members of the Security Council, which blocked the adoption of sanctions against South Africa in accordance with the UN Charter. It is no secret that these two powers were the USA and Britain. The session decisions clearly reflect the just demands of the international community as regards the hotbed of colonialism and racism in the south of Africa and above all for the liberation of Namibia, and they confirmed the right of peoples to fight for their liberation, using all means necessary, armed force included. The striving of states not to weaken political pressure on the racists and their patrons was mirrored in the decision to hold in 1986 a special session on Namibia and on the convocation of an international conference on this issue.

The Assembly marked the 25th anniversary of the passing, following a Soviet proposal, of the historic UN Declaration on Decolonialisation, and underscored the task of its complete and extensive implementation.

The session also passed many useful resolutions for the purpose of accomplishing other urgent tasks in international affairs. A great deal of attention was devoted to the problem of furthering the release of funds for development by way of disarmament measures. A characteristic feature of the speeches of the non-aligned countries' delegates at the session was the close tie-in between the task of eliminating the threat of war and the cessation and reversal of the arms race with the shifting of resources for current economic problems and the fight against hunger, disease, backwardness and poverty. From the standpoint of Asian, African and Latin American countries, Samora Machel, President of Mozambique, stated in his speech, these three aspects comprise parts of a single whole. The session unanimously adopted a decision on holding in 1986 an international conference on the connection between disarmament and development.

In their speeches the presidents of Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela and the heads of the delegations of a number of other countries directly emphasised that the exacerbation of the problem of the developing states' debts to the Western powers poses a threat to political stability in the Third World. A great impression was made on the session participants by the posing of the debt issue by the Cuban delegation and the ideas on how to solve this problem advanced by the Cuban leader Fidel Castro. The discussion amply showed that the foreign debt question is part of the overall task of improving international economic relations based on the principles of fairness.

The Assembly spoke out for ensuring genuine human rights and freedoms, the right to live in peace first and foremost. The discussion of these questions was targeted against the flagrant and mass-scale violations of human rights by the military in Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala and by Israel on occupied territories, and against the inhuman system of apartheid.

At the final stage of the 40th Session of the General Assembly the UN Security Council adopted, on the basis of an accord between the USSR and the USA, a decision on measures against the taking of hostages and kidnapping.

The generally positive nature of the debates and the decisions adopted at the session do not at all mean the absence of a fierce political and diplomatic struggle at it. It would be incorrect to underestimate the negative influence on UN activity of the so-called strategy of "bridling" the UN developed by the USA. In effect a course has been steered to artificially change the political climate prevailing at the UN, take the edge off the urgency of the discussion of questions of war and peace and regional situations, render the USA and also Israel immune to criticism, and to emasculate or reduce to a minimum the recommendations of the General Assembly on political problems. The emphasis in carrying out this strategy is being placed on political and economic pressure, above all, on the developing countries, of course. The difficult economic and food situation in a number of them is cynically taken advantage of. In the very confines of the UN, aside from arm-twisting tactics, the USA resorts to procedural manoeuvring and make wide use of demagoguery, including the submitting of draft resolutions geared to winning propaganda points and to replacing important political principles. The American delegation is often vigorously supported in pursuing this line by representatives of other NATO countries, the FRG and Britain in particular.

A graphic demonstration of the line to undermine the UN's constructive work were the resolutions on the so-called Afghan and Kampuchean questions which were foisted upon the General Assembly and were devoid of political realism. The record has already shown that such decisions put grist to the mill solely of those who are waging the undeclared war against Afghanistan, furnishing aid to the Pol Pot bands on the Kampuchean borders, and who are impeding a political settlement in these regions.

Generally speaking, positive results were achieved at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly. The majority of the resolutions adopted are geared to exerting a favourable influence on international affairs. This once again bore out the importance of the UN and of the fact that, given all its shortcomings, it is playing a notable and positive role in the system of international relations.

The idea of the uniqueness of the UN as a centre of setting forth the views of virtually all the states of the world was voiced on several occasions during the session. The main thing, however, and this was pointed out by many speakers, is that the UN is a unique forum for searching for the optimal correlation between the national interests of states and their common global interests. The point that the UN should not be used as a rostrum for fruitless polemics was vigorously made. The delegates of different groups of states stressed that it should be fully turned into a centre for coordinating the actions of nations for the sake of attaining the goals set forth in its Charter, above all the goals of delivering future generations from the calamities of war.

The future of the UN, as virtually all the speakers at the session pointed out, should be based on the principles enshrined in its Charter. Expressing the sentiments predominating in the UN, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar stated in connection with the session results that the overriding task of the UN is to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, attain a halt of the arms race on Earth and to prevent it from being carried into outer space.

The proclamation by the General Assembly of 1986 as the International Year of Peace was a manifestation of the aspirations of the whole of mankind. The speeches of the delegates insistently echoed the idea that this year

PUBLIC OPINION AND WORLD POLITICS

T. T I M O F E Y E V

Nowadays it would be no exaggeration to say that whatever topical problem of worldwide concern we take we can see growing public awareness of the need to solve it by peaceful means. Various groups and organisations have been more active expressing serious concern of the world public and broad strata of the population over the mounting nuclear arms race. Various regions of the world—Europe, America, Africa, Asia, the Pacific countries, including New Zealand, Australia, Japan and others, see growing domestic opposition to the military threat and demands for broader business relations between East and West, for greater peaceful cooperation.

It is universally acknowledged that the pressure of public opinion was among the main reasons which led to important changes in international affairs and continue to influence the positions of the Western rulers. Shifts in the mood of ever broader masses of the people in the non-socialist world, who have unequivocally expressed themselves in favour of negotiations, have forced the NATO governments to manoeuvre. Under these circumstances the White House had to agree to hold the Soviet-US summit. To turn it down would be tantamount to admitting to utter disregard of the interests of the world community.

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The present time brings ever fresh proof of the validity of the Marxist thesis that the genuine motive forces of world historic process stem not so much from "the motives of single individuals, however eminent", as from "those motives which set in motion great masses, whole peoples".¹

The nuclear age is witnessing particularly profound changes in social consciousness and people's behaviour. The new edition of the CPSU Programme points out that the most burning problem facing mankind today is that of war and peace and that a characteristic feature of our time is *an upsurge of mass democratic movements in the non-socialist world*. People of different political views are demanding an end to the militarisation of society and to policies of aggression and war. In this connection the importance is stressed of interaction of all the peace forces of our time, of doing everything to strengthen the global potential of peace, an integral part of which is formed by the antiwar movements of the broadest masses on all continents, that have emerged as a long-term and potent factor in social life.

Representatives of various political parties, trade unions and authoritative scientific centres in the West now state that the movement of the broadest social and political forces on all continents for consolidating peace, against the growing arms race on Earth, and its spread to outer space,

The author is a Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the Institute of International Labour Movement of the Academy of Sciences, Vice-Chairman of the Scientific Research Council on Peace and Disarmament.

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. Three, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 367.

is mounting and exerting a serious influence on international affairs. The peaceloving public, writes a recent publication of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), seeks to step up its search for ways and means that would ensure "accountability by governments to their respective public opinions for the stands that they take in international bodies on questions affecting peace and security."²

One must bear in mind that present-day mass democratic antinuclear movements have arisen in the context of the scientific and technological revolution and of unprecedented increase of the military danger. In this situation certain militaristic circles in the United States have committed themselves to using the achievements of man's genius to create weapons of monstrous destructive power, to upset the existing military-strategic equilibrium between the USA and the USSR which provides the basis for peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. On the other hand, as the new edition of the Programme of the CPSU emphasises there is no fatal inevitability of a new world war and it is possible to save mankind from catastrophe. "It is not science and technology in themselves that pose a threat to peace. This threat is posed by imperialism and its policy, the policy of the more reactionary militarist, aggressive forces of our time. The danger looming over mankind has never been so awesome. But neither have the possibilities for safeguarding and strengthening peace ever been so realistic. By pooling efforts, the peoples can and must avert the threat of nuclear annihilation."

One should not, however, overlook the fact that various socio-economic and political forces are increasingly vying with one another to influence public opinion. It is no secret, for example, that certain quarters in the USA which express the interests of the big corporations linked with the missile and space business, have exerted no small effort to mould opinion in the Western countries.

State-monopoly capitalism has for many years spent huge sums for these purposes. According to American experts, the military-industrial complex in the United States has sought to make growing use of the mass media and public opinion services to manipulate mass consciousness. As Professor Herbert Schiller of California University, San Diego, has pointed out, the media bosses in America cleverly operate and fully control the spread of information which shapes people's opinions and attitudes. In fabricating reports that often distort reality they become manipulators of consciousness. Moreover, Washington is exporting its methods of manipulating popular consciousness to other countries hoping in this way to prevent its unpopular actions from being utterly discredited in the eyes of diverse social strata.

It would be a dangerous mistake to regard as entirely harmless attempts to shift the blame and fool the public into believing that the chief cause of mounting international tensions is the foreign policy of the socialist community countries. Certain sections of the Western public harbour anticommunist sentiments and take the allegations about a "Soviet threat" at their face value.

Even so, the widening of the gap between the bellicose Pentagon policy and sentiments among the broad masses has constituted one of the main shifts in Western public opinion. This can be observed in various parts of the world, including Western Europe. Such facts are more and more often admitted by realistically minded Western political leaders and scientists. Noting that many Europeans were seriously worried by the character and consequences of Washington's course Sverre Lodgaard of SIPRI says with justification that in Europe "public opinion against nuclear arms is stron-

² *Policies for Common Security*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, London — Philadelphia, 1985, p. 235.

gest".³ Mary Kaldor, a prominent British public personality and researcher, has condemned the "new war-fighting doctrines, and an increase in armaments" which have in recent years been accompanied "by increased paranoia in ruling circles [of the West]". This, in her opinion, is "a central element of the new cold war". She comes to the logical conclusion that "the West does not appear as the embodiment of freedom". "Can we be said", continues Mary Kaldor, "to live in a democratic society when governments are so unresponsive to vociferous and articulate public opposition to the Euromissiles in all five deployment countries."⁴

A feature of the present-day antinuclear actions is their wide-ranging base and the involvement of various social strata and political forces, which has been noted by many scholars who have studied antiwar movements in various parts of the world. This process is furthered by the growing activity of political organisations of various orientations, the positions of the main trends in the working-class and trade union movements, many cooperative, women's, youth, ecological and other movements.

Broad public and political forces both in Europe itself and elsewhere pay great attention to analysing the trends in the European process. Among the milestones along that road were the international meetings of the representatives of public movements held in 1985 to mark the 10th anniversary of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

One should note the work of the international symposium in Helsinki sponsored by the Finnish Committee for European Security and Cooperation (STETE). It held its plenary and section meetings in late August-early September 1985 in the Finnish Parliament building and was attended by about 200 people representing a number of centrist, liberal, Social Democratic and Communist parties, trade union and other influential social organisations from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the USA, the USSR, the FRG, Belgium, Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and including some experts on international and European security.

Opening the symposium, Pirkko Työlärvi, President of STETE and Vice Chairman of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, stressed that the intent of the meeting was to contribute to the efforts of the public aimed at developing and deepening the European process. She expressed the mood of many participants when she said that public opinion is not only a reminder to the governments of the need to advance the European process, but it is also obliged to stimulate and enrich it.

The Finnish Foreign Minister, Paavo Väyrynen, greeting the symposium on behalf of the Finnish government, stressed, among other things, that understanding and support of the public were a vital prerequisite for the success of the policy of European cooperation.

Reports at the first plenary meeting were presented by Ambassador James Leonard, one of the leaders of the Washington Committee for National Security, by the writer of this article, and by Berndt Karlsson a prominent Social Democrat, chief of department at the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, former Secretary-General of the Socialist International.

The distinctive feature of that international symposium was that it viewed most of the problems under discussion in terms of the activity of social forces in Europe. It is no accident that in welcoming the results of the meeting as yet new evidence of public activity for detente, the *Nuku-päivä* newspaper (organ of the National Coalition Party of Finland) wrote

³ *Policies for Common Security*, p. 160.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

that the international symposium has once again proved that public opinion was a factor of detente.

Assessment of the overall political situation in Europe and its prospects figured prominently at the symposium. Stating that the international situation had taken a turn for the worse in the second half of the 1970s and early 1980s many speakers labelled among the main causes the deployment of US medium-range missiles in some NATO countries and Washington's intention to carry the arms race into outer space.

The paper presented by James Leonard, a noted American arms control expert, met with considerable interest. He criticised the current Western interpretation of European security that justifies the desire of NATO countries to gain nuclear supremacy over the Warsaw Treaty states. Noting that it was politically absurd and morally cruel to plan the defence of Western Europe with weapons that were sure to destroy it, Leonard stressed that the enemy was the nuclear weapons, nuclear war and the whole system of the military business in all its aspects. The US medium-range nuclear weapons that occupy a central place in NATO strategy should be removed from the continent, said Leonard. And they should be liquidated and not just placed on naval ships or US airfields from where they could easily be brought back to Europe.

Although the American expert rejected nuclear weapons as a deterrent, he underestimated, if one can judge from his report, the role of political means in strengthening European security and relied chiefly on conventional weapons. His approach did not meet with support as witnessed by the remarks of other participants in the International Symposium. Berndt Karlsson, for example, noted that the new conflict in Europe could be an indescribable catastrophe even if nuclear weapons were not used. Considering the number of nuclear power stations, chemical enterprises and buried toxic wastes a conventional war could have an effect comparable in some ways to a limited nuclear conflict. In a densely populated continent civilian casualties would be enormous. Vast areas would most likely become deserts uninhabitable in the future. Karlsson stressed that a return to detente and the establishment of effective arms control offer a real, and perhaps, the only way to survival.

In the course of the discussions at the international meeting many participants did not hide their differences over ideological, political and other issues. Thus, while criticising the foreign policy of the US Administration some speakers claimed that "both superpowers were equally responsible" for the aggravation of international tensions.

The majority of the participants in the meeting did not share that point of view and praised the Soviet foreign policy peace initiatives. The public forum greeted with great interest the decision of the USSR to introduce a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions until the beginning of 1986. The new Soviet peace initiative, and the interview Mikhail Gorbachev gave to *Time* magazine in early September 1985 were seen at the meeting as a concrete expression of the Soviet leadership's goodwill, its desire to move steadily towards an agreement with the USA on drastic cuts of strategic armaments and on nuclear disarmament.

The problem of creating nuclear-free zones in various regions featured prominently in the debates. The participants in the Helsinki symposium and the press in Finland received with great interest the proposals on establishing a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe and providing an international legal structure for that. The Soviet Union has declared that it is ready to be a guarantor of such a zone. The peoples of Northern Europe, stressed the symposium, are entitled to demand such moves from other nuclear states. At the same time, it was noted that there was growing opposition among the broad public in Scandinavian countries to the concepts of the so-called northern balance with the help of which some people would like

to justify NATO military preparations on the northern flank. Mindful of the common interest of the peoples of Northern Europe and the USSR in making the Baltic a sea of peace and cooperation, the Soviet Union is ready to discuss granting a nuclear-free status to that sea. The proposal of the Swedish government to create a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe also met with a highly positive response in a number of countries, including the USSR.

The symposium strongly criticised the "strategic defense initiative" which the US Administration is trying to impose on its allies. As James Leonard said, SDI cannot be described as defensive and it is unable to safeguard the world against the threat of nuclear conflict. On the contrary, the US expert believes that all the main dangers stemming from the intensified arms race would escalate unpredictably. The implementation of the "star wars" programme would greatly destabilise international relations because the SDI is incompatible with the perspective of substantial cuts in offensive armaments.

Concrete aspects, including economic aspects, of the dire consequences of the SDI are being more and more widely discussed. According to J. Pakaslahti, a Finnish economist, the involvement of West European countries in SDI programmes would divert a large part of their national incomes, research and financial resources to serve the economic, military and political interests of the USA. This would, in turn, limit the possibilities for West European countries to develop their national economies, further undermine the competitiveness of some civilian industries in Western Europe, and strengthen the positions of international military-industrial complexes with all the adverse consequences that would entail for the social-economic position of the working people.

One important area for the materialisation of the Helsinki Final Act is the expansion of mutually beneficial business ties and cooperation between the countries of the East and West, as broad public circles in Europe believe. In the past decade, despite opposition from some quarters in the USA, a vast system of agreements in the economy, trade, science and technology has become firmly established. Many of them are intended for a long-term perspective. There is some progress in production cooperation. More advanced types of cooperation in production are being developed on mutual interest in joint use of the latest scientific and technological achievements, design and construction of enterprises on a product-pay-back basis. This is evidenced by figures on the growth of trade and economic ties. Between 1975 and 1983 trade between West European and European CMEA member countries almost doubled.

Even at the height of the crisis in the world capitalist economy in the early 1980s (when a slump in business activity was accompanied by a drop in the total volume of foreign trade) trade and economic ties between the socialist and capitalist states of Europe continued to develop, albeit at a slower rate than before, in spite of Washington's attempts to torpedo them by various "sanctions" and "blockades".

This is due to the fact that the deepening of trade and economic relations, which normally thrive in a situation of international detente, is not only mutually beneficial, but makes economic and political sense. For the broadening of these relations could go some way towards softening the consequences of crisis phenomena and chronic wide-spread unemployment in the West. Suffice it to say that the orders from the USSR and other socialist countries provide at least 2 million jobs in the capitalist countries of Europe alone.

Ignaas Lindemans, an economics expert representing the Belgian Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, presented a paper based on his recently published study devoted to important problems of developing a world economy in the future. He cited concrete calculations which show that

if the West European countries increased the volume of their trade with socialist countries at least to the present level of West Germany (where about 2 per cent of the workforce are engaged in fulfilling orders for East European countries) a million or more jobs would be created in the EEC countries.

A considerable factor contributing to peace in Europe is adherence to the time-tested principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and the relatively high level and diversified character of cooperation already achieved between European countries. It is no accident that the policy of economic sanctions against the socialist states, periodically resorted to by the White House, meets with criticism among sober-minded people. Such pressure on other states must be considered to be contrary to the Helsinki Final Act, as M.-L. Riskila, a Finnish trade unionist and Vice-President of STETE, rightly pointed out in her speech. Her view was shared by other speakers who stressed the importance of expanding economic ties between East and West.

The growing role and influence of public opinion in present-day international life can no longer be ignored in discussing global problems and in looking for solutions to them. This is taken into account by diverse social and political forces and forms the subject of close analysis and discussions at various international forums.

One can mention in this connection the debates at the 13th World Congress of the International Political Science Association held in Paris in July 1985 and attended by political scientists from 40 countries. The main theme of the Congress that had to do with various aspects of the interaction of the state with national and international social forces, was discussed at plenary meetings and at the sessions of special study committees and groups. One such discussion that attracted considerable interest was on The Role of the Masses in World Politics. Speakers in the discussion pointed out that the forms, volume and scope of mass participation in international political affairs change with every new stage in the development of the world historical process. Proceeding from the fact that the advent of nuclear weapons has changed the character of war and that its consequences today are fundamentally different, many contributors to the discussion noted that nuclear weapons, if used, could lead to the destruction of mankind. This gives added importance to the struggle for peace which, being a means of preserving life on Earth, has become a moral and humanitarian problem of universal relevance. This offers new possibilities for interaction and cooperation between various trends within the antiwar movement.

A similar conclusion was drawn by scientists who took part in a number of other international meetings, including the 2nd international forum of students of the working-class movement held in Paris in June 1985; and the symposium held in Vienna in 1985 at the initiative of the International Institute for Peace. Their participants, rightly stressing that the antinuclear movement has emerged as a serious factor in social and political life, noted that in these conditions growing importance is attached to "peace research", to the study of antimilitarist traditions in the working-class movement and the trends of various "alternative" and other social movements, while their scope is expanding.

The present stage in the development of mass antiwar movements is marked by the following features:

ever deeper awareness of the irreversible consequences of a nuclear catastrophe for life on Earth and for everything that has been created by the labour of many generations of working people;

growing awareness that the arms race leads to the decline of living standards of various social strata and that it is a brake on the solution of problems on which the future of mankind depends;

broadening social base of the peace movement, ever more active involvement in this struggle of various groups of the working class, the broad working masses and other social strata;

the emergence of new forms of antiwar actions by working people and their organisations, notably such active mass forms as rallies and meetings, demonstrations, collection of signatures under petitions, Easter peace marches, days and weeks of actions, mailing campaigns, picketing of military bases, and work stoppages. Today more and more working class actions in the capitalist countries are in defence of stronger peace and the security of nations;

broadening range of the demands of the antiwar protesters both in the political and social-economic fields;

drawing together of the positions of various political parties and trade unions on the problems of war and peace, their awareness of the need to put an end to the arms race on Earth and to prevent it from being spread to outer space.

This is evidenced by the current positions on the war and peace issues taken by many Social-Democratic parties, their activists and leaders. It is no exaggeration to say that the problems of peace and detente, of halting the arms race have become priorities in the work of the Socialist International which, especially of late, has been striving to pick up on the mood of the broad masses and the changes in the world public opinion. There have been positive shifts in its approach to the number one problem facing mankind. The desire to contribute towards a healthier international atmosphere is reflected in the Vienna Appeal of the Socialist International adopted in October 1985. "The Socialist International," reads the Appeal, "is particularly concerned about the danger of transferring the arms race into space, and calls upon both sides to desist from actions such as anti-missile and anti-satellite tests. The Socialist International has already made clear its rejection of the SDI and similar concepts. The technological challenges posed by such concepts should be met by international and regional cooperation for peaceful purposes.

"Governments must now realise that security needs cannot be satisfied by innovations in weapons technology and a further arms buildup. It is not the quality of weapons, but the quality of politics, that must be improved. Disarmament, peaceful cooperation and detente are the only reasonable answers to the dangers facing mankind."

The realism of such an attitude is obvious. Communists believe that this facilitates attainment of mutual understanding between different contingents of the working people in the struggle for the basic human right, the right to live. The new edition of the Programme of the CPSU points out that the CPSU will continue its policy of developing ties with socialist, social-democratic and labour parties. Cooperation with them can play a significant role first and foremost in the effort to prevent nuclear war. However great might be the divergences between various trends of the working-class movement, they present no obstacle to fruitful and systematic exchange of views, to parallel and even joint actions to remove the war threat, improve the international situation, eliminate the vestiges of colonialism, and uphold the interests and rights of the working people. The CPSU, the Programme reads, attaches great significance to invigorating cooperation among all contingents of the international working-class movement and expanding interaction between trade unions of diverse trends and youth, women's, peasant and other democratic organisations in various countries.

Today the geography of the antiwar movement has greatly broadened. It involves people from all the world's regions, irrespective of their political views and religious beliefs.

Shifts in social consciousness, and the mounting antiwar movement which is in some countries interwoven with ecological, women's and other mass movements are due to a large measure to the growing significance of global problems. Chief among them is undoubtedly the striving of ever broader sections of the population to ensure the survival of civilisation. Antiwar actions today are directed against the danger of the human race being destroyed in a nuclear holocaust.

This idea is taken up in statements by many prominent scientists including the famous appeal of the congress of Nobel Prize Winners (Holland, 1985) to Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan. This important initiative of the Nobel Prize Winners reflects the sentiments of broad public strata who want to see real agreements on banning nuclear tests, non-militarisation of outer space and substantial cuts of nuclear weapon stocks as a first step towards its early destruction.

The growing antiwar sentiments among the broad masses of people in the non-socialist world, the actions of various social, trade union and political organisations against the arms race, for normalisation and improvement of American-Soviet relations were undoubtedly among the important factors that made the Geneva summit of November 1985 possible. The peaceloving public in all countries and continents today possesses impressive force and influence so that the US Administration has to reckon with the voice of the masses and their desire to bring about stronger peace and real disarmament measures.

Everywhere in the world there is growing understanding of the simple truth that there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems in the nuclear age, that there is no fatal inevitability of war, that the historical dispute between the opposite social systems can and must be resolved peacefully. Today, there is no more noble and responsible task for the peaceloving public than to curb the forces of militarism and reaction, to reverse the arms race and to ensure durable peace for the present and future generations.

COOPERATION, NOT CONFRONTATION

(Continued from page 45)

should be a turning point in world developments. The peoples have bound up their hopes for this above all with the continuation of the Soviet-American dialogue, which was initiated by the Geneva summit. The task was stressed of translating the results of this meeting and the provisions of the joint statement adopted at it into specific actions. This is also largely being promoted by the decisions of the UN General Assembly, which reflect the need for a responsible approach and for greater efforts by all states and socio-political forces in favour of peace.

"STAR PEACE", NOT "STAR WARS"

M. S O M O V

At the Soviet-American summit held last November in Geneva, the Soviet side spoke out in favour of an early adoption of effective measures to prevent an arms race in outer space and voiced its opposition to Washington's course towards preparing for "star wars" and building space attack weapons. It was emphasised that there is real chance today to drastically lessen the threat of nuclear war and subsequently to remove altogether any possibility of such a war. It would be a fatal mistake to miss that chance. Thus, it was confirmed by both sides of the highest level: it is necessary to prevent an arms race in outer space, resolving this question in complex with the reduction of nuclear weapons. This is what the Soviet Union will press for. This is what it calls upon the United States to do.

The Soviet position on outer space in Geneva highlighted the consistent line the Soviet state has been pursuing for almost three decades. The Soviet Union has proposed and is proposing to solve the task of non-militarisation of outer space and keeping it for peaceful activity in a radical, comprehensive and business-like way. At issue is one of the cardinal points of the international situation, i. e. the limitation and constriction of the scope of military preparations. This is how the question is treated in the CPSU Programme: "First and foremost, outer space should be totally excluded from that sphere so that it will not become a scene of military rivalry and a source of death and destruction. Exploration and development of outer space should be for peaceful purposes only, for the development of science and production, in accordance with the needs of all nations. The USSR stands for collective efforts in the solution of this problem and will actively participate in international cooperation to this end." The CPSU regards the realisation of the "star peace" reaffirmed in this policy-making document of the CPSU as an important part of the Soviet state's struggle for lasting peace and disarmament, for solving the historic task of general and complete disarmament under strict and comprehensive international control.

The decision taken by the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government in early 1986 concerning a number of large-scale foreign-policy actions of fundamental importance are further proof of the USSR's determination to wage this struggle constructively, consistently and vigorously. As is stipulated in the Statement by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, of January 15, 1986, the most important action is a concrete programme aimed at completely eliminating nuclear weapons throughout the world and covering a precisely defined period of time. One of the key elements, based on the objective interconnection between the nuclear and space weapons and on the accord on this issue, is the proposition that the creation of strike space weapons will dash the hopes for reducing nuclear weapons on Earth. It is stressed in the Statement that "it is our profound conviction that we should approach the third millenium not with the 'star wars' programme but with large-scale projects of peaceful exploration of space by all mankind. We propose to start practical work on such projects and their implementation. This is one of the major ways of ensuring progress on our entire planet and establishing a reliable system of security for all".

From the very outset of the space era whose first page was opened by the launching of the Soviet artificial Earth satellite in October 1957, the USSR has actively and consistently advocated peaceful cooperation in space and opposed the spread of the arms race to outer space.

In its memorandum on disarmament of March 15, 1958, the USSR—then the only "space power" in the world—proposed banning all types of military use of outer space. This proposal was tabled at the UN, but was not backed by the USA and its allies. They also blocked the development of a mutually acceptable agreement on the basis of the draft Treaty on the General and Complete Disarmament under Strict International Control submitted by the Soviet Union to the Eighteen-Nations Committee on Disarmament on March 15, 1962 and which paved the way for the establishment of a regime of exclusively peaceful use of outer space. The draft provided among other things for phased destruction of all types of weapons, especially nuclear weapons, the disbanding of all armed forces, and elimination of all foreign military bases. As a result launch instruments and equipment would only be preserved for the launching of missiles for peaceful purposes.

Although no radical solution to the problem of non-militarisation of outer space was found at that time, persistent efforts of the USSR and some other states in the 1960s and 1970s led to the signing of treaties that substantially limited the possibility of military use of space.

The Moscow 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water embodies an obligation by the parties to this Treaty "to prohibit, to prevent, and not to carry out any nuclear weapon test explosions or any other explosions" in three environments—under water, in the atmosphere and in outer space.¹

The 1963 Treaty, however, did not rule out the possible placing of nuclear weapons in outer space. That problem was solved in the 1967 Treaty on the Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. The most important commitments under the Treaty are not to launch into orbit around the Earth any objects with nuclear weapons and any other types of mass destruction weapons, not to emplace such weapons on celestial bodies and not to place such weapons in outer space by any other means, and the ban on the creation on celestial bodies of military bases, installations and fortifications, the testing of any types of armaments and conducting manoeuvres.²

Of the other multilateral agreements limiting the military use of outer space one must mention the 1977 Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques that lists the modification of the state of the ozone layer and the ionosphere among the banned methods of military use of outer space.

Special mention should be made of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (ABM) signed in 1972, of unlimited duration, and is of fundamental significance for the whole process of nuclear arms limitation. Both sides considered that "effective measures to limit anti-ballistic missile systems would be a substantial factor in curbing the race in strategic offensive arms and would lead to a decrease in the risk of outbreak of war involving nuclear weapons". With this aim in view each Party undertook "not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based".³

¹ *The Soviet Union in the Struggle for Disarmament*, Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, p. 32 (in Russian).

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112, 114.

On May 26, 1972, simultaneously with the ABM Treaty, an Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-1 Treaty) was signed that imposed certain material restrictions on the military use of outer space. The two sides undertook to limit the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles both fixed, land-based and submarine-launched to the number in the possession of the sides on the day the agreement was signed.

The SALT-2 Treaty signed in 1979 provides not only for quantitative but also qualitative limitations on the military use of outer space inasmuch as it contains along with other provisions, ones which limit the possibilities for creating the means of orbiting nuclear weapons around the Earth and partially, orbital means.

These and some other agreements do not, however, block all the channels for the spread of the arms race to outer space, and consequently, leave the possibility open for deploying weapons in outer space. The danger of this increased immeasurably in the late 1970s and early 1980s when the USA chose outer space as a new area of efforts aimed at upsetting the military strategic parity. With the advent to power of the present US Administration which made the achievement of military superiority over the USSR the focal point of its policy, this menace turned into an immediate danger. As a crowning of the overall increase in the aggressiveness and militaristic character of US policy the US President proclaimed the "strategic defense initiative" (SDI) in March 1983 dubbed "star wars" in the USA itself.

The officially proclaimed goal of the SDI is the creation of a large-scale multi-echelon antimissile defence designed to shield the US territory against "enemy" strategic ballistic missiles. A large part of that defence is to be deployed in outer space and includes the means of destroying missiles, the means based on new physical principles (lasers, beam weapons, etc.). In the context of nuclear missile confrontation the very fact that the USA is setting such a goal means that it seeks the ability to deliver a first nuclear strike on the Soviet Union with impunity and prevent it from delivering a retaliatory strike. Antimissile defence of US territory would then be a component of what is conceived as a first-strike arsenal. All the more so because simultaneously the USA is stepping up the creation of other components of the arsenal, namely five types of strategic delivery vehicles, including two types of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, a submarine-launched ballistic missile, and two types of heavy bombers. The USA is also deploying long-range cruise missiles of various types of basing, and other nuclear weapon systems.

The underlying concept of the SDI, i. e. to make a massive effort to be the first to bring weapons to outer space, expresses the bellicose philosophy of supremacy in space and, through space, on the Earth. A White House document published in January 1985 says that if it had been the USSR and not the USA that had launched the creation of a large-scale ABM system the USA "would have no choice between surrender and suicide".⁴ By implication it means that the advocates of the SDI want to put the Soviet Union in precisely this kind of position when the USA could wage nuclear war with impunity in the hope of winning it.

Among the means of ensuring US dominance in outer space are to be strike space weapons designed to hit not only the missiles but also the

⁴ *The New York Times*, March 8, 1985.

satellites of the other side, notably tracking satellites, in order to "blind" its strategic retaliatory forces. They could also be used to strike from outer space at ground, air, and naval targets, including missiles on launching pads, and control and communication centres. Such weapons could at any moment appear over any region or state posing a threat to its security.

One talks of a new class of weapon, automated and producing global and practically instant effect. Clearly, aggressive quarters, should they find themselves in possession of a space "sword", could create the illusion that anything was permitted and would be tempted to deliver or threaten to deliver a disarming nuclear strike under the protection of a space "shield".

This is all the more dangerous because the very nature of the new class of weapons would require taking critical decisions at such short notice that would make it humanly impossible to correctly assess the existing situation. The making of such decisions would in effect be entrusted to technology which would sharply increase the risk of both the premeditated and the accidental outbreak of war. American scientists Hans Bethe, Richard Garwin, Kurt Gottfried and Henry Kendall point out that "it is difficult to imagine a system more likely to induce a catastrophe than one that requires critical decisions by the second, is itself intested and fragile and yet is threatening to the other side's retaliatory capability"⁵

The danger of the "star wars" project is increased many times over by the underlying adventurism of the entire concept of its implementation. The authors of the SDI have themselves admitted on occasion that they have created a problem for themselves with many imponderables, moreover, with only a hypothetical idea of what the end result will be. Despite the uncertainty of this premise it is being categorically asserted that the SDI would render nuclear weapons redundant and obsolete, would solve the problem of security for the USA and for the whole world.

There is a large body of opinion among experts and scientists, including those in the USA, to warrant the conclusion that the proposed version of "star wars" is unfeasible and impracticable. For instance, a report published on September 24, 1985, by the experts from the Congress Office of Technology Assessment rightly puts into question the technical feasibility of creating a failsafe "shield" and its effectiveness.⁶

One can imagine, of course, that new types of weapons would in time create a system capable of effectively knocking out the existing missiles. However, these missiles would be improved according to the situation. There can be no absolute weapon on which it is possible to stake because technical progress, science and technology reject absolutes by their very creative nature. The main thing, however, is that not even the most sophisticated technology would be able to ensure security and disarmament because these are political problems that do not lend themselves to technical solutions.

And yet the stake is being put precisely on this kind of solution which ignores political realities, including the existing treaty regime, and the system of negotiations on arms limitation and reduction. To cover up that fact, it is being asserted that the SDI is merely a "research" programme aimed at finding out whether a system of large-scale antimissile defence would work or not. Once that is established (and this is, according to existing plans, unlikely to happen before 1993), a decision would be made whether or not to deploy such a system and what to do about the ABM Treaty. Pending that, space weapons are not negotiable

⁵ See *Scientific American*, No. 4, Vol. 251, 1984, p. 48.

⁶ See *The New York Times*, Sept. 25, 1985.

and the SDI cannot be an object of "bargaining". Negotiations could only concern themselves with how to replace offensive systems by defensive ones. After the system of large-scale US defence with space-based elements is created, probably in a few decades time, it would be possible to agree on cutting or even eliminating nuclear weapons.

The dangerous adventurism of "star wars" plans is also manifest in the fact that they ignore the dire consequences of spreading the arms race to outer space.

The development of space strike weapons would escalate the arms race to a qualitatively new stage and speed it up in every direction, including strategic weapons. A chain reaction of moves and countermoves would set in. All this would increase the war arsenals many times over, would change the structure of armed forces and dramatically raise the level of military confrontation. Strategic stability would be undermined. The area of possible new crisis situations would increase, including crises as a result of misinterpreted situations, individual incidents, and technical errors.

For example, if today a crippled artificial Earth satellite is the result of technical malfunction and is perceived as such, under conditions of the saturation of outer space with weapons this could be interpreted as a result of deliberate actions of the other side. This would throw out of gear the process and mechanism of talks on limitation and reduction of strategic arms and undermine prospects for the solution of these issues by political means. Insurmountable barriers to broad international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space would arise. The relations between the USA and the USSR would be damaged because the SDI is seen as an instrument of pressure on the Soviet Union.

The USSR consistently and energetically seeks to reach international legal commitments that would prevent the arms race from spreading to outer space. In 1981 the Soviet Union submitted to the United Nations a draft Treaty on the Prohibition of the Stationing of Weapons of Any Kind in Outer Space.⁷ In 1983 the Soviet Union proposed going further and agreeing on a complete prohibition of the use of military force in outer space and from outer space with regard to the Earth by submitting a draft treaty to that effect to the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly. The draft Treaty envisages a complete ban on the testing and deployment in space of any space-based weapons intended to hit targets on the Earth, in the air, and in outer space. Simultaneously a radical solution of the antisatellite weapons problem was proposed—both sides were to renounce the creation of new systems and destroy existing ones, ban the testing and military use of manned spaceships.⁸ The USA opposed these Soviet initiatives but was unable to prevent the question of averting the spread of the arms race to outer space from being considered at the UN and at the Conference on Disarmament.

In August 1983 the USSR took an exceedingly important step by unilaterally committing itself not to be the first to deploy antisatellite weapons of any type in outer space as long as other states, including the USA, would refrain from deploying antisatellite weapons of any type in outer space. The USA opposed these Soviet peace initiatives.

Seeking to prevent the arms race in space the Soviet government in June 1984 proposed starting Soviet-American talks on averting militarisation of outer space on September 18, 1984. The USA rejected that proposal

⁷ *Pravda*, Aug. 12, 1981.

⁸ *Pravda*, Aug. 26, 1983.

as well and did everything it could to prevent negotiations on non-militarisation of outer space which the USSR proposed to hold in 1984.

In the autumn of 1984 the USSR launched another important initiative by proposing to include in the agenda of the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly the question "On the Use of Outer Space Exclusively for Peaceful Purposes and for the Benefit of Mankind". The General Assembly, by an absolute majority of votes (150 states voted in favour) passed a resolution on preventing an arms race in outer space⁹ that reflected the main thrust and essence of the Soviet proposal. The USA was the only state that did not support the proposal.

On March 12, 1985, new Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons began on the initiative of the Soviet Union. It is a matter of fundamental importance that preventing the arms race in outer space is an inseparable part of the agreed goals and objects of negotiations. On the key issues of negotiations—space weapons—the USSR favours an agreement on banning the creation (including research), testing and deployment of space strike weapons.

The USSR proposes that both sides introduce a moratorium—to last throughout the period of negotiations—on the development (including research work), testing and deployment of space strike weapons and freeze their strategic offensive weapons. Simultaneously the USA should stop deploying its medium-range missiles in Europe and the USSR would accordingly discontinue its counter-measures.

The Soviet-American talks in Geneva have offered a favourable opportunity to rid mankind of further escalation of the arms race and its spread to outer space. Seeking to do everything possible to ensure that this opportunity is not missed, the USSR in October 1985 made new constructive proposals aimed at early mutually acceptable agreements on the eve of the Soviet-American summit meeting.

At the initiative of the Soviet Union the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly put on its agenda and discussed the question "On International Cooperation in the Peaceful Exploration of Outer Space in Conditions of Its Non-Militarisation." The USSR proposed that the UN General Assembly renew its call to all the states, especially major space powers, to immediately agree on effective measures to prevent the arms race in outer space in order to create conditions for broad international cooperation in peaceful exploration and use of outer space.

The great constructive potential of the Soviet proposal went a long way towards ensuring business-like discussion of key problems of averting the nuclear threat, the arms limitation and reduction at the plenary meetings of the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly and in the First Political Committee. Prevention of the arms race in outer space and its peaceful development were focal for these discussions. As the Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov stressed, this question "has literally become decisive for the fate of mankind. The acid test of realism or adventurism in the approach to resolving the key issues of peace and war is precisely the attitude adopted towards that question". The Sri Lanka representative said: "We have a grave responsibility to save succeeding generations from the scourge of the extension of the arms race to outer space with the introduction of weapons with a strike capability. A stable and peaceful space regime ensuring peaceful cooperation in outer space must be preceded by an effective ban on weapon systems in outer space, whether for defensive or offensive purposes." The Peruvian

delegation pointed out that the militarisation of outer space threatens to escalate the burdensome and destructive arms race. The French Minister of External Relations said that "the deployment of new types of antimissile or antisatellite weapons on Earth or in space would lead to a new race, with its risk of destabilising effects."¹⁰

The economic consequences of the spread of the arms race to outer space, which is closely related to peaceful cooperation in the exploration and use of space, featured prominently in the discussions. The Indian representative stressed that the arms race in outer space would require "a more massive transfer of resources on a large scale from economic development to the creation of new offensive-defensive systems and new weapons".¹¹ The Finnish Foreign Minister said that "now that new technologies are making the economic utilisation of outer space even more attractive... the time has come to think about a more comprehensive approach to the use and management of this resource".¹²

The delegations of the socialist countries as well as Tanzania, Afghanistan, Australia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and other states condemned the plans of "star wars". The Swedish delegation declared that "the Swedish Government believes that security cannot be achieved through technical solutions, as, for example, new military systems which can be introduced in outer space... Only negotiated political solutions can be realistic".¹³

Against the background of the US Administration's attempts during the Session to drop the inseparable element of the Soviet-American agreement of January 1985, i. e. the prevention of the arms race in outer space, and to reinterpret the ABM Treaty, the statements of the US allies against such a race and in favour of strict observance of the ABM Treaty and the fact that they quoted verbatim the formulations of the goals and subject of Soviet-American negotiations assume a certain significance. This is true, for example, of the statements of the representative of the Netherlands made on behalf of the EEC, Spain and Portugal.

Lively interest was evoked by the concrete Soviet proposals on the main directions and principles of global peaceful cooperation in space research which would enter a new qualitative stage graduating from exchange of scientific-technical information and simple forms of cooperation to the pooling of the potentials of states to tackle large-scale space exploration problems. The realisation of these proposals seen as an elaboration of the concept of "star peace" would make it possible to launch such long-term programmes as industrialisation of the near space through the merger of various types of space complexes with the terrestrial economies of states, exploitation of orbital factories created to manufacture new materials and industrial goods in the conditions of deep vacuum and weightlessness. The inexhaustible resources of space, including the resources of celestial bodies and the energy of the Sun, would be put into the service of man. Movement towards that stage—a qualitatively new stage in the scope of the present tasks and volume of resources that would not be absorbed by the space arms race—could already begin today. It could take the following main directions: fundamental research in outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies and the launching of interplanetary spaceships for that purpose; application of the results of space exploration, experiments and use of space technology, including such areas as biology, medicine, study of materials, weather forecasting, study of the climate and the environment, satellite global communications system and remote sensing of Earth's resources from

¹⁰ UN Doc. A/40/PV.10.

¹¹ UN Doc. A/C.1/40/PV.10.

¹² UN Doc. A/40/PV.6.

¹³ UN Doc. A/40/PV.7.

outer space to obtain data for geology, agriculture, the development of the World Ocean, and to help search for, detect and rescue people suffering distress at sea and in the air; the creation and use of space technology, including large international orbital scientific stations as well as manned spaceships of various types. The idea of setting up a world space organisation and convening a properly prepared international conference for that purpose has also attracted attention.

The opponents of the Soviet proposal preferred to keep a low profile over a lengthy period of time. Then the delegation of West Germany presented arguments, versions of which were then presented by delegates of the USA, Italy and a few other countries.

They asserted, for example, that the Soviet Union made peaceful cooperation in space conditional on non-militarisation of space. In reality, the interconnection between the prevention of the arms race in space and the development of cooperation in its peaceful exploration is objective in character reflecting the larger interconnection between disarmament and cooperation that has been recognised by the General Assembly.

That is why the Soviet proposal, like the question on the interconnection between disarmament and development, was put on the agenda of the First Committee. This interconnection was also reflected in such international treaties as the Antarctic Treaty of 1959 and the 1967 Treaty on the Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. In these documents the provisions relating to the prevention of the arms race are organically linked with the articles on the peaceful use of the Antarctic and outer space. This is a logical comprehensive approach to the question.

It is those who advocate the "star wars" plans who call in question the preservation of peaceful space and further development of international cooperation in outer space. Can one seriously talk about cooperation in outer space in the conditions of its militarisation which would be a heavy drain on financial and intellectual resources, computer time and costly materials? Only those who are unprepared to come to grips with either issue can take a negative view of the interconnection between non-militarisation of space and cooperation.

The US delegation has opposed the Soviet proposal reiterating the claims of its Administration that the USSR was carrying out programmes analogous to the American "strategic defense initiative" and that outer space is already militarised anyway. Neither claim corresponds to the true state of affairs.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly made official statements at the summit level that it is not working to create space strike weapons and would not make the first step to bring weapons to outer space. Such a step is being taken by the USA as is evident incidentally from the term "initiative" in the official name of the "star wars" programme. It is significant that when the initiative was proposed no one bothered to present it as a reply to the Soviet space programmes. This was done later when the need arose to justify the SDI and the efforts to push it through.

These and similar assertions are now used as a manoeuvre to divert attention from everything being done by the United States, notably to create space strike weapons thus facilitating progress on "star wars".

This is the aim among other things, behind the assertions that work under this programme is legitimate and even allowed by the ABM Treaty. Attempts are even being made to use unlawful "new interpretations" of the Treaty to prepare a "legal base" for the development, testing and deployment of antimissile weapons based on "alternative physical principles", i. e. laser, beam and other types of space strike weapons.

US Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, when asked whether the ABM Treaty was an obstacle to the SDI in an interview to *L'Express* magazine in early November 1985, answered with a categorical "no". It is vital, he declared, that the USA be the first to develop this system. If the Russians were the first to develop it the world would be in a very dangerous situation. The nuclear deterrents of the USA, Britain and France would be reduced to naught and nothing would prevent a successful first strike by the Russians.¹⁴ These words are further proof that there are no strike weapons in outer space at present. The arms race in outer space would start with the creation of strike weapons to hit targets in space and strike from space to Earth and at space targets from Earth.

By non-militarisation of outer space the Soviet proposal means that the states refrain from developing (including R&D), testing, and deploying space strike weapons. Such a decision would block the path leading to the emplacement of weapons in outer space.

As regards satellites used for communications, navigation and missile attack warning and other purposes, they are not weapons in the proper sense of the word. They do not create a threat of direct attack in space and in fact contribute to the maintenance of stability by denying the other side the possibility of dealing a surprise disarming nuclear strike.

Agreement to ban space strike weapons is the top priority, fundamental question. Before space weapons have become a reality there is still time to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space and to keep it peaceful.

On December 12, 1985, the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution, reflecting the essence of the Soviet proposal, on the prevention of the arms race in outer space. It was passed by 151 votes without a single vote against, with the USA and Grenada abstaining. Thereby the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly unequivocally expressed itself in favour of joint efforts of states to keep space out of the arms race, to develop peaceful cooperation in outer space. The world community thus voted for a choice that is worthy of the earthlings' space era: "star peace" instead of "star wars". Further development of the military-political situation in the world depends on the implementation of that principle. The Soviet Union is determined to do everything it can to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space and to preserve it for peaceful activity.

L'Express, Nov. 8, 1985.

THE CRISIS OF THE WORLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Professor V. R Y M A L O V

D. Sc. (Econ.)

The tremendous successes scored by the national liberation movement have resulted in recent decades in radical changes in the entire system of political intercourse between the imperialist powers and their former colonial appendages. Real opportunities have emerged for the newly free states to step up their struggle to achieve economic independence and totally eliminate all traditional, as well as more sophisticated forms of neocolonialism resorted to by foreign monopoly capital to exploit these countries. "However different the newly free countries may be from one another and whatever road they follow, their peoples are united by a desire to develop independently, on their own, and to run their affairs without foreign interference," reads the new edition of the CPSU Programme.

The elimination of the basis of non-economic coercion and the mounting anti-imperialist struggle of the emergent countries to consolidate their national independence have created prerequisites for the growth of their productive forces formerly shackled by colonialism. Over the 1950s and 1960s, the volume of the newly free countries' gross output had grown more than two-fold and industrial production more than tripled. And the first postwar decades revealed a long-term trend of relatively higher economic growth rates in former colonial regions than in capitalist world economic centres.

As a result, the entire group of the developing countries began to expand its share in the gross output of the capitalist world. While at the turn of the 1950s it stood at about 10 per cent, two decades later it had reached almost 20 per cent. Despite the burdensome legacy of the colonial past and obstacles erected by internal and external reactionary forces, the developing countries began to step up the creation of a national industrial base, and they managed to improve their status on the world market. Until the early 1970s, an upward, albeit inconsistent, trend was observed in the economic growth rates of the overwhelming majority of developing countries. This accelerated the upsetting of their societies former colonial structure, sapping the previously uncontested rule of the imperialist powers in their economies, thereby undermining the monopoly position of these powers in the world capitalist economy.

The 1974-1975 economic crisis introduced substantial changes in this trend. Like other world cyclic crises, it mostly affected the industrial centres of capitalism. Over the entire postwar period they did not experience such a decline in production within one year. The crisis particularly afflicted Asian, African and Latin American developing countries which, after attaining political independence, remained financially and economically subjugated by monopoly capital. The crisis of the mid-1970s became a kind of a turning point in the evolution of the world

capitalist economy ushering in a new stage in the destabilisation of this system and the subsequent slow-down of the economic growth rates. The crisis of the mid-1970s accumulated all the deep-seated contradictions of the world capitalist system. In many respects it became an essential stimulant to the subsequent exacerbation of the crisis phenomena. It is confirmed by the data in Table 1.

Table 1

The Economies of the Developing and Capitalist Countries: Compared Average Annual Growth Rates (in per cent)

	Developing countries		Capitalist countries	
	1960-1973	1973-1984	1960-1973	1973-1984
GDP	6.0	3.5	5.0	2.5
Industry	8.5	1.5	6.0	1.5
Exports	6.5	0.0	9.0	4.0
Imports	6.0	5.5	9.5	3.0

Calculated from: U. N. *Statistical Yearbook, World Economic Survey, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* for corresponding years.

The results of an extended period of economic development can serve as the requisite backdrop for assessing typical phenomena reflecting the real situation in the economy of the majority of the developing countries in recent decades. First of all, they show that since the early 1970s the entire group of the newly free countries was going through a period of deteriorating economic conditions. Compared to the previous period, in 1973-1984 the aggregate growth rates of the physical volume of the gross output of goods and services have declined by almost 35 per cent, and those of industrial goods more than three-fold. The foreign economic problems of the developing countries have exacerbated.

Most of the developing countries acquired a chronic balance-of-trade deficit. Their export earnings became insufficient to cover their imports. To import vital items the young states had to resort to borrowing even more usually on extremely unfavourable, shackling terms, from the capitalist financial centres. To a considerable degree this has precipitated the unprecedented growth, both in terms of frequency and scope, of the developing countries' debts to foreign capital. According to the International Monetary Fund's calculations, in the 1980-1984 period alone the developing countries had to repay to their creditors more than \$550 million, which amounted to more than a fifth of their export earnings over the same period.²

The table above unambiguously indicates that the fluctuations in the long-term dynamics in the development of the young newly free states were an inalienable part of a broader process of growing contradictions of the production cycle within the framework of the entire capitalist system. In other words, *the upward and downward trends in the economic growth rates of the developing countries are rooted in the external rather*

¹ Along with the cyclic recessions, the capitalist countries' energy crisis impaired their foreign trade. From the early 1970s to the mid-1980s, their balance-of-trade deficit (the OPEC countries excluded) exceeded \$500,000 million (calculated from U. N. *Statistical Yearbook, 1981*, New York, 1983, pp. 886-887; *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, October 1985, pp. 106-107).

² *IMF Survey*, Jan. 7, 1985, pp. 1-3.

than internal factors and became a natural follow-up of the intensifying contradictions engulfing the economy of the industrialised centres of capitalism.

The processes coming to the fore in the world capitalist economy after the 1974-1975 crisis have failed to alleviate the plight befallen the developing countries. The subsequent phases of revival and growth have turned out to be unstable and sluggish, compared to the corresponding periods of the preceding economic cycles of capitalism, and this has inevitably affected the situation of the developing countries.

In the second half of the 1970s, the aggregate economic growth rates of most of them were even lower than in the first. The flare-ups of the fuel, energy, agrarian-raw materials, currency and financial and other structural crises, which unremittingly destabilised the international market relationships engendered by capital, continued to plague these countries. Such destabilisation, for which the developing countries were increasingly made to pay, erected additional external obstacles to revitalising their economies. At the same time, it inflicted serious damage on the capitalist countries themselves, constricted the period of economic growth and bred objective prerequisites for another economic crisis.

By the early 1980s it became obvious that prerequisites for a crisis were ripe. A new recession, afflicting initially the USA, quite soon spread to all other centres of capitalism. It was the most protracted crisis since the war. Only by the mid-1980s did the capitalist states manage the precrisis high of 1979 in the aggregate production volume.

As for the industry of the developing countries, the crisis of the early 1980s turned out to be even more destructive than the previous one (See Table 2). In the first half of the 1980s, their GDP growth rates were markedly slower than those of the capitalist states. Since the disintegration of the colonial system there has been no such downturns of the growth rates of gross output in these two groups of countries. It reflected the intertwining of cyclic and structural contradictions of the modern capitalist economy, the consequences of which were particularly telling for the unstable economies of the developing states, still very much dependent of foreign capital.

These consequences manifested themselves quite unevenly in various countries and regions of the developing world, which was inevitably accompanied by a further exacerbation of their economic and socio-political differentiation. However, in the final analysis this unevenness has led neither to the weakening of the anti-imperialist thrust, nor to the alienation of the young independent states on the world scene. Moreover, the experience of recent years shows that along with the growing differentiation there exists a trend towards expanding and strengthening the sphere of concerted actions by the newly free countries on many cardinal issues of the world economy and politics. The worsening crisis of the world capitalist economy brings out in bolder relief the commonality of their historical future, the pressing need to coordinate concrete action to attain important goals in their struggle for overcoming their unequal position in the system of the international capitalist division of labour and against the neocolonialist exploitation of them by imperialism.

The task of expediting industrial development is a task vital to absolutely all countries of the former colonial world. In recent years, they have succeeded in attaining new frontiers in creating an industrial base of their economies. For instance, in the 1974-1984 period the aggregate output of their manufacturing industries increased by about 70 per cent,

in heavy machine building by 80 per cent.³ However, it did not produce any major shifts in the long-standing huge disproportion in the distribution of industrial potentials between the developing and the capitalist countries. As a rule, the most powerful and advanced industries capable of applying the results of the scientific and technological revolution to the utmost are concentrated in the latter.

Table 2

Economic Growth Indicators in Recent Years

	Average annual growth rates (per cent)		Indices (1979 = 100)				
	1973-1979	1979-1984	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
			Industrial production				
Developing countries	4.4	-1.6	99	93	88	88	93
Capitalist countries	2.3	0.9	99	99.5	95.5	98.5	104.5
			Agricultural production				
Developing countries	3.1	2.6	102	107	109	111.5	114
Capitalist countries	2.3	1.2	99	103	104.5	106.5	106
			Gross Domestic Product				
Developing countries	5.2	1.4	103	104.5	104	104	107
Capitalist countries	2.7	2.0	101	102.5	102.5	105	110
			Exports				
Developing countries	1.5	-2.1	91.5	86	80.5	83.5	90
Capitalist countries	4.9	3.5	104	106	105	107	118.5
			Imports				
Developing countries	7.4	2.5	108.5	117.5	118.5	113	114
Capitalist countries	3.6	2.1	100	97	97	99	111

Estimated by: U. N. *Statistical Yearbook*, 1983, *World Economic Survey*, 1985, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, 1984-1985; UNCTAD, *Trade and Development Report*, 1985; FAO *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, 1985.

At the same time, the snowballing crisis phenomena in the economy of modern capitalism resulted in a less favourable international and, connected with it, internal situation for boosting the capacities of the basic national industries of the newly free countries. The slow-down in their industrial development was most noticeable in the metal-working sectors, where an absolute plunge in production lasted for about three years (1981-1983) and was even deeper than in all the capitalist countries taken together.⁴

In general, there is much proof confirming the fact that the manufacturing industry, like many of the other more important branches of the national economies of the developing countries, is more actively drawn into the orbit of the movement of capitalism's economic cycle. And the consequences of this process intertwined with the structural crises are becoming a long-term factor and are quite often assuming in this region forms more acute than in the advanced capitalist states. This conclusion becomes more obvious if one appraises the above-mentioned statistics in the light of the different demographic situations observed in one or another group of countries.

³ *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, November 1985, XVIII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. XIX.

It is a fact that the postwar "demographic boom" that began in the former colonial regions is still unabating. Despite the tremendous differentiation, the average population growth rates in the developing countries stand at 2.4 to 2.5 per cent annually. Therefore, in the first half of the 1980s they are markedly higher than the aggregate growth rates of their GDP. It follows that, the absolute production growth notwithstanding, per capita production in the developing world on the whole was considerably lower than at the end of the preceding decade. The picture in the centres of capitalism is quite different: the growth rates as well as the size of the population there are approximately three times lower than those in the developing countries. Per capita gross output continued to grow, although at a sluggish pace.

In analysing the large-scale, interrelated crisis processes taking place in the economy of this or that group of countries it is important to take stock of the demographic factors. These processes include a long-range trend endemic to imperialism—a trend towards widening the economic gap between them, which is customarily measured by comparing their per capita gross output. By the mid-20th century, the ratio was 10 to 1 in favour of the centres of capitalism. The first postwar decades left this trend unchanged. In the early 1970s, the per capita GDP in the developing countries was around 8 per cent of that in the capitalist states. The further exacerbation of the instability and unevenness in the economic development of the centres of capitalism and former colonial regions has markedly intensified the trend towards widening the economic precipice drawing them apart in the basic economic sectors.

For three years in a row (1981-1983), the developing world was going through a period of absolute decline in the per capita production, while in the centres of capitalism this trend lasted but for a year, and the decline was not so steep. In none of the postwar periods of world cyclic crises has the economy of the developing countries been thrown so far behind the capitalist states as by the slow-down in the early 1980s. Remarkably, it occurred in all the leading economic spheres of the non-socialist world, including the industrial sector.⁵ This disproportion continued to grow even in the period of the cyclic revival in the industrial centres of capitalism. The compilers of the annual UNCTAD report had every reason to assert that the "recovery has spread unevenly, and has bypassed entirely a large part of the developing world." They estimated that, on the average, the growth rates of the aggregate output of goods and services in the developing countries in 1983-1984 were three times lower than those in the capitalist states.⁶

Therefore, in the mid-1980s a record was reached in the historically protracted process of deepening the economic split between the two groups of countries existing on the two opposite poles of the modern world capitalist economy. In the gross per capita output the gap is close to a ratio of 14 to 1, and in industrial production it is approximately twice as wide.

Such pathetic "records" are becoming part and parcel of the current stage in the crisis of the world capitalist system. They are increasingly convincing proof of the fact that the actions of the developing countries to strengthen their independence and achieve economic and social renewal are seriously hampered by the legacy in their colonial or semicolonial past, as well as by the selfish policy pursued by the imperialist quarters and transnationals. The new edition of the CPSU Programme stipulates that "imperialism is responsible for the huge and widening gap between

⁵ Our estimates indicate that when this recession "hit bottom" in 1982, compared to 1979, the physical volume of per capita industrial output shrank by 7 per cent in the capitalist countries against 15 per cent in the developing states.

⁶ See UNCTAD, *Trade and Development Report*, 1985, pp. 1, 16.

the economic development levels of the industrial capitalist countries and the majority of the newly free states."

According to UN data, over the first half of the 1980s, the number of the emergent states where the annual per head GDP, instead of growing, was below the level of the preceding years, had increased by approximately 100 per cent. By the mid-1980s, more than half of the developing countries, on which reliable statistics were available, were included in that number.⁷

Among the former colonial regions the most acute economic situation has developed in Africa. In recent years, the per capita output in most of the countries of the continent has remained at one and the same level. The situation cannot be explained exclusively by the crisis phenomena affecting the modern world capitalist system. It is a follow-up of the stultifying, non-cyclic causes in the traditional sectors of agriculture, which are still prevalent in the economies of the African states.

Among the multitude of specific reasons leading to the exacerbation of the crisis phenomena in these sectors it is necessary to single out more frequent droughts affecting vast areas on the continent. The scope of this calamity can be gathered from the following facts. In twenty African countries south of the Sahara, the ones suffering most from the droughts, the per capita agricultural production, including foodstuffs, has declined since the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s by almost 25 per cent, and that of cereals by 20 per cent.⁸

Natural calamities are a major impediment to the endeavours to overcome the centuries-old backwardness in the agriculture of Africa and other regions of the developing world. At times, they erect new obstacles to the resolution of far too complicated tasks in making social progress. Nonetheless, the decelerated growth and the vexing stagnation in agriculture cannot be ascribed exclusively to unfavourable changes and fluctuations in the climate. Neither can one ascribe the hunger and poverty plaguing broad sections of the population in most developing countries or the widening economic gap including that which exists in the per capita agricultural production, separating those countries from the industrial centres of capitalism exclusively to the remnants of their colonial past. The fact is that *the developing countries are still subjected to a certain extent to imperialist exploitation, as they are still dependent on foreign monopoly capital, as they are victims of the ever frequent and deep cyclic and structural crises shaking the very foundations of modern capitalism.*

The telling consequences of this dependency stood out in bolder relief on the world capitalist market in the 1970s-1980s. It was this dependency that to a considerable, if not a decisive degree, engendered lower economic growth rates recorded in the first half of the 1970s.

After the war, the share of export-oriented industries of the developing countries in the gross domestic product grew at an accelerated pace. Over the past two decades it has doubled and, as estimated, presently accounts for close to a quarter of their aggregate product, far exceeding the corresponding figures for the capitalist industrial centres.⁹ Thus, it is not difficult to realise the tremendous damage done to the economies of the young states due to the constriction of the traditional markets for their staple exports under the impact of the slumps in the mid-1970s and, particularly, in the early 1980s.

Owing exclusively to reduced exports volume in absolute terms by 13 per cent in the 1980-1984 period compared with the 1979 level, the

⁷ See UN, *World Economic Survey*, 1985, p. 9.

⁸ *World Economic Survey*, 1985, pp. 9, 18.

⁹ See *World Economic Survey*, 1984, p. 28; 1985, p. 14.

developing countries have been "underpaid" by more than \$220,000 million. For the first time since the war this trend embraced all major groups of countries in the developing world, including exporters of manufactured goods. Indeed, it was really a decapitating blow for the mineral fuels- and primary materials-exporting countries. On top of that, the developing countries sustained huge losses running into billions of dollars as a result of extremely unfavourable correlation of world prices on their exports and imports.¹⁰

As is noted in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "taking advantage of the economic and technological dependence of the newly free countries and their unequal status in the world capitalist economy, imperialism mercilessly exploits them, exacting tributes running into billions which are exhausting the economies of those states."

This conclusion, born out by history, reflects the objective realities of our time, including, first of all, the unprecedented interlacing of all links of external economic relations of the centres of imperialism with their former colonial periphery, thereby creating a single system of neocolonial exploitation by Western monopoly capital. American monopoly capitalism and its transnational corporations are instrumental in forming it. This system engendered new important links called upon to prop up its foundation undermined by the national liberation movement, to preserve at any cost the unequal position of the former colonies and semicolonies in the world capitalist economy, and to increase their financial and economic dependence.

At the present stage, characterised by destabilised international capitalist economic relations, the exorbitant indebtedness of Asian, African and Latin American countries to the industrialised capitalist states is becoming an important link in the neocolonial pattern. Prompted by exports of capital and inseparably tied to the mounting crisis phenomena besieging the world capitalist market and the weakening of the developing countries' positions on it, this external indebtedness has become a major form of neocolonialism.

It is no mere coincidence that the developing countries' snowballing external debt concurred with the decelerated rate of their economic progress. Its scale needs no comment. The sum total of these countries' indebtedness, long- and medium-term, shot up from \$45,000 million in 1970 to \$260,000 million in 1979 and to almost \$650,000 million in 1984, exceeding a third of their aggregate gross product.¹¹ However, it excludes short-term credits which have recently grown to \$120,000-160,000 million. So by the mid-1980s the external debt of the developing countries stood at about \$800,000 million. If the present rates do not subside, by the close of the 1980s it will overstep the one-trillion mark.

This tremendous indebtedness is becoming unbearable for the developing countries' economies. The International Monetary Fund estimated that the interest paid to foreign creditors has more than quadrupled since 1977, and in recent years has reached \$120,000 to \$140,000 million, equalling almost a quarter of the developing countries' export earnings on the average. However, in the first half of the 1980s some of the countries had to part with from one-third to two-fifths or more of their export receipts.¹²

¹⁰ Thus only as a result of the export price decline in 1982-1984 the developing countries have lost \$38,000 million, and in 1982-1983 the "purchasing power" of their exports, with account taken to the rise in prices on imports, declined by over \$60,000 million.

¹¹ UNCTAD, *Trade and Development Report*, 1981, p. 46; 1985, pp. 47, 139.

¹² See *IMF Survey*, Jan. 7, 1985, p. 3.

As a result, there emerged a paradoxical situation on the world capitalist market. Whereas not long ago the newly free countries resorted to external credits mostly to offset the losses incurred chiefly due to their shrinking exports and to import vital goods, nowadays they apply for loans to cover the accumulated debts. In other words, the more credits they get from the West on stringent terms, the more constricted their import potential becomes.

It is noteworthy that precisely in the first five years of the 1980s their debt to the West grew two-fold, by \$400,000 million, while their imports growth rates plummeted to the lowest level since the war. However, in the same period their balance-of-payments deficit on current operations (excluding a small group of oil-producing countries—exporters of capital) had reached almost \$350,000 million.¹³ The rapidly mounting repayments on accumulated debts are becoming the mainspring in amassing such a deficit indicative of the plight befallen most of the developing countries.

It is also indicative that while the developing countries were experiencing most serious troubles with their exports to the world capitalist market, and their economic growth rates declined, the interest rates on their debts climbed. Since the mid-1970s the interest rates more than doubled, infrequently reaching 10 to 14 per cent on long- and medium-term loans, and 17 to 20 per cent on short-term loans. This fact makes it easier to ascertain the true goals and essence of the credit and trade policy pursued by the financial centres of modern capitalism in the developing countries.

The growth of the interest rates could not but affect the repayment pattern. The focus is on interest: the developing countries had to repay their creditors \$15,000 million in 1977, while in 1984 this figure topped \$70,000 million—an almost five-fold increase. The sum total of the interest payments transferred abroad during the first half of the 1980s exceeded \$310,000 million, while to liquidate the basic debt (amortisation) the developing countries had to pay an estimated \$240,000 million. At the same time the net profits of foreign creditors amounted to more than an eighth of all the developing countries export revenues.¹⁴ The developing countries had to use most of the newly-borrowed money to meet interest payments, rather than cover their basic requirements. And as these repayments accumulated, the indebtedness of the recipients of such "aid" became greater.

Thus *the indebtedness has become a major channel of imperialist exploitation of the newly free countries*. In the first half of the 1980s, payments for interest on credits equalled or exceeded net profits derived from foreign investments.¹⁵ However, these summed-up data do not fully reflect the damage done to the major debtors. For example, for Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Morocco, and Madagascar the repayments on long- and medium-term credits have recently climbed to a quarter or a third of their export earnings. In these and many other countries (Venezuela, Panama, Gabon, Algeria, Tunisia, Turkey, to name but a few) the annual repayments outflow presently exceeds the aggregate sum of the credits received.

It would be wrong, however, to evaluate this tremendous outflow apart from the crisis situation on the world capitalist market. UNCTAD experts have estimated that as a result of the intertwined effect of the growth of interest rates and the pernicious influences of the world economic recession of the early 1980s, in many developing countries the loss of currency receipts amounted to 10 per cent and, in some cases

¹³ *World Economic Survey*, 1984, p. 45; 1985, p. 51.

¹⁴ *IMF Survey*, Jan. 7, 1985, p. 3.

¹⁵ For instance, the outflow of profits derived from the money invested in the developing countries reached \$95,000 million in 1983-1984, and that of interest on credits \$135,000 million (*Trade and Development Report*, 1985, p. 190; *IMF Survey*, Jan. 7, 1985).

(Jamaica, Sri Lanka and others), a third or more of their GNP. This situation prevented the newly free states from meeting their obligations without obtaining new loans in the capitalist centres, as a rule, on even tougher terms.

Therefore, the present situation in the developing countries is the result of the imperialists' unfair, neocolonialist policy. By mercilessly exploiting them and sapping their resources, the West's monopoly capital deprives former colonies and semicolonies of a chance to pay off their debts with funds obtained by accelerating development and raising economic efficiency. The West erects formidable obstacles in the way of establishing stable international economic ties on a normal, mutually beneficial basis. It comes as no surprise that the emergent countries urge the West to eradicate unequal financial and economic relations, and some of them, not without reason, reject exorbitant credits and interest payments.

There is no doubt that the huge sums of money syphoned off by the West from the economies of the developing countries in the early 1980s made it easier for the USA and other capitalist states to extricate themselves from the recent recession. At the same time, it has inevitably led to still more pronounced disarray in the most important links in the pattern of international capitalist economic ties, which lengthened the stagnation period in the economies of many developing countries. By the mid-1980s most of them had failed to enter into the period of revival and growth, as happened after the preceding declines in the world capitalist economy.

Moreover, one can hardly expect any significant improvements in their situation in the foreseeable future. For instance, the UN *World Economic Survey* for 1985 indicates that "since domestic and external impulses for growth in developing countries are not going to change markedly in the near future, growth rates will remain generally weak. Thus, even by the second half of the decade, the large majority of developing countries will not have recovered fully from the dramatic set-back suffered in the early 1980s". Dwelling on this postulate, the authors drew the conclusion that for all major groups of the developing countries huge indebtedness, and the low potential for expanding markets for their export products in the centres of the capitalist economy will persist as "critical factors" hampering the economic development of these countries.¹⁶

Such appraisals quite objectively reflect the real state of affairs. However, such evaluations frequent in economic publications abroad usually fail to take into account the possibility of a new crisis developing in the industrial centres of the world capitalist economy. As the inherent antagonisms of this economy are becoming more acute, the time limits of its intrinsic economic cycles are narrowing.

In the past decade and a half it has experienced three recessions. And two of them were the most acute since the Great Depression of the early 1930s. Our analysis of the contradictions and the present-day following of one capitalist economic cycle by another prompts the conclusion of the inevitability of the ripening of objective prerequisites for another cyclic profound decline still in this decade. The course of events in 1984-1985, as well as the numerous forecasts made by prominent US and other capitalist countries' economists, leave no doubt that the cyclic upward trend has already passed its peak, and that economic growth rates began to decline once more.

It is quite obvious that, as before, the monopolies of the capitalist states will spare no effort to shift the burden of the next cyclic crisis onto the shoulders of the developing nations. However, their national

¹⁶ See *World Economic Survey*, 1985, pp. 3, 26.

LATIN AMERICA IN THE GRIP OF THE FOREIGN DEBT

N. ZAITSEV

The Latin American countries have entered the second half of the 1980s with a heavy burden of economic problems either engendered or aggravated in the preceding crisis years. Following a sharp decline by 2.8 per cent in the annual count in 1981-1983, the gross domestic product (GDP) of the Latin American countries went up in 1984 and 1985 by 2.6 and 2.8 per cent, correspondingly. It is still too early to say, however, that the crisis phenomena have been fully overcome. After all, the increase in Latin America's GDP over the past two years has been largely due to greater economic activity in Brazil and, to a lesser extent, in Mexico. The incipient cyclical recovery in a number of Latin American countries has not removed their basic economic problems (primarily the tendency to a reduction in the share of investments in the GDP, which indicates the absence of a reliable foundation for further economic growth), particularly their social problems: unemployment (56 million in 1985), hunger (140 million, or 35 per cent of all Latin Americans, suffer from hunger and malnutrition), inflation (whose level went up from 63 per cent in 1981 to 175.4 per cent in 1984)¹, declining real earnings, the fact that many Latin Americans have no access to education, medical assistance, and so on.

The Latin American countries also continue to face highly unfavourable external conditions, both in view of the economic instability in the developed capitalist countries, Latin America's major partners, and because the main problems in their relations with these countries are either as bad or even worse than before: there is growing protectionism and worsening terms of access for Latin American goods to the markets of Western states, instability on most raw-material markets, and continued self-seeking activity by the TNCs.

Indeed, the recovery that started in the economy of a number of developed capitalist countries, the USA above all, after the crisis of 1980-1982, virtually ground to a halt in 1985, and the growth rate of world trade markedly declined, which is bound to have an adverse effect on the Latin American and other developing countries. On the whole, the short-lived recovery that was under way in the non-socialist world in 1984 and 1985 was highly uneven and in effect totally bypassed most of the developing countries. So, the USA's claims to being the "locomotive" in the development of the Third World,² repeatedly voiced by the US President and spokesmen of his Administration, have once again proved to be invalid.

A characteristic point to note is that even with a higher growth rate, say, a roughly 3-per cent annual increase in the GDP as projected by

N. Zaitsev is Deputy Director of the Institute of Latin America, USSR Academy of Sciences, and an expert in international economic relations.

¹ *Notas sobre la economía y el desarrollo*, Santiago de Chile, No. 409/410, 1985, p. 11; Doc. UNCTAD/TDR/5, *Trade and Development Report, 1985*, 1985, pp. 11, 16; *Financial Times*, Sept. 16, 1985; *Granma*, Aug. 29, 1985.

² See Doc. UNCTAD/TDR/5, p. 1; *Excelsior*, Oct. 6, 1984.

the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) for the Western states up to the end of the 1980s, it is only by 1990 that the Latin American countries will be able to reach the level of 1980 in terms of the crucial economic indicator: GDP per capita of the population. In other words, the 1980s will be a "lost decade" for the Latin Americans from the standpoint of economic and social progress.

One of the major causes of the difficulties faced by the Latin American countries is their huge foreign debt. No wonder that over the past three or so years questions of how to overcome the debt crisis have come to occupy the central place among the economic problems of the Latin American countries, becoming a key element of their economic policies.

Estimates show that in the second half of 1985 the overall indebtedness of the Latin American countries exceeded \$370,000 million, and this year it is expected to reach \$400,000 million. One could recall that in 1980 Latin America's foreign debt was \$222,000 million; in 1974 it was \$46,000 million; and in 1970, only \$21,000 million. The biggest debtors in the region and in the whole developing world are Brazil, with \$105,000 million; Mexico, with \$98,000 million; Argentina, with \$50,000 million; and Venezuela, with \$37,000 million,³ which are followed by Chile, Peru and Colombia. These seven countries account for about 90 per cent of Latin America's total foreign debt.

That is not to say, however, that these countries alone face grave difficulties in settling the problem of their foreign debt, which has reached disastrous dimensions both in absolute and other terms. Thus, Costa Rica or Uruguay owe more per head of the population than Brazil or Mexico. In Latin America as a whole, external indebtedness per head of the population went up from \$85.5 in 1971 to something like \$1,000 in 1984. In 1982-1984, from 35 per cent to 39 per cent of the Latin American countries' export earnings went to pay interest on their debts.⁴

As the debt service payments have mounted, the outflow of resources from Latin America has sharply increased. In 1981-1984, net payments of interest and profit (in absolute terms) came to roughly \$135,000 million, and the overall outflow of resources from Latin America in 1982-1984 totalled about \$77,000 million. Hence the paradoxical situation: the Latin American countries, which are badly in need of an influx of financial resources, have themselves turned into exporters of capital.

The depth and scale of the indebtedness and its adverse impact on the socio-economic development and the political life of the Latin American countries make it imperative for them to look for effective ways of overcoming the debt crisis. In that matter, the interests of the Latin American states are in sharp confrontation with the policy of the Western countries, the transnational banks, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Using the close economic dependence of the Latin American countries on the centres of imperialism, particularly in the monetary-financial sphere, the latter have been able to impose upon these countries a mechanism for resolving the debt crisis which suits the creditors alone.

That mechanism hinges on IMF-mediated negotiations by individual Latin American countries with the creditor banks on so-called debt restructuring: rescheduling of payments and refunding of the debt principal and, in some instances, of a definite part of the interest, notably, by way

³ *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 27, 1985; *Notas...* No. 373, 1983, p. 15; *Granma*, July 3, 1985.

⁴ Calculated from *Notas...*, No. 373, 1983, pp. 12, 15; No. 409/410, 1985, p. 18.

of its capitalisation, that is, its inclusion in the principal. In the course of negotiations with the IMF, binding recipes for an "improvement" of the economy have been thrust upon the Latin American countries, providing for cuts in government expenditure, including outlays on education, public health and other social needs; development of private enterprise and a more liberal regime for the activity of foreign companies; attainment of a balance-of-trade surplus through an export drive and cutbacks in imports, through an introduction of "realistic" exchange rates for the national currencies by way of their constant devaluation, and so on.

The existing mechanism of debt settlement and the terms of repayment being imposed on the Latin American countries, far from being aimed to overcome the debt crisis, are in effect meant to ensure a steady flow of interest payments to the creditor banks in order to maintain a high profitability of their operations and, on a general political plane, to bind the Latin American economy even tighter to imperialism and use the debt as an instrument for putting political pressure on the countries of the region.

The self-seeking approach of the Western states and banks to a resolution of the debt crisis is primarily due to the high incomes and profits they reap from their operations in Latin America. In the second half of the 1970s, largely with the help of new major borrowers (primarily the central banks of Latin American countries), they were able to ensure uninterrupted and highly lucrative recycling of petrodollars and so, through the mechanism of greater purchases by these countries from Western companies, to help maintain economic activity in the capitalist centres. And in the early 1980s, when the crisis spread to Latin America as well and, among other things, made it very difficult for the countries of the region to service their foreign debts, the transnational banks suffered no losses, managing to siphon off from Latin America from 1978 to 1984 something like \$190,000 million solely in the form of interest payments. If the countries of the region maintain their present "responsible" attitude to their debt service payments, the further development of credit relations with Latin America will enable the transnational banks to go on exploiting the Latin American gold mine, which yields such impressive profits. At any rate, such is the purpose of the recent agreements on the debts.

Nor should one forget that the existing mechanism for settling the debt crisis, which ensures a steady flow of resources from Latin America to the United States, gives the latter additional opportunities for covering its own huge budget deficit and financing its arms drive. According to Mexico's Secretary of Foreign Affairs Bernardo Sepúlveda, "the arms race is being financed at the expense of the crisis of the peoples of the developing countries".⁵ Even Paul A. Volcker, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the US Federal Reserve System, has admitted that the USA's huge federal budget deficit (which has resulted from the steady buildup of military spending) serves, through the mechanism of high bank rates, to increase the indebtedness of the developing countries.

On the whole, the approach to a settlement of the debt crisis imposed on Latin America merely worsens and preserves that problem. There are many facts to confirm the injustice and essential inefficacy of the present scheme of contractual relations between Latin America and the West.

First, it is the Western countries and their banks that are largely responsible for the very emergence of the debt crisis. Of course, the governments of many debtor countries, their state and private companies and banks are also to blame for the indebtedness. The very break-out of the

debt crisis and its present profundity are in many respects due to the economic policies based on monetarist recipes, outlays on arms imports, an unjustified expansion of luxury imports for the local elite, miscalculations in the financial and credit policy of some companies, headlong speculation on national capital markets, non-productive use of the borrowed resources, and also the "flight" of national capitals to other countries.

Still, there is no doubt that the creditors bear a greater responsibility than Latin America for the formation of the latter's foreign debt. It is the Western countries that actively imposed and continue to impose on the Latin American states an economic policy which is proving to be unsound. It is the Western countries that seek to preserve the international monetary system, which is unjust and unprofitable for the developing countries. It is the transnational banks that in the second half of the 1970s actually competed among themselves for a distribution of their excess liquidity in Latin America, aiming, as it was noted above, at an earliest possible recycling of petrodollars which could not be invested at a sufficient profit in the developed capitalist countries. As for the aggravation of the debt servicing problems in the early 1980s, that was largely due to the toughening economic policy of the Western countries, primarily the USA, and to the sharp cutback in the flow of financial resources to Latin America. Finally, Western TNCs promoted formation of the bulk of the debt of the Latin American private sector, which is estimated at roughly \$100,000 million.⁶

Second, changes in the structure of the sources of external borrowing from the Western countries (in the 1970s and in early 1980s up to 80 per cent of the borrowed funds have been coming from private banks), and then also in the structure of the debt itself have entailed a considerable worsening of the terms of debt service payments. That is expressed in shorter maturities and the introduction of "floating" interest rates on credits, and also in an artificial hoisting in recent years of the dollar's exchange rate, while the bulk of the debt is denominated in dollars.

Higher interest rates have had disastrous consequences for the Latin American countries. First of all, they have had to make large additional outlays on debt service payments. An increase in the lending rate of US commercial banks by half a percentage point means that Latin America's annual debt service payments go up by \$1,600 million.⁷ According to the experts of the Latin American Economic System (LAES), out of a total of \$ 114,000 million worth of interest paid out by the countries of the region to foreign creditors from 1979 to 1982, higher interest rates accounted for \$ 49,000 million, or 43 per cent of the total.

Third, estimates by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) show that the debt principal has already been repaid to the creditors many times over.

Fourth, the huge external indebtedness and service payments have had grave consequences for the economic development of the Latin American countries by increasing their vulnerability and dependence on the economic policy of the Western states, the USA in the first place.

Finally, as it has already happened in history, Latin America as a whole now faces a paradoxical and humiliating situation in which sovereign states cannot follow a policy in accordance with their national interests, but are in effect obliged to gear these to the demands of international bankers, supported by their governments and the IMF.

⁶ *Economía de América Latina*, No. 11, 1984, Mexico, p. 155.

⁷ *Granma*, May 11, 1984.

How viable are the present debt-settling mechanisms, and can these moderate, if not resolve, the grave problem of indebtedness? The answer to that question is obviously negative. The essential unsoundness of the repayment schemes based on debt-restructuring agreements is also pointed out by experts of international financial bodies, notably, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). They emphasise the following points:

Unconditional observance of agreements with the IMF could lead to a simultaneous pursuit of protectionist policies by the major developing countries, which could seriously reduce global demand;

The protectionist policy followed by the developed capitalist countries, which hinders the access of Third World commodities to the markets of Western states, is obviously in contradiction with the demands for timely debt service payments;

The measures being taken to settle the indebtedness tend to slow down the pace of economic growth in the debtor countries and to complicate the prospects for a solution of debt problems;

Restructuring of the debt in its current, mostly short-term form amounts to no more than a temporary solution of the problem.⁸

Special note should be taken of the considerations according to which the Latin American countries can never, as a matter of principle, repay their debts on the terms being imposed by the West. Thus, one could refer to the in-depth analysis of the crisis situation in Latin America given by Fidel Castro in his interview with the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior* and in his subsequent speeches. According to the calculations presented in the interview, even with relatively favourable conditions of economic development and debt servicing, the Latin American countries will not be able to resolve the debt problem without irreparable damage to their economy and the people's living standards. Here is how the situation shapes out in accordance with the four working hypotheses listed by Fidel Castro.

Hypothesis one envisages a 10-year grace period for the principal with continued payment of interest on it, followed by another 10 years of settlement payments at 10 per cent per annum. In such a case, Latin America would have to give away \$400,000 million over the next 10 years, and \$958,000 million over the next 20 years.

Hypothesis two assumes that the debtor countries will set aside no more than 20 per cent of their export earnings for debt service payments, at an interest rate of no more than 10 per cent per annum. In such a case, Latin America would have to pay out \$400,00 million over the next 20 years, while its debt in that period would swell to \$1,161,850 million.

Hypothesis three envisages a 10-year moratorium on principal and interest payments, with a subsequent 10-year amortisation period at an interest rate of no more than 10 per cent. In such a case, the next decade would bring some relief, but over the subsequent 20 years the Latin American countries would have to pay out \$1,447,310 million.

Hypothesis four envisages softer terms, with a bank rate of 6 per cent (one-half of the present rate), a 10-year grace period both for principal and interest, and a subsequent decade of settlement payments. In such a case, the Latin American countries would still have to pay out \$857,471 million over the next 20 years.

These figures show, Fidel Castro believes, that the region's debt cannot be paid out on any terms, even supposing that it stops growing altogether. The way out, he thinks, lies in a "general strike" of the debtor countries, which would have a real effect on the creditors.⁹

So what is Latin America's answer to the debt crisis? Although orien-

⁸ See *The World Bank Annual Report 1984*, Washington, 1984, pp. 39, 40.

⁹ *Granma*, March 30, 1985; June 10, 1985.

tation towards the use of debt-restructuring agreements remains the predominant line in the approach of individual countries, even Western experts have had to admit that throughout Latin America the crisis "has provoked increasing doubts over the IMF's actual competence and its ability to prescribe the right medicine... In other words, all the sacrifices made by Latin America to put its house in order seemed suddenly to have been in vain... The failure of the cure elsewhere [with the help of the IMF's recipes—N. Z.] has led many politicians and economists in Latin America to question the competence of the IMF to deal with their problems".¹⁰

Thus, the government of Brazil stated that it would not sign a new agreement with the IMF. As Brazil's President José Sarney Costa put it, "Brazil will not pay its foreign debt with recession, not with unemployment, nor with hunger".¹¹

Upon the refusal of the IMF to honour the previous accords on credits (whose term ran out soon after the disastrous earthquake), the Mexican government has been trying to negotiate a more acceptable agreement with the IMF.

Peru's new government headed by President Alan García has adopted a principled stand on the foreign debt issue. He wants the talks on debt restructuring to be held directly with the banks, without the IMF's involvement. The government of Peru has also declared that it will limit its debt service payments to 10 per cent of its export earnings.

Bolivia's government is insisting on a 10-year moratorium on interest payments and a 15-year moratorium on repayment of the principal.

The governments of other Latin American debtor countries have also been urging changes in their agreements with the IMF in order to ensure the necessary prerequisites for faster economic development.

The Latin American countries have been trying to make more vigorous use of collective action to defend their interests in the solution of the debt problem. In January 1984, the first Latin American economic conference was held in Quito, which elaborated the main criteria for a regional approach to the solution of the debt problem. As a result of a meeting held by 11 biggest Latin American debtor countries in Cartagena (Colombia) in June 1984, these countries set up a mechanism for periodic mutual political consultations to coordinate their approaches to the solution of the debt problem. Within the framework of that mechanism—the so-called Cartagena process—the countries involved have already held four meetings, in the course of which they declared the need for a political dialogue with the creditor countries on matters of settling the crisis.

In the past few months, Latin Americans have been widely debating the initiative put forward by President Alan García of Peru for a Latin American summit to discuss the problems of external indebtedness and jointly to find ways to overcome it. The government of Panama has offered to host such a summit in early 1986.

Latin Americans have also been discussing the question of setting up a regional credit-financial institution without the participation of any Western countries. In the opinion of the President of the Andean Reserve Fund (ARF), such an institution could be established on the basis of the ARF. As it is reported, interest in such a project has already been displayed by Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, which are considering accession to the ARF.

Whereas at an intergovernmental level, in spite of a definite radicalisation of the stand taken by individual countries, there is still reluctant consent with the Western-imposed line for a resolution of the debt crisis,

¹⁰ *Financial Times*, Aug. 27, 1985; Sept. 16, 1985.

¹¹ *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 27, 1985.

many political parties and public organisations have adopted more resolute positions. Indicative results were yielded in this respect by the trade union conference of the Latin American and Caribbean working people on foreign debt issues held in Havana in June 1985, which set off a whole range of mass actions in the countries of the region against the exorbitant terms of debt repayment; the regional meeting on matters of indebtedness in August 1985, and also the session of the Latin American Parliament held in Montevideo in October 1985. Characteristically, the decision of that session emphasised that "Latin America's external debt cannot be repaid on the present terms being imposed by the creditors, for this could endanger the social peace and stability of democratic systems in the region."¹²

What is the Western response to the just protests of the Latin American countries? Their proposals on debt settlement matters still await a constructive answer. That was evident from the summit meetings of the seven leading capitalist countries in London (1984) and Bonn (1985). As it was declared at these meetings, the question of financial and other aid to the developing debtor countries will be considered in each particular case and depending on how closely each of these countries complies with IMF recommendations.

There is just as little satisfaction to be drawn by the Latin American and other developing countries from the widely advertised proposals made by the US Administration at the IMF and IBRD session in Seoul in October 1985, the so-called Baker plan, which envisage a certain strengthening of the World Bank's functions through an elimination of a number of restrictions on the size of credits and an introduction of a lending mechanism for the purpose of promoting structural adjustments in the economy, and also from the proposal that \$20,000 million should be made available to the developing countries over the next three years through an expansion of private lending.

These manoeuvres, however, cannot obscure the true essence of the US approach to the solution of the debt problem, directed against the interests of the Latin American and other developing countries. Fresh proof of that was provided by the US Administration's decision to designate Peru as a country with its debts to American banks as value impaired. In a special statement, the Cuban government qualified that move as an act of aggression with regard to Peru and a "real threat to all Latin American countries".¹³

The socialist community demonstrates a different approach to the solution of the debt problem facing the Latin American and other developing countries. As it was noted in a Statement issued by the Sofia meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member states in October 1985, "the problem of the foreign debt of developing countries, one of the grave consequences of colonialism and neocolonialism and a factor complicating international affairs, should be settled without delay. The socialist states hold that international monetary and financial relations should be put in order so that they do not become a means of political pressure and interference in internal affairs".¹⁴

In its practical relations with the Latin American countries which have debt obligations to the USSR, this country offers them effective ways of debt settlement which are advantageous to these countries. Thus, there was great approval in the region of the Soviet-Peruvian agreement signed in late 1983, under which the Peruvian side has been repaying

¹² *Granma*, Oct. 14, 1985.

¹³ See *Granma*, Nov. 6, 1985.


¹⁴ *Pravda*, Oct. 24, 1985.

earlier received Soviet credits by deliveries of traditional goods, and also manufactures and semi-manufactures. Such an approach is meant to promote economic growth and to help overcome the crisis.

The issue of the developing countries' huge indebtedness to the capitalist states in our day has gone beyond the framework of purely economic relations, developing into a grave political problem. Imperialism seeks to use Latin America's debt as an additional lever for ensuring its domination over the countries of the region. "The huge indebtedness of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the industrialised capitalist states", says the CPSU Programme, "has become an important lever for exploitation of these countries by imperialism, and primarily US imperialism."¹⁵

Finding an effective antidote to the policy of Western states and their banks and protecting national interests when dealing with their foreign debts are tasks which have recently assumed decisive importance for the Latin American states. Their accomplishment will to a large extent decide the future of the continent's economic and social development.

¹⁵ *Pravda*, Oct. 26, 1985.



FREE TRADE IN NORTH AMERICA AND CANADA'S SOVEREIGNTY

L. BAGRAMOV, V. POPOV

Decked out in a bow tie, a cigar clenched in his teeth, beaming with prosperity, Uncle Sam is playing cards with a Canadian in a wornout T-shirt. The Canadian (a perplexed frown on his face), is obviously worried: his luck ran out, and the stack of gold coins at his partner's elbow is piling up. This caricature illustrates one of a series of recent articles published in the Canadian newspaper *The Toronto Star* in connection with nationwide discussion on a possible reciprocal customs deregulation by the USA and Canada.

Should Canada agree to eliminate all restrictions in trade with its southern neighbour? And what economic and social consequences will a proposed free trade zone entail? How will dismantling the customs barriers affect the political sovereignty of Canada? The debate over these issues in Canada is far from academic, drawing into its orbit political parties and organisations, trade unions, federal and provincial governments.

Since bygone days the two countries have been connected by numerous ties of interdependence. Canada is a NATO member and, along with the USA, participates in NORAD, an agreement on the North American Aerospace Defense. The USA accounts for over 70 per cent of Canadian foreign trade. American TNCs hold strong positions in some branches of the Canadian economy, first of all in industry. On the whole, almost half of all industrial goods made in the country are produced at enterprises which by more than 50 per cent are controlled by US capital.

The Liberal Government of Pierre Trudeau, which had been in power since the late 1960s (1968-1979 and 1980-1984), took some steps to mitigate the hypertrophied dependence of the country on the USA. It introduced control over the inflow of direct foreign investments and sharply curtailed Canadian oil exports to the USA, a national energy programme (NEP) was adopted, which among other things limited foreign holdings in the oil and gas industry. The government pursued a course aimed at diversifying Canada's economic and political ties with other countries.

However, since the Conservatives ascended to power in September 1984, there has been a noticeable shift towards continental trends. Thus, the present government of Brian Mulroney, though refusing to participate in the American "star wars" programme, concluded an agreement on the modernisation of NORAD in March 1985. It considerably slackened control over the inflow of direct foreign investments and reached accord with the western provinces on a step-by-step dismantling of the NEP. In the autumn of 1985, Canada proposed to the USA to start negotiations which, observers feel, can lead to an agreement on customs deregulation.

A HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM

The emergence and development of Canada as a single independent state was inseparably linked with protecting the home market. This protection was needed to economically unite sparsely populated regions

dispersed over vast expanses, to stimulate the development of economic ties along the East-West line to counterbalance the economic contacts of Canadian provinces with the adjacent American states, and to contribute to the formation of a common nationwide market and an economic complex, thereby precluding expansion from the south. It comes as no surprise that a broad strata of the population did not support the idea of customs deregulation.

The trend towards liberalising international trade, characteristic of the capitalist world after the Second World War, has not sidestepped Canada. Following accords reached within the GATT's framework, the level of customs taxation of Canadian imports has been lowered significantly. Besides that, Canada embarked upon the road of "sectoral" liberalisation of trade with the USA. In 1959, within the bounds of the agreement on the co-production of armaments, Canada and the USA agreed to totally eliminate restrictions on trade in military hardware. Canada, in particular, was released from the obligations of the "buy American" act, under which the US government can buy armaments from foreign suppliers only if the prices they offer are at least 50 per cent lower than those of the competing American producers. At last, in 1965, Canada and the USA signed a treaty on duty-free trade in automobiles and spare parts thereof (Autopact). It sharply increased trade in car industry products and soon became the largest agreement on the "sectoral" liberalisation of trade between the two countries.

Since the mid-1970s, the problem of customs deregulation has been moving to the forefront of socio-political life in Canada. In 1975, the Economic Council of Canada, an influential governmental organisation, published a special report.¹ Its authors called for beginning talks with all countries, above all the USA, on the mutual elimination of trade barriers. A similar call was made in the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs of Canada's Parliament.²

In 1979, negotiations were concluded within the GATT's framework on lowering customs and non-customs barriers (the Tokyo Round). It was expected that the implementation of the accords reached would allow for a considerable reduction in the level of the national markets' customs protection. In particular, by 1987, the level of duties in Canada on imported manufactured goods will be from 9 to 10 per cent, as against 14 per cent by the time the negotiations were concluded. Eighty per cent of the Canadian exports to the USA will be duty-free, and another 10 per cent will be taxed 5 per cent or less.

The accords which have been reached do not in the least imply a de facto customs deregulation. Canada will maintain a sufficiently high level of customs protection for the internal market of manufactured goods. Today, more than a third of the American exports to Canada is subject to taxation. At the same time, the USA keeps intact quite a high level of customs duties on many manufactured products imported from Canada. The bulk of Canadian raw materials and semi-finished products, cars and spare parts will be duty-free, while the USA will levy 5 per cent or more on Canadian manufactures, cars excluded. And last but not least, numerous non-tariff restrictions—import quotas, agreements on exports (imports) restrictions, governmental subsidies to exporters, etc.—will remain in force.

When the accords reached at the Tokyo Round had been made public, the Minister of Finance of the Conservative Government in power at that time, John Crosbie, requested the holding of a nationwide debate on

¹ *Looking Outward. A New Trade Strategy for Canada*, Ottawa, ECC, 1975.

² *Canada-United States Relations*, Vol. 11, *Canada's Trade Relations with the United States*, Ottawa, 1978; Vol. III, *Canada's Trade Relations with the United States*, Ottawa, 1982.

the issue of establishing a free trade zone between the USA and Canada. This signified a new stage in the evolution of the idea of a customs union with the USA. Since the Liberal Government of Wilfrid Laurier suffered defeat in the 1911 elections, none of its successors was bold enough to elevate the problem of free trade with Canada's southern neighbour to the level of a political debate.

The Conservatives also favoured the idea of setting up a North American common market comprised of the USA, Canada and Mexico. This idea became very popular with US business and political circles in the late 1970s—early 1980s. These circles regarded a North American common market chiefly as a means of increasing oil and gas supplies to the USA from Canada and Mexico. However, these projects were doomed to fail. The Liberal Government of Pierre Trudeau succeeding the Conservatives rejected them when they were only at the stage of general theoretical elaboration. In their joint statement the then leaders of Canada and Mexico, Pierre Trudeau and José López Portillo, during the latter's visit to Canada in the spring of 1980, stressed their repudiation of the idea of creating a common energy market in North America.

However, customs deregulation projects with the USA, unrelated to the creation of a common energy market, were still debated in Canada. When, in September 1984, the Conservatives won federal elections in a landslide victory and formed a majority government, the positions of the customs deregulation supporters solidified considerably.

In January 1985, the government of Brian Mulroney published a research paper on trade policy. It suggested that Canada sign a "comprehensive free trade treaty" with the USA, which, as observers noted at once, would hardly differ from a free trade agreement. In March 1985, at the meeting between the Canadian Prime Minister and the US President in Quebec it was stipulated that ministers of commerce of the two countries submit their proposals in six months time so that during a year's span specific measures could be taken to liberalise trade. Finally, in early September 1985, Macdonald's commission (Donald Macdonald was Minister of Finance in Trudeau's Cabinet) published a report which, *inter alia*, contained an unambiguous call for bilateral customs deregulation, and later that month Brian Mulroney officially proposed to the USA that negotiations on this question be started. The US President warmly welcomed the Canadian proposal. Preliminary discussions are expected to begin early this year, and the two countries' leaders' meeting, which is to outline the future agreement, is to be held in spring.

For quite some time, Canada has retained its position as the main US trading partner, accounting for about a fifth of the US foreign trade turnover. In 1984, the volume of bilateral trade amounted to \$150,000 million (hereafter Canadian dollars), with the USA running a deficit of \$20,000 million. Washington believes that a free trade agreement with Canada will help rectify the situation, open up new opportunities for American firms and, in addition, help advance the idea of customs deregulation throughout the entire capitalist world. In the autumn of 1984, the US Congress adopted a new trade and tariffs law, granting to the Administration, among other things, the right to negotiate customs deregulation with Israel and Canada.

However, as protectionist trends in Congress are snowballing, the Administration has to display more discretion in this field. US officials made it known to the Canadians that the United States is prepared to conclude a free trade agreement with certain reservations. It is unlikely that the USA will be ready to sign a comprehensive agreement with its northern neighbour, an agreement more extensive than that recently signed with Israel. Incidentally, the latter agreement did not foresee (due to congressional opposition) any exclusions of other American trade laws in force

(the anti-dumping legislation, etc.). In other words, the USA is not at all inclined to abrogate their right to curtail the imports of goods whose production, in their view, is subsidised by Canadian federal or provincial authorities.

It is also indicated that the USA may demand that negotiations with Canada should involve not only purely commercial issues but also such problems as the rate of exchange of the Canadian dollar, the liquidation of the restrictions on the inflow of capital to Canada and on the activities of the American firms in the country, etc.

THE "PRO" AND "CONTRA" ARGUMENTS

In May 1985, an influential Canadian non-governmental research organisation C. D. Howe Institute published an analytical survey of possible variants of Canada's policy in foreign trade. Its authors arrived at an unequivocal conclusion that "the only option that offers both a defense of Canada's existing markets and an opening of new markets through which Canadian industry's further rationalisation can be achieved is comprehensive bilateral trade liberalisation with the United States".³

This argument supporting the idea of a bilateral customs deregulation is one of the most widely spread in Canada. Its manufacturing industry, particularly the secondary processing branches (that is, producing finished rather than semi-finished goods), is considerably lagging behind the American industry in the efficiency of production. Hence, a low competitiveness of the Canadian finished goods on the world and first of all on the American markets, a high degree of dependency on the imports of finished products, and the growing deficits in this section of the trade balance.

The proponents of dismantling the customs barriers between the USA and Canada argue that relatively low efficiency in the Canadian secondary processing industries and all problems resulting from that are explained by the Canadian import dues. They hold the view that the latter, by protecting the home market from the "beneficial" competition of cheap foreign-made products, condone the existence of small, non-specialised and low-efficiency enterprises in these sectors. Import taxes of the Canadian trade partners, depriving national producers of the opportunity to fully take advantage of vast foreign markets, are an impediment to raising efficiency.

Following this logic, eliminating customs hurdles between Canada and its trade partners, first of all between Canada and the USA, by freeing the national producers from having to limit their activities to the narrow confines of the home market, would allow them to expand and specialise their enterprises, and the cancellation of the Canadian import taxes would make rationalised efficient production imperative.

While extolling the advantages of customs deregulation, its supporters would rather leave unnoticed or, in any case, sidetrack the inevitable economic and political losses for Canada. However, these losses will be quite tangible for the country. It is not by chance that *The Financial Times of Canada* referred to free trade as a dangerous game with potentially limited economic benefits which are more than offset by a tremendous risk.⁴

First, the elimination of the import taxes will entail the large-scale ruin of Canadian producers, whose goods will fail to measure up to the competition offered by cheaper goods imported from the USA. As a result,

³ R. G. Lipsey, M. G. Smith, *Taking the Initiative: Canada's Trade Options in a Turbulent World*, Toronto-Montreal-Calgary, 1985, p. 179.

⁴ See *The Financial Times of Canada*, July 16, 1979.

in the opinion of Canadian economist Myron Gordon, a customs union with the United States will be a real catastrophe to the manufacturing industry of the country.⁵

Second, the liquidation of the American customs barriers will make it possible to market in the USA finished products of all companies operating in the Canadian secondary manufacturing industries, including those controlled by American capital. Possessing an unchallenged superiority over small-scale national producers, these companies will have no trouble driving them out of the market, that further strengthening foreign control in industry. Even the Economic Council of Canada, an adherent of the free trade concept, had to admit that "during the transition period foreign ownership might increase because multinationals would have more resources at their disposal to make rapid adjustments to serve growing markets than would domestic Canadian firms".⁶

Third, if customs regulations between the two countries were dismantled, American TNCs would most likely transfer the greater part of their R&D from Canada to the USA where they possess a superior research base and more extensive resources of white-collar and skilled blue-collar labour, etc. This will increase Canada's technological dependence on the USA and take away a sizeable portion of its science-intensive production. Meanwhile, even now this branch is one of the weakest links in the industrial sector of the country. In 1983, the Canadian trade deficit of science-intensive products was close to \$10,000 million, accounting for more than 50 per cent of the total deficit in the "trade in manufactures" item. It is estimated that in 1985 Canada's expenditures on R&D were close to \$6,000 million (1.3 per cent of the GNP), while a corresponding figure for the USA was about \$150,000 million, or 2.7 per cent of the GNP.

Fourth, the "trimming" of the already weak science-intensive production will be just another sign of the growing disproportion in the structure of the Canadian economy at the expense of the swelling primary sector of Canada, which, in its turn, will end up squandering its unrenounceable natural resources. Also, the manufacturing industry of the country, especially secondary processing branches, provided customs dues are cancelled in North America, will probably be reduced to the role of an appendage to the American industrial complex. Control over enterprises involved will be transferred to American TNC's, which will concentrate the production in Canada of technologically unsophisticated, science-inert products, which have passed the stage of technological development and are ready for mass production.

Finally, the erosion of Canada's economic independence will inevitably curtail its political independence. How this can happen is indicated by the consequences of the bilateral arms co-production agreement mentioned above. While Canadian politicians were praising to the sky economic benefits derived by the country as a result of more rational, efficient production, and an improved trade balance etc. the Canadian defence industry, for all intents and purposes, has been actually turned into an appendage of the US war machine. Such an alternative is becoming more real in the light of US plans to involve firms from other capitalist countries, Canada included, in the production of arms components for the "star wars" programme.

The free trade agreement will also entail the curtailing of national sovereignty in a number of fields. Thus, the demand that the state should abandon its support to the exporters can, by and large, limit the government's power in the spheres of taxation and credit regulation, its econo-

⁵ See *Uncertain Prospects: Canadian Manufacturing Industry 1971-1977*, Ottawa, 1977, p. 10.

⁶ R. G. Lipsey, M. G. Smith, *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

mic policy in the region, and other fields. And if the USA requires that Canada set a firm rate of exchange for its presently "floating" dollar, which to some, albeit insignificant, extent protects the Canadian economy from the impact of changes taking place in the market situation in the United States and its economic policy, Canada will actually lose all independence in its credit-monetary policy. The American magazine *Fortune* wrote that the "North American common market—unlike, say, the European Community—could never be a confederation of economic equals... The U.S. would inevitably dominate a North American common market..."⁷ Characteristically, even the Canadian *Globe and Mail*, which advocates the establishment of a North American free trade zone, was forced to admit that "Canadians have had the uneasy feeling that the country would be swallowed alive"⁸ if it were to enter the embrace of a nation more than 10 times as large as itself.

IS THERE AN ALTERNATIVE?

Former US Under Secretary of State George Ball, while in office, made a statement in 1968 which is still frequently cited in Canada. He said that "Canada, in its resistance to union with the US, was fighting a rear-guard action against the inevitable. Sooner or later, commercial imperatives will bring about free movement of all goods back and forth across our long border; and when that occurs, or even before it does, it will become unmistakably clear that countries with economies so inextricably intertwined must also have free movement of the other vital factors of production, capital, services and labor. The result will inevitably be economic integration, which will require for its full realization a progressively expanding area of common political decision".⁹

Having accurately assessed the general trend in the development of the capitalist world, which according to Lenin, consists in "the breakdown of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc.", George Ball shuts his eyes to the fact that there simultaneously operates another trend, that of "the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states".¹⁰ And it's quite natural that in their struggle for economic independence the weaker states frequently have to resort to protectionist weapons.

Many Canadian economists are of the opinion that what the country's economy requires is not a "free interplay of market forces", which means, in fact, "letting large American multinational companies decide how things ought to be done"¹¹ but a "national industrial strategy"—a wide spectrum of state measures aimed at strengthening the technological independence of the manufacturing sector, raising its ability to introduce innovations and, on this basis, increasing the efficiency of production and the competitiveness of manufactured goods.

The content, goals and means of implementing the "national industrial strategy" are interpreted differently in Canada. However, in recent years considerations were put forward evincing that such an alternative in development holds the promise of greater benefits for Canada with reduced costs than does free trade with the USA.

Indeed, the present stage of technological progress puts to the forefront R&D factors as the ability to quickly implement the results obtained,

⁷ *Fortune*, Sept. 10, 1979, p. 122.

⁸ *Globe and Mail*, March 13, 1985.

⁹ *The Toronto Star*, June 8, 1985.

¹⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 27.

¹¹ *Canada Among Nations, 1984: A Time of Transition*, Toronto, 1985, p. 175.

to flexibly react to the changing market demand by restructuring production rather than having to economise in production. As to the constricted Canadian market, which allegedly, does not allow Canadian producers to own highly-specialised enterprises of an optimal size this is a relative factor. As a rule, a sectoral market can absorb the output of several (about a dozen) enterprises of an optimal size. Therefore, the solution of the problem lies not in the expansion of the market by establishing free trade with the USA but, for instance, in the nationalisation of the secondary processing sectors and in state planning of investments in new construction which makes it possible to concentrate production at several enterprises of an optimal size.

As for the prospects of raising the efficiency of industrial production in Canada following the establishment of a free-trade regime with the USA, they do exist but are quite uncertain. In this respect the auto industry, which was placed in 1965 under the duty-free regime (after which production efficiency at Canadian enterprises sharply increased attaining the American level) can hardly serve as a convincing proof. Indeed, by that time more than 90 per cent of the Canadian car industry was owned by the Big Four US motor giants, and the ensuing rationalisation of production was carried out essentially within the US auto transnationals. According to numerous forecasts, a removal of trade barriers can bring about the protracted and torturous process of the squeezing out of national firms by American companies from other Canadian industrial sectors, where the national firms' share is considerable.

According to proponents of the "national industrial strategy", it is necessary to conduct an active state policy in order to overcome the "technological lag" of the Canadian economy, to stimulate R&D and introduce technological innovations in production.

It is not hard to see that a strategy based on a total rejection of one's own R&D, and on the use of technological novelties of other countries (even the leaders in the "technological race") instead, will bring about a lop-sided socio-economic development. Besides, such a policy is quite risky and there is always the danger that a lag in technological advancement can occur when the leading country is surrendering its dominant position in this or that technological field. A case in point is Japan, which once spent more money on technological imports than on its own R&D, and now finds it more profitable to accelerate its own R&D.

Supporters of the "national industrial strategy" stress that to successfully implement this strategy, the restriction of foreign capital in Canada is absolutely necessary, in particular, the regulation of the inflow of foreign capital, the imposing of certain restrictions on the activities of the affiliates and daughter enterprises of international monopolies, and the stimulation of the development of national capital.

Stormy debates in political, business and public circles and in the scientific community on the issue of customs deregulation with the USA actually reflect the clashing interests of various classes, social groups and political forces in the country. American capital, which has become entrenched in the Canadian economy, and certain quarters of Canadian big business, which hope to expand their operations by penetrating the American market, are favouring a free trade regime with the USA. Small- and medium-scale Canadian businessmen, whom the formation of a North American "common market" dooms to ruin, and a wide strata of the working people, who realise that the removal of the country's customs protection threatens to catastrophically boost the army of the unemployed, are in the ranks of the opposition to this policy.

Trade unions and, in particular, the Canadian Labour Congress, which estimates that customs dismantling with the USA can cost Canada one million jobs, also vigorously oppose free trade. The Canadian Commun-

ists, as well, speak resolutely against unrestricted trade with the USA. William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, stressed that "a North American market, which President Reagan seeks, would transform Canada into a supplier of raw materials for the U.S. market and undermine Canada's sovereignty and independence".¹²

There also exist sectoral and regional disagreements on how to approach the problem of customs deregulation. Businessmen engaged in the extracting industries, which are concentrated mostly in the western provinces, on the whole display continentalist tendencies. On the contrary, the business quarters which deal in comparatively low-efficiency secondary processing industries which do not have a great competitive ability (Ontario, Quebec) advocate retaining protective customs tariffs.

Three quarters of a century ago the leader of the Conservative Party of Canada, Robert Borden, stressed, while campaigning for election, that trade with the USA was "not a mere question of markets, but the future destiny of Canada". This problem has never been so acute.

It boils down to the question of whether Canada will be able to resort to customs protection to strengthen the national economic sector, or whether thousands of Canadian enterprises will be squashed by fierce capitalist competition on the part of more efficient American enterprises; whether Canada will take steps to create a balanced and technologically mature economy or whether its structural lop-sidedness and technological immaturity will further exacerbate; whether Canada's economic development will contribute to strengthening its political independence and sovereignty, or whether it will find itself in a position where, as was noted by a Canadian journalist, all paths leading to national independence would be cut off.

Naturally, Canada cannot stay outside the trend towards liberalisation of world capitalist trade, which under modern conditions is realised through coordination of foreign trade policies of the leading Western states within the framework of international state-monopoly regulation. This trend has been brought to life by objective regularities inherent in the internationalisation of economic life, and it is advancing despite the wide-spread outbursts of protectionism. However, Canada as the weaker side obviously stands in need of special terms to be able to conduct an equal dialogue with the USA, as well as of customs protection until the time when its national manufacturing industry has built up its strength.

But, when monopolistic circles, the US Administration, and its "Fifth Column" in Canada, under the guise of furthering economic progress are calling for unlimited freedom of trade between the two countries, they are obviously whitewashing the problem. For the American monopolies the dismantling of the customs barriers by Canada will, indeed, open up wide opportunities for intensifying their trade and economic expansion. However, for millions Canadians free trade with the USA will spell serious economic losses and, in the final analysis, the erosion of national sovereignty.

¹² *The Road Ahead. Document from the 26th Convention of the Communist Party of Canada, Apr. 5-8, 1985, Toronto, p. 27.*

WAYS OF SAFEGUARDING EUROPEAN SECURITY

E. S I L I N

A new situation in many respect is taking shape in Europe, and in the rest of the world for that matter, as a result of the large-scale Soviet peace initiatives set forth during the official visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to France and the Soviet-American summit at Geneva, and also in the Statement by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, of January 15, 1986. This is readily understandable, considering that the afore-mentioned proposals comprise a comprehensive programme for safeguarding both universal and European security and for extending and strengthening the European peace process.

Europeans living in different parts of the continent realise more clearly today than ever before that the key issues connected with the consolidation of peace and security and the development of European cooperation should be resolved not just anywhere but in Europe itself. However, this does not mean, of course, that the Soviet Union denies the importance of the long-standing ties between Western Europe and the United States or that it would like to "drive a wedge" between these ties. The USSR is disinclined to underestimate the role of Soviet-American relations in the destiny of Europe as well.

Europe, however, is above all our common home, and it is Europeans who have to establish peaceful goodneighbourliness in it. All European states, irrespective of size, are responsible for the solution of the problems of vital importance to it. Today, when Europe faces a most important choice—either continued instability, which is fraught with the danger of a nuclear explosion, or a lower level of military confrontation and a return to detente and continued progress along this path—no country can shirk its responsibility.

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The scope of the measures to strengthen European security being advanced by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries meets the objective demands of the military-political situation that has taken shape in Europe. Today's world has indeed approached an extremely dangerous point. The US plans to emplace attack armaments systems in outer space are evoking particular concern. The European continent may become the epicentre of the military threat hanging over the entire world.

It is only natural, therefore, that the focus of the Soviet programme for improving the situation in Europe is on measures to reduce the danger of a nuclear confrontation on the continent. Owing to the reluctance of the United States and its NATO allies not to deploy US first-strike nuclear missiles in a number of West European countries and to listen to the appeals of the peace supporters and halt the deployment of ever new Pershings and Tomahawks there, previous attempts to settle the nuclear problem in

Europe and to limit and then fully remove nuclear weapons from its territory have been unsuccessful. The search for a solution to the present dilemma has become still more difficult with the appearance of the American "star wars" plans and the involvement of West European NATO members in them.

The USA and NATO have purposely deadlocked the problem of lowering the nuclear confrontation level in Europe. Displaying no signs of the restraint and flexibility needed in the present situation, they have, on the contrary, been intent on stepping up military pressure on the USSR to the utmost. Under the circumstances the Soviet Union has again demonstrated the capability to administer an adequate rebuff to all attempts at pressuring it, and at the same time an ability for fresh thinking and practical actions commensurate with the threat to universal peace being posed by the forces of imperialism.

The new Soviet peace initiatives open up for Europe the prospect of becoming an important link in the Soviet programme of ridding the Earth of nuclear weapons within the next 15 years before the end of this century. Developing the idea of ridding Europe of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical, this country proposes a radical step towards eliminating, already at the initial stage, all Soviet and American medium-range ballistic and cruise missiles in the European zone.

Many Europeans are well aware of the fact that the path being proposed by the USSR is a constructive and realistic one. "Declaring in Paris the new Soviet proposals on limiting nuclear arsenals and prohibiting space-based weapons", wrote the prominent French political scientist Paul-Marie de la Gorce in the November issue of *Le Monde diplomatique*, "General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev has undertaken a diplomatic initiative capable of imparting to it the greatest chances for success and of winning the greatest support from the Western side. Typical of these proposals above all is the fact that they take into consideration the military-strategic relations between East and West as they are today."¹ Here the French analyst particularly singled out the Soviet proposal on consideration of the problems of nuclear and space-based weapons apart from the problem of medium-range missiles, as well as the Soviet Union's readiness to examine the question of British and French nuclear means apart from the balance of the strategic forces of the USA and the USSR.

Alongside the Pershings and cruise missiles, not to mention US forward based weapons, the Western side also disposes of the French and British nuclear potentials, the yield of which continues to grow, and it cannot but be taken into consideration in the European balance of forces. That is why many West European political and public quarters see logic in the Soviet proposal to France and Britain to initiate direct talks to pool efforts to find a mutually acceptable solution to this problem.

It is obvious that if the proposal on a total elimination of the Soviet and the American medium-range missiles in the European zone is implemented the USA will have to take upon itself an obligation to refrain from delivering its strategic and medium-range missiles to other states, while Britain and France should pledge not to build up their respective nuclear arms.

The West European countries should not overlook the fact that the USSR is displaying a readiness to elaborate a separate regional accord on medium-range weapons to the extent that the USA and its nuclear allies are prepared to go. For responsible Western politicians, to ignore the constructive Soviet proposals would mean risking a chance to settle nuclear problems in the new, considerably more difficult conditions and, therefore,

disregarding the security interests of their own peoples and the hopes and aspirations of the broadest strata of the population which are advocating nuclear disarmament in Europe.

To conceal their reluctance to give the Soviet proposals serious consideration behind the smokescreen of propaganda, the USA and its NATO allies have put into circulation the version of the spurious "sevenfold superiority" of the Soviet Union in nuclear armaments in Europe. This latest NATO lie pursues the aim of weakening the tremendous positive effect the Soviet proposals have had among the Western public at large. In actuality, the countries of the North Atlantic bloc have deployed in Europe 396 medium-range missiles, while the USSR has in the European zone 373 missiles, 243 of them SS-20s. Taking aviation into account, the NATO countries also have more medium-range delivery vehicles than the Warsaw Treaty (1,015 : 850) and more nuclear charges on them (approximately 3,000 : 2,000). Taking into account the differences in the composition of the nuclear armaments, the approximate equilibrium of both sides is evident.

Obviously, denial or distortion of these actual facts serves to thwart a European settlement in the nuclear sphere and to tether the USA's NATO allies to Washington's militarist course, which runs counter to the vital interests of the European peoples.

It is not fortuitous that in Europe the ranks of adherents of the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the continent are swelling, specifically in the North and in the Balkans, and support is also growing for setting up a corridor free of nuclear weapons along the line separating the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries in Central Europe. At a representative conference of parliamentarians of the North European countries held in Copenhagen in November 1985 a lively discussion was held on the prospects for creating such a zone. Even though the conferees were unable to arrive at agreed upon conclusion, the very idea, which enjoys support among broad circles of Europeans, will undoubtedly pave a way for itself.

Initiatives of this kind find understanding and support among the socialist countries. As Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his reply to a message from Ken Livingstone, leader of the Greater London Council, when defining its attitude to the idea of nuclear-free zones, the Soviet Union does not make exceptions for any states, irrespective of whether or not they belong to military blocs. The USSR has one condition: if an individual country refuses to acquire nuclear weapons and does not have them on its territory, that country is given firm and effective guarantees by the USSR. For instance, should Great Britain completely denounce nuclear weapons and have foreign military bases removed from its territory, the Soviet Union would guarantee that Soviet nuclear weapons would be neither aimed at British territory nor used against it.

Support is also extended to the proposals being advanced by the governments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia and also by influential political forces in a number of NATO countries on the creation of a zone free of chemical weapons in Central Europe. The legitimate concern of the European peoples over the buildup of the chemical arsenals of the USA and NATO was intensified even more with the launching overseas of the production of binary toxic agents designated for the European theatre of hostilities. The stand of the Soviet Union, which is prepared to take part in an agreement on a zone free of chemical weapons, is geared towards completely ridding Europe of this means of mass destruction. Moreover, as it follows from the Statement of January 15 this year, this country considers as fully feasible the task of completely eliminating even in this century such barbaric weapons of mass destruction as chemical weapons.

At the same time, the line of the NATO militarists opposed to this idea is in effect aimed against Europe, since the continent, which has not forgotten the horrors of the gas attacks of the First World War, has been called

upon by the very logic of things to become the initiator of the complete prohibition and destruction of all combat toxic agents.

The participants in the Sofia meeting of the PCC of the Warsaw Treaty states once again reminded the NATO countries of their proposal to conduct direct talks on the conclusion between them of a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of armed force and on the maintenance of relations of peace, a treaty that would be open for signing by all European and other interested countries. They do not exclude even the possibility of establishing contacts between the organisations of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic alliance as such. Elaborating a *modus vivendi* that would take the edge off the current confrontation between the two military-political alliances in Europe is also deemed beneficial.

Of course, the most radical means of easing the existing tension would be to disband both alliances, beginning at least with their military organisations. However, the West is evidently not ready for this. We believe, nonetheless, that the NATO bloc, which tries to present itself as an instrument of peace, not war, could enjoy greater prestige by adopting the constructive proposals of the socialist countries. The absence of a positive answer to them again eloquently attests to the aims the Atlantic bloc was created for.

At the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe the representatives of the socialist countries are doing all in their power to see that the principle of non-use of force is implemented in as concrete and binding a manner as possible. To date many participants in this forum are in favour of rendering this principle as effective as possible. An accord on a specific selection of confidence-building measures in the military sphere could in turn become a useful stop-gap in the event actions by the other side are interpreted incorrectly.

The world public at large was supportive of Mikhail Gorbachev's statement in Paris about the Soviet Union's readiness to give a positive response to the proposal of a number of states, the neutral ones above all, concerning a mutual exchange of annual plans for military activity, about which notification should be given. Such a solution would help eliminate undue suspicion and would make covert preparations for war difficult.

According to the opinion expressed in the Soviet Union, it is high time to effectively begin dealing with the problems still outstanding at the Stockholm Conference. One of the most pressing problems is the need to reduce the numbers of troops participating in major military exercises notifiable under the Helsinki Final Act. Since the bottleneck at the forum in Stockholm is the issue of notifications regarding major ground force, naval and air force exercises, the USSR proposes a partial solution of this problem: to reach agreement now about notifications of major ground force and air exercises, postponing the question of naval activities until the next stage of the Conference.

Now there exist opportunities to reach accords at this forum. The public at large in the member countries of the European process is insistently advocating a successful conclusion of the current phase of the Stockholm conference devoted to confidence-building measures and security. And this, in turn, would make it possible to set about a discussion on the crucial issues of disarmament in Europe provided for in the Conference mandate.

Another reason the European public is rightly sounding the alarm is that the so-called conventional armaments of the NATO countries are approximating mass destruction weapons in their combat characteristics. Drawing on this, the Pentagon and NATO are intensifying the aggressive thrust of their military doctrines, including in them provisions on the delivery of "deep" strikes at the defensive systems of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

In the light of the afore-mentioned the question of reaching an immediate accord at the Vienna talks on a mutual reduction of armed forces and

armaments of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in Central Europe is becoming particularly topical. Today it would seem that a framework is emerging for a possible decision to reduce Soviet and US troops and subsequently freeze the level of the opposing groupings' armed forces in Central Europe. The USSR and its Warsaw Treaty allies are determined to achieve success at the Vienna talks. If the other countries also want this, 1986 could become a landmark for the Vienna talks too.

Thus, in all areas leading to reduced military confrontation on the European continent, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have set forth specific major proposals. It is important for the West European countries to regard them with the responsibility which the urgency of the current stage of international developments requires.

The above-mentioned also fully applies to such a problem as the prevention of the militarisation of outer space. "The rationality of immediately reaching an agreement on nuclear parity, but on a lower level of strategic nuclear arsenals is an indubitable matter," Paul-Marie de la Gorce goes on to note. "However, the prospect that the USA will deploy an antimissile system in outer space obviously changes the nature of the problem."² Not only the afore-mentioned French researcher but also many other sober-minded politicians in the West are aware of the fact that the military-political and international consequences of the creation of a large scale antimissile system with space-based elements cannot but have an effect on the situation in Europe, since the implementation of such plans would inevitably have an impact on the strategic balance and the security of the European continent.

The US Administration is assuring the West European NATO countries that the United States, by allegedly creating an antimissile "shield", intends to protect not only itself with it but its West European allies as well. Washington wants its allies across the Atlantic to pay for this "shield" with material and intellectual tribute in the form of involvement in the USA's military technology development programme. However, a great deal bespeaks the fact that the genuine aim of the American strategists is to protect the USA from a retaliatory strike in a critical situation and use Europe as an arena for hostilities. The deployment of medium-range US missiles in Europe and the adoption by the US land forces of the "air-land operation" doctrine and by the NATO Defence Planning Committee of a "deep echeloned strike" at the territories of the socialist countries are bound up precisely with these plans of the Pentagon.

The most reasonable alternative to the introduction of such a destabilising factor as antimissile weapons in the military-strategic balance of forces in Europe is to completely rid the region of nuclear weapons both medium-range and tactical ones. Meanwhile, Washington is not only trying to involve as many West European countries as possible in its notorious SDI, but is also encouraging the initiators of the so-called European defense initiative.

The political and public forces of Europe which advocate the bridling of the arms race realise that these plans spell out a new stage in the escalation of armaments in Europe, blocking a solution to the question of reducing nuclear armaments on the continent. It is not accidental that in December 1985 the SDPG faction in the Bundestag tabled a draft resolution on the refusal of the FRG to take any part whatsoever either in the SDI or in the "European defense initiative." All mass movements for peace and nuclear disarmament in Western Europe are unequivocally negative in their attitude to any "initiatives" on the militarisation of outer space.

² *Le Monde diplomatique*, November 1985.

The French Eureka Project is also in the focus of attention of the European peace forces. Its authors stress the peaceful character of their project, but even circles involved in it do not deny the possible military "offshoot" of Eureka and its connection with the US "star wars" plan. Speaking in Brussels at a session of the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation in November 1985, Chairman of the French National Committee for European Security, Pastor Albert Gaillard, and other speakers voiced the thought that the best guarantee of peacefully directing the research and development of Eureka would be to go all-European with it, i. e. to involve the socialist countries.

The European countries have already amassed experience of international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space. The USSR has carried out over 40 joint projects of this kind with France alone and specific ones have been mapped out for the future as well. As French scientists state, cooperation with the Soviet Union in the exploration of outer space enables them to conduct research that substantially broadens the framework of national possibilities; furthermore, the Soviet side always focuses on mutual scientific interest, without claiming any privileges.

Soviet scientists collaborate in space exploration with experts from Austria, the FRG and Sweden as well. For West German scientists the Vega Project was the first joint effort in space exploration with their Soviet colleagues. The objective of the first Soviet-Swedish experiment (Promix), carried out in 1978 on board the Prognoz-7 Soviet automated station was to determine the impact of solar activity on the Earth's magnetosphere.

The experience of cooperation between Soviet scientists and the colleagues from France, the FRG, Austria and Sweden in such an important and complicated field as space research has shown that given understanding among states, major scientific projects can be carried out, making a weighty contribution to detente in Europe and the rest of the world, and to the strengthening of universal peace.

What, however, are the prospects for European economic cooperation in the light of recent trends? An analysis of them will show that after the crisis of 1980-1982, the worst in postwar decades, the world capitalist economy experienced somewhat of a spurt, but in 1985 development again slowed down, especially in the USA. According to forecasts, this downswing will continue in 1986. For all West European countries, the problems of unemployment and inflation are still vexing. The number of the unemployed in the OECD countries are at a postwar record high, and whereas in the USA it dropped somewhat in 1984-1985, in Western Europe it is growing steadily.

Another reason why the improvement in the Western economy does not look solid is the contradictory development of the US economy and also the entire international financial system, where, as is well known, the American dollar dominates. The boosted exchange rate for the dollar is cheapening imports to the USA, including from Europe, and is reducing the competitiveness of American exports. Hence the growing US trade-and-payment-balance deficit. The world's richest country has turned from an international creditor into a debtor. Taking advantage of its privileged standing in the international financial and trade system, the USA is largely acquiring its well-being on credit.

As to trade and economic relations between CMEA and Western Europe, growth trends have been observed of late. However, from the standpoint of purely economic prerequisites for the development of East-West business ties, both sides have many untapped reserves. Given an improved political climate, the proportion of the West in the CMEA countries' foreign trade will undoubtedly grow. The CMEA economic intensification programme will naturally extend their export and import possibilities, including in business relations with the West and will change the existing structure of supply and demand for the better.

The CMEA countries are in favour of improved world economic ties through strict observance of the principles of equality, mutual benefit, respect for each other's interests, non-discrimination and non-use of trade as a means of political pressure. The record has shown the need to explore together optimal solutions for settling unresolved problems of the world community, for creating favourable conditions for trade, the imminent restructuring of world production and trade, rationally utilising raw material and energy resources, and environmental protection. It would be useful to work out an effective reform of the international currency system and legally formalise and normalise relations between CMEA and the EEC, and elaborate economic confidence-building measures as well.

The political realism that has evolved from lengthy and difficult experience enabled Europe to become the birthplace of detente and the successful holding of the European Conference which adopted the Helsinki Final Act. For the first time in history 33 European states, the USA and Canada agreed in this document with the principle of peaceful regulation of relations among the European countries, which the Soviet Union rightly identifies with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

As is emphasised in the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "the CPSU proceeds from the belief that the historical dispute between the two opposing social systems, into which the world is divided today, can and must be settled by peaceful means. Socialism proves its superiority not by force of arms but by force of example in every area of the life of society, by the dynamic development of the economy, science and culture, by improvements in the living standards of working people, and by a deepening of socialist democracy."

These provisions apply most directly to Europe, where the two world systems and two military-political alliances confront each other. The overriding prerequisite for the stable development of positive processes here is respect for the territorial and political realities that had taken shape as a result of the Second World War. Decidedly opposed to attempts to revise them under any pretexts, the Soviet Union will administer a rebuff to any manifestations of revanchism.

The accepted instrument for establishing goodneighbourly relations in Europe—the Final Act—has always been of fundamental importance in the normalisation of relations in Europe both in the relatively favourable atmosphere when detente emerged on the continent, and also in the current time of tension, when an effort has to be made for a return to detente. Thanks to the USSR's consistent peace policy which has always been instrumental to the implementation of the Helsinki accords, and its readiness to agree to reasonable compromises, Europe has managed to overcome the inertia of the cold war and weave a strong fabric of normal interstate relations in the form of numerous agreements, treaties, and so on.

Declared International Year of Peace by the United Nations, 1986 will witness a new meeting in Vienna of representatives of the European Conference member states. Such general European events as the consultations in Ottawa on cooperation in the sphere of human rights and the Cultural Forum in Budapest planned at the meeting in Madrid have been held over the recent period. These meetings vividly exhibited the negative trend in a number of Western countries to carry ideological differences between capitalism and socialism over into the sphere of interstate relations, which prevented their participants from arriving at agreed upon recommendations. Nevertheless, both meetings left a positive imprint on the history of the European nations' relations by the very fact of their having been held and by the debates that took place (it is only to be hoped that the latter will be eventually continued in a more positive vein).

By all indications, detente in Europe and the Helsinki process have made great inroads on the continent. The European countries, which have realised their favourable influence from their own experience, have a vital stake in preserving the positive results of the detente of the 1970s. Today the process of appraising events in the international arena and the search for ways for a return to detente have come to include not only mass segments of the populations of European countries, the working-class and democratic movement and the peace movement first and foremost, but also other influential political and public forces.

There have been more and more actions for the creation of a system of broad political dialogue for the purpose of working towards genuinely peaceful and secure relations among the peoples of the continent. Ideas are being expressed about the improvement, deepening and developing of the machinery of such a dialogue, including on the interbloc level. Characteristic of the reflections and search being undertaken by various circles are the solution of European problems without power politics, war and aggression, and a vigorous striving for cooperation and simultaneously for a peaceful future for Europe.

The Conference of the Socialist International on Disarmament held in Vienna last October showed the considerable, yet not full tapped potential in the struggle for peace and disarmament at the disposal of the socialist and social democratic parties. Also, at a number of the other forums the Social Democrats confirmed their readiness to explore ways of a peaceful settlement in Europe with due account for the demands of the masses and the powerful peace movement. In its Vienna Appeal the Socialist International Bureau underscored the particular concern over the danger of the arms race spreading to outer space.

The heads of the socialist and social democratic parties of the NATO member countries that gathered in Bonn late last November spoke out in favour of efforts to implement detente and arms control and to achieve disarmament through talks and agreements. The West European countries, read their joint communique, must realise their particular responsibility, both individually and collectively, for the preservation and strengthening of security on the European continent.

Also, representatives of agrarian, centrist and other parties in European countries are undertaking a search for peaceful solutions to European problems.

A look at the appeals of many international public organisations and peace movements espousing different ideological positions to the participants in the Soviet-American summit will amply show that even in quarters which just recently adhered to the concept of "equidistance" from the two superpowers many realised that prior to the Geneva meeting the Soviet Union had done its part to attain mutually acceptable accords on questions of interest to the West European and world public. For example, in the messages of the World Council of Churches, the Flemish Centre for Cooperation for Peace (Belgium) and a number of other pacifist organisations and movements contain the demand that the USA follow the example of the Soviet Union and cease nuclear testing.

The peace movement in Western Europe has far from given up even after the deployment of US nuclear missiles in a number of NATO countries. Suffice it to recall the 150,000 strong antimissile demonstration in Brussels on October 20, 1985, and the four million signatures collected in Holland under the appeal to prevent the deployment of US cruise missiles on its territory. Having preserved a developed infrastructure and a capacity for mass mobilisation, the peace movement in Western Europe is now elaborating goals and slogans and planning forums for its new actions.

The basic provisions of NATO's military and security policies are being subjected to an increasingly critical reassessment in West European coun-

ries. It is typical that whereas initially "alternative" ideas of security were voiced by individual politicians, servicemen, scientists, experts or small groups (e. g., Andreas von Bulow, Senghaas, Bastian, Affeld, and Hennig in the FRG, Charles Barnaby in Britain, De Smaele in Belgium, and the Pugwash Working Group), today these ideas are becoming much more widespread in various political and public circles. Several political parties in Western Europe and the Socialist International have included "alternative" concepts in their programmes on security and military policy.

The views and "models" being proposed by these circles under different names ("non-provocational defence", "nuclear-free defence", etc.) are united by the overriding aim of reducing the danger of an outbreak of war between East and West in Europe, of easing the confrontation between the blocs, replacing "intimidation" with the philosophy of peace, and overcoming the current NATO strategy based on the initiating of a nuclear exchange. The ideas expounded in the report of the Independent Palme Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (the Palme Commission) are close to these concepts. The discussion on them is being joined by representatives of neutral countries and international institutes researching peace and disarmament.

Although a number of the afore-mentioned concepts are somewhat abstract and do not unmask the aggressive strategic doctrines of NATO and the military preparations of the bloc clearly enough, the "alternative" security ideas are winning increasing popularity, people viewing them as a path leading to a refusal of the employment of the nuclear armaments, to the reduced risk of the outbreak of a war in Europe, to the denouncing of militarism, and to the consolidation of genuine peace and greater well-being.

The innovative, bold approach of the Soviet leadership to the solution of universal and European security problems, which enjoys the support of the entire Soviet people, is generating tremendous international repercussions, prompting an unprecedentedly broad spectrum of socio-political forces in the West to think and act in a new manner. What with the need to strengthen European unity, the future structure of European security and cooperation is now forming from individual fragmented elements. This structure has to be perfected, naturally, and new forms of cooperation have to be explored in politics, economics and culture with due account given to the actual conditions existing both in the East and West of the continent. The Helsinki Final Act retains its intransient importance in the accomplishment of tasks crucial to all Europeans.

The destinies of dozens of countries and peoples living in their common European home are closely bound up by geography and history. Europeans can preserve this home and make their lives in it better and safer only through joint efforts, by following reasonable norms of international intercourse and cooperation.

VERBIAGE AROUND HUMAN RIGHTS

N. S E T U N S K Y

Democracy and human rights have become pivotal issues in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in recent years. There are clearly two diametrically opposite approaches to the problem. The USSR and other socialist countries concentrate on extending human rights in every way, including political, and socio-economic rights, providing real conditions for guaranteeing them in practice.

The situation is all too different in the capitalist world. Bourgeois constitutions and legislation are limited to formally proclaiming and registering the main bourgeois-democratic liberties, but the conditions for their practical exercise for the benefit of the masses are not provided for. As for vital socio-economic rights, they are either not mentioned at all, as is the case with the Constitution of the United States, or legislation concerning these rights is merely a dead letter.

Nonetheless, as the psychological warfare launched by imperialism against the socialist countries, the newly free states and the national liberation movements is being increasingly intensified, the most reactionary imperialist circles, above all those in the USA, are cynically exploiting the human rights issue, interpreting it in a biased and demagogic way in a bid to gain an opportunity of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, poisoning the international climate and providing foreign-policy conditions to realise their global ambitions.

THE "DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS" SLOGAN USED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF IMPERIALIST FOREIGN POLICY

In their approach to the human rights issue the US ruling elite and the American bourgeois ideologists and propagandists have invariably applied a dual standard. They officially proclaim that the United States is a paragon, a pace-setter in this field, and that all the other countries should aspire to its level. In keeping with a Congress decision, the US Department of State issues annual reviews of the human rights situation in the world. However, having usurped the right to judge all other peoples and states the United States itself, as life has shown, fails to observe even those basic bourgeois democratic rights which it had set down two centuries ago—first in the Declaration of Independence which states that the Americans have "unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" and later in the first ten amendments to the Constitution, the so-called Bill of Rights, on which the USA continues to pride itself.

Since the time of bourgeois revolutions the human rights notion has been acquiring a new content as a result of the vigorous struggle waged by the popular masses. The most important part has been played here by

Marxism-Leninism which has proved abstract reasoning about "unalienable rights" to be unfounded, and has shown that the real position of the individual in society is ultimately determined by his class affiliation, that there cannot be democracy in general, that there exist the bourgeois and socialist democracies.

The historic achievements attained by the USSR in ensuring the exercise of human rights by the popular masses have had an immense impact on the evolution of the human rights concept. Faced with the powerful upswing of the class, general democratic and national liberation struggle during and after the Second World War, the ruling circles in the West were forced to adopt the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

However, since a number of major provisions of the Declaration obviously do not suit the US ruling elite, it simply ignores its provisions, even though it often refers to it. Washington's refusal to sign a number of other international legal covenants and conventions, adopted by the UN in the 1960s-1970s, envisaging specific commitments of states in the area of human rights totally exposes its true posture with regard to human rights in general.

Nonetheless, beginning with President Carter, the US ruling circles have made the human rights issue a major element of their imperial foreign-policy doctrines, rendering it central to the permanent propaganda campaign levelled at the countries and peoples that do not suit them. By raising hue and cry over "human rights violations" in some or other country, Washington flagrantly interferes in the domestic affairs of these states, arrogating the right to infringe upon human rights, the rights of sovereign states striving to independently determine their way of life and the line of conduct on the world arena.

The question arises: what right do the US ruling circles have, if not legally then morally to act in this manner when their own country has millions and in a number of cases tens of millions of people who are permanently or temporarily out of a job, who are forced to live in slums or have no roof over their heads at all, who are driven with increasing ruthlessness at work, who are discriminated against on account of the colour of their skin, sex, or age, whose incomes stay below the official poverty level, who have been unable to receive even an elementary education or medical care they sorely need, who live under conditions of utter lawlessness, persecution of dissidents, racism, rampant organised crime, corruption, and increasing drug-use?

It turns out, therefore, that Washington's policy with regard to human rights is meant only for others. This policy is focussed on countries whose socio-political system, internal order and foreign policy for some reason do not suit the USA. But whenever it concerns anti-popular and dictatorial regimes, which either have been installed in power by the USA or are kept afloat with its help, Washington issues, as a rule, calming assurances about the "situation coming back to normal", about "progress" or "positive shifts" in the area of human rights, no matter what brutal crimes these regimes had stigmatised themselves with.

A very dangerous turn has occurred today in the course pursued by the present Administration in "defence of human rights" anywhere but the United States and the client countries. It has decided that the means of interference in the internal affairs of other peoples have not been proven effective enough and so it has adopted a new concept, one of stepping up subversion against other countries with the aim of eliminating the regimes there and installing new ones instead, ones that would be obedient to the USA or suit it. In the new doctrine of "promoting democracy" all the camouflage has been cast aside and Washington's "right" to the export of counter-revolution is now being openly declared.

Pursuing a policy of state terrorism, blackmail and diktat in Central

America, Africa and the Middle East, the USA no longer seeks any juridical cover-up and acts as if it has never assumed obligations under the UN Charter. Forgetting all about human rights, the US Administration continues to give every type of support to the fascist Pinochet junta in Chile, the Stroessner butchers in Paraguay, the anti-popular regimes in Haiti, El Salvador, South Korea and others; it consolidates its already close ties with the Pretoria racists and supplies arms to Israel which commits acts of genocide on the Arab lands it seized.

In other words, the propaganda campaign exploiting the human rights issue is part of the global imperialist strategy of undermining socialism and escalating "psychological warfare" against the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries. This explains why a hysteria is being kindled of the late around the "rights" of the so-called dissidents in socialist countries, which is a form of subversion against these countries. At the same time, the onslaught on the civil rights and freedoms of Americans themselves is being stepped up.

LARGE-SCALE OFFENSIVE ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

"Large-scale offensive on civil liberties"—this is how the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) describes the course of the present Administration which continues the onslaught on human rights in the USA.¹ It was not yesterday, of course, that the onslaught was launched. Lenin noted in one of his widely known statements that reaction all along the line under any political system is typical of capitalism at its imperialist stage. As is seen from the history of the United States, persecution for political and social dissent has always been part of the offensive launched by reaction.

The growth of aggressive trends in the foreign policy of the United States, its course towards a further build-up of world tensions and towards military ventures and wars are followed by concentrated attacks on dissent in the United States itself and by intensified political repression. In this way the US ruling circles seek to secure a most reliable rear and to create a favourable political climate at home, as they remember the sad experience of the aggression in Vietnam when the whole country was swept by a powerful tide of protest against the dirty war.

Assessing a new wave of encroachments on civil rights in the USA, M. Galperin, an ACLU leader, wrote that "the deterioration of detente in the 1980s has led to interference with peaceful demonstrations, widespread surveillance of Americans, travel bans, visa denials, secrecy orders. The peril is deepened by the apparent lack of limits to what a government may define as national security".²

The offensive on the civil and political rights of Americans have several far-reaching goals. Some of them are as follows:

- to emasculate the real content of the democratic gains of the masses, primarily in the area of the rights of the working people and their organisations, ethnic and racial minorities, women and the press. This is expressed in the revision and undermining of the main provisions of the legislation on civil rights and the freedom of information act adopted in the 1960s;

- to expand the legal basis of the operations conducted by the FBI and other secret services engaged in anti-constitutional and, in fact, illegal, activities. In this way political surveillance over millions of Americans on a wider scale is sanctioned;

¹ The American Civil Liberties Union, *Our Endangered Rights. The ACLU Report on Civil Liberties Today*. New York, 1984, p. XII.

² *Op. cit.*, p. XI.

to toughen political and criminal persecution—juridical, police and administrative—against those taking part in antiwar and other actions of political and social protest, strikers, and “undesirable” public organisations and their leaders and activists;

to use ultra-right, terrorist groups—neonazis, the Ku-Klux-Klan, Zionist organisations, and counterrevolutionary emigre rabble—for kindling political, class and racial intolerance in the country, intimidating Americans and provoking chauvinism and jingoism;

to limit the civil and political rights of the population by using all the means at the disposal of the ruling class and the bodies of legislative, executive, juridical and police power, with the entire ramified system of the punitive mechanism of the bourgeois state being mustered up for the purpose.

In legislation, efforts are concentrated on expanding the sphere of the earlier adopted anti-democratic and discriminatory legislation. Since the right-wingers find it hard to push through Congress openly repressive legislation in the political sphere, the stake is on using criminal laws for persecuting dissidents. The anticrime package adopted in 1984 is a classic example of this. The chief backer of these acts was the present Administration which, insisting on their adoption, motivated this by the need to “combat terrorism”. Exposing this ploy, Dan Crystal, a US lawyer and a spokesman for the Coalition to Defend the Bill of Rights, stressed that in fact these acts marked a new period of witch-hunt McCarthyism. He said that terrorism is the present equivalent of McCarthyite red baiting.³

The provision concerning preventive detention under the legislation, wrote the newspaper *USA Today* on June 10, 1984 permits a judge to keep a defendant in jail before trial if the person is “dangerous”. Stephanie Farrior, a representative of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation said that this provision can be used to jail, without trial, organisers of demonstrations or other protests. Nothing can justify the dangerous provision on preventive detention, wrote *The New York Times* on October 11, 1984. It envisages punishment without due investigation and is a mockery of presumption of innocence.

Another odious act of the legislation is the one on “instigation”. As was noted by Stephanie Farrior, if, for instance, anyone at a meeting of antiwar activists suggests that a sit-in be called, that person can be arrested on “instigation” charges, even if his proposal has not been accepted.

Exploiting the “threat of terrorism” problem, the US Administration pushes through Congress other repressive acts which are directed against both the states that do not suit it and are therefore labelled “terrorist” and against dissidents at home in violation of their constitutional rights. One of the acts provides for ten-year imprisonment on vaguely formulated charges of aiding “terrorist” governments or organisations. In this case the FBI is given powers to conduct “investigations” characterised by the Center for National Security Studies as investigations from “political motives”.⁴ Frank Champan, Executive Director of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, said on that score that if any person or organisation in the USA supports a group labelled terrorist by staging a demonstration, lobbying or by sending a delegation, say, to Nicaragua, they could be declared terrorist or be subjected to persecution.⁵

The US public regards the legislative measures on stepping up surveillance of dissidents as another gross violation of human rights. The Presi-

³ See *Daily World*, Sept. 12, 1984.

⁴ Center for National Security Studies, *First Principles*, No. 4, Vol. 10, May-June 1985, p. 2.

⁵ See *Daily World*, Apr. 11, 1985.

dent signed a bill in June 1982, declaring that the mere mention of the names of secret service agents in the press was a crime. The punishment meted out for this crime is ten years in prison. On October 15, 1984, he enacted a bill restricting even more the access of persons under secret service surveillance to CIA archives. (Such access had been previously allowed by the freedom of information act and in a number of instances helped expose unlawful actions by the secret services).

The McCarran-Waller Act, adopted way back in the days of McCarthyism, is used today to infringe upon the rights of the Americans. It serves, in particular, as a legal barrier for admitting foreigners to the United States if the foreigners are listed among "subversive elements" or if it is alleged that they publicly suggest the overthrow of the US government. The application of this law is an infringement on the civil rights of the Americans for whom opportunities for international contacts are limited, in violation of the Helsinki Final Act.

The extent of these violations can be judged at least by the fact that over 3,000 Canadians have been blacklisted and are denied entry into the United States, writes Mowat Farley, a world known Canadian naturalist.⁶ "Subversive" Canadians are no exception. The Administration began systematically denying entry visas to many foreign scientists and such "controversial" persons as South American writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Hortensia Allende, the widow of the assassinated President of Chile, says an ACLU report.⁷ The list of "undesirable visitors" includes also Palestinian poet Mahamoud Derweesh, former Italian Senator Nino Pasti, Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomas Borge, Japanese champions of a nuclear freeze, and thousands of others whose convictions are not to the liking of US authorities.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION REVISED

The US Administration, which sometimes comes up against Democrats' opposition to adoption of new repressive legislation in Congress, is increasingly bypassing it. To restrict civil liberties in the United States, the President often makes use of presidential executive directives which, as is noted by the ACLU, violate human rights, and this is a source of concern.

The US public has sufficient grounds for such concern. A number of executive directives have radically revised civil rights legislation. First, the President reshuffled the governmental civil rights commission which had been a thorn in Reagan's side, for it had criticised the Administration on a wide range of civil rights issues, including quotas, affirmative actions and tax deductions for schools practicing racial segregation, wrote *The Washington Post* on October 26, 1983.

Over the past few years the President's directives and resolutions by the Attorney General have emasculated, or practically rendered null and void, many legislative acts and court decisions which had limited the scope of racial discrimination and segregation. Some of the directives and resolutions help preserve the discrimination of Black Americans and other national minorities, as well as women in employment and remuneration, and are aimed at perpetuating racial discrimination and segregation in housing and education, and have eroded the rights of the Blacks in southern states to register as voters in elections. As a result, says an ACLU study, there has been a radical narrowing of the sphere of civil rights protection for millions of Americans and the US Constitution and laws have thus been undermined. The dangerous crisis thus created, the study

⁶ Mowat Farley, *My Discovery of America*, Boston/New York, 1985, p. 86.

⁷ The American Civil Liberties Union, *Civil Liberties*, No. 35, Fall 1984, p. 3.

says, can throw the country back to the standards of racial and sex discrimination which have almost become history.⁸

Presidential executive directives are used also for escalating the secret warfare launched against human rights by the US secret agencies. According to Presidential Executive Directive No. 12333, issued on December 4, 1981, the CIA and other intelligence agencies were for the first time given powers to conduct covert operations on US territory. In an action brought in in this connection by Congressman Ronald Dellems and 36 public organisations it was noted that this directive enabled the CIA and the FBI to spy, in violation of the Constitution, on public organisations, to infiltrate them with the aim of crushing them.

The news that was leaked to the press that the President had issued a secret directive codenamed Rex-84, relating to national security, evoked widespread concern in the United States. The Washington weekly *Spotlight* wrote that provisions had been made for building 10 concentration camps for 200,000 prisoners at military bases on US territory. It is planned to imprison there, the weekly notes, political adversaries of the Administration and those criticising its policy in case it considers them dangerous.⁹

Following White House instructions, the Department of Justice is extending the powers of the secret services, too. New "basic principles" of FBI activities, envisaging the stepping up of electronic surveillance on Americans and expanding the network of informers, were carried into effect in March 1983. *The Washington Post* reported on November 20, 1984 that the number of the FBI agents was planned to be increased from 8,200 to 9,500 in 1986.

The secret services have come out to undermine and destroy the growing antiwar movement in the USA. The "first principles", said an ACLU report, authorise the FBI to conduct full-scale investigation, including methods like infiltration into organisations and interference in the life of individuals for the sole reason that they "preach criminal activities". The Nuclear Freeze Organizing Committee, which is collecting signatures for petitions of protest against MX missiles and is resolved to achieve this by any means, even if it has to block military bases, can be infiltrated by FBI agents. They also allow the FBI to collect information "accessible to the public" on individuals and organisations that are not even subjects of an investigation.¹⁰

The Center for National Security Studies reports that FBI men regularly interrogate activists of public organisations like the National Network of Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, the Central American Solidarity Coalition, and the Committee on Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, to mention a few. FBI officers summon for interrogation Americans who have visited Nicaragua. Officials from the Immigration and Naturalisation Service search persons coming back home from that country, and also from Cuba, and take away the literature they bring with them. FBI Director William H. Webster admitted recently that over 100 Americans who have visited Nicaragua have been interrogated in the past two years alone.

The National Security Agency engaged in electronic surveillance and interception of telegrams sent by Americans abroad has greatly stepped up its operations. Previously these activities were covert, but in 1982 they were legalised by the Federal Court of Appeals. The Pentagon, too, has

⁸ The American Civil Liberties Union. *Uncontempt of Congress and the Courts. The Reagan Civil Rights Record*, February 1984, Washington, p. 1.

⁹ *Spotlight*, No. 17, Vol. X, Apr. 23, 1984, p. 1.

¹⁰ The American Civil Liberties Union, *Free Speech, 1984, Public Policy Reports*, 1984, p. 19.

actively joined domestic espionage operations after receiving a special sanction from the President.

According to a government report, while in 1980 the federal courts alone issued about 80 writs authorising wiretapping and the installation of eavesdropping devices in the homes of US citizens, in 1984 their number more than tripled, to reach 289. The newspaper *Christian Science Monitor* writes in this connection that in 1977-1982 federal eavesdropping actions covered 260,000 Americans, most of whom have never breached a law. The Reagan Administration sanctions or approves political surveillance of citizens and organisations disagreeing with its policy, and it does this under the pretext of combatting "terrorism", says the Center for National Security Studies.¹¹

The dissident persecution campaigns are being joined even by the government agencies which by their status would seem far from suited for the task. The US Information Agency having displayed zeal in "combating the unreliable", has drawn up a "black list" of Americans who should not be sent abroad along government lines to make public speeches. The list, with almost one hundred names in it, includes Senator Gary Hart, Congressmen Thomas Downey and Robert Garcia, well-known economists John Galbraith and Lester Thurow, the widow of Martin Luther King.

The shameful practice of administering an oath of loyalty, though recognised unconstitutional in 1968, has been preserved in some states since the days of McCarthyism. Moreover, keeping pace with the scientific and technological revolution, US "democracy" had devised new, "progressive" methods of intimidating and terrorising Americans by introducing lie detectors in government institutions and business.

JURIDICAL AND POLICE REPRESSION STEPPED UP

The courts, too, are made to work for the policy of human rights violation. The US Supreme Court, in which the conservatives appointed over the past 15 years now make up the majority, is revising the positive human rights decisions adopted by it in the 1950s and 1960s. Lower courts, for their part, perform punitive functions, persecuting "dangerous" dissidents. Between 1981 and 1985 the Supreme Court of the United States adopted a series of decisions infringing on civil rights, extending the sphere for the arbitrary rule of the secret services and police in violation of the bourgeois-democratic liberties registered in the Constitution. In April 1985 the Supreme Court cancelled the decision of a lower court which had made it binding on the CIA to publish the names of the "researchers" who had conducted criminal experiments on people under the covert MK-Ultra programme.¹²

Under the present Administration the Supreme Court has extended police powers when stopping and searching cars and granted the police opportunities to obtain arrest warrants on grounds of anonymous witness information. On January 8, 1985 it sanctioned the detention of Americans "for a brief period" without a warrant, and on March 4 that year it rescinded its own 1966 decision forbidding the police to interrogate a suspect at a police station before the rights of the suspect are read to him.¹³

A number of Supreme Court decisions have been made in violation of the rights of national minorities. In 1984 it sanctioned round-ups by officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of immigrants ha-

¹¹ Center for National Security Studies, *First Principles*, No. 4, Vol. 10, May-June 1985, p. 1.

¹² *The Christian Science Monitor*, Apr. 17, 1985.

¹³ *The New York Times*, Jan 9, 1985.

ving no papers, and their arrest. This is used for massive repressions against Chicanos and other Latin Americans by birth, above all those active in defending the rights of immigrants. In 1984 the Supreme Court supported the discriminatory practices used in the employment of Blacks by the municipality of Memphis, Tennessee. A number of its decisions sapped the anti-segregation school busing programmes.

Beginning with the early 1980s, juridical repressions against dissidents reached the widest proportions since the Vietnam war. In contrast with the 1950s, when political inquisition in the USA operated openly, undesirable Americans today are framed to be tried as criminals, which however, does not make the trails less political. The chief targets of these repressions are organisations and individuals opposed to Washington's nuclear policy and to its interventionist course. The sham trials of recent years have passed markedly severe sentences.

For instance, in March 1985, Helen Woodson and Rev. Carl Kabat were sentenced to 18 years for taking part in a protest action on the territory of a military base in the State of Missouri. Other members of that group—Paul Kabat and Larry Claude-Morgan—were sentenced to 10 and 8 years respectively. The Orlando Eight—a group of antiwar activists who had sneaked into the premises of a factory of the Martin-Marietta industrial concern in Orlando, Florida, and damaged a few Pershing-2 missiles there were sentenced to 3 years. Peace fighters were subjected to juridical repression in Syracuse, a city in central New York State, in 1984, and in Providence, the state of Rhode Island, in 1985. As estimated by the Ploughshares, an antiwar organisation, from 60 to 70 antiwar activists are imprisoned in the United States today.

But the full list of the victims of US "justice" is far longer. Among the convicts are John Eklund and David White, who protested against the US aggressive course by refusing to register at call-up stations; Rev. Douglas Roth, who protested against massive lay-offs at the United States Steel Corporation; Jack Elder and Stacey Merkt, who harboured political refugees from Central American countries; Spinner Gordon from the Black organisation Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who "dared" to register Black voters in Alabama, and many others imprisoned on false charges, have been found "guilty" of one thing, political dissent.

These are the political prisoners convicted last year alone. Jailed before were the American Indian leaders Leonard Peltier and Dennis Banks, and activists of the movement in defence of the rights of Black people John Harris and Jeronimo Pratt, and David Truong, who took part in antiwar actions. Back in the late 1970s, Andrew Young, the then US delegate at the United Nations estimated the total number of political prisoners at hundreds and perhaps thousands. But in recent years mock trials of "undesirable" Americans have become regular practice.

Of course, the American justice system cannot jail all US dissidents on false charges. Therefore, ever greater stress is now being laid on juridical, administrative and other baiting of persons whose political or public activities or simply, convictions are not to the liking of the powers that be. The racist authorities of the State of Mississippi subjected to juridical persecution the Black mayors of Tchula and Winstonville—E. Carthan and M. Tutwiler. The authorities of Alabama imprisoned A. Turner, B. Underwood, J. Colvin and S. Hogue for registering Black voters. Labour Union activist J. Romano was sentenced to a brief term in prison in Chicago in 1985. During a teachers' strike in Rhode Island, which had been declared illegal by the local court, the entire leadership of the teachers' union was jailed for the duration of the strike.

There is a growing number of cases of brutal reprisals against the Black and Coloured Americans perpetrated by White racials and neo-

facists, as well as by policemen who, as a rule go scot-free for laughable reasons.

The barbarous bombing of a city block taking the lives of 11 members of the Black sect Move in Philadelphia in May 1985 again drew US and world-wide public attention to the arbitrary rule and impunity of the police. Dozens, if not hundreds, of demonstrations and rallies are dispersed and thousands of their participants are arrested every year in the United States, this "stronghold of democracy". For instance, 214 persons were detained during the anti-nuclear demonstrations commemorating the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.¹⁴ Nearly 1,000 demonstrators were arrested in a single day, on June 20, 1983, at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratories in California, where new nuclear weapons systems are being developed. In April 1985, 478 students protesting against the arms race were rounded up on the university campus in Boulder, Colorado, and taken to police stations within three days.

Police repressions have become a chief method of suppressing strikes. Strikers are often arrested on charges of violating picketing "regulations". Among the major "victories" scored by the police in 1985 were the arrests of about 50 striking miners in Lobata, West Virginia, and 39 picketers during the strike at the Pan American World Airways in New York.

Racist policemen actually terrorise Black ghettos. The following crimes committed by the "arms of the law" evoked the angriest public outcry in 1985. On June 12, a white policeman in New York shot to death Edmund Perry, a Black student at Stanford University, without any reason. Shortly before that, Eddie Kirkland was murdered in an Atlanta police station. The cold-blooded murder of Eleanora Bumpurs, a 67-year-old Black woman, during her eviction in New York in 1984 sparked off angry protest among the Black public. There are many children among the victims of police terror.

The extent of the excessive power given to the police can be judged from data cited by Ronald Haff, a criminologist at Ohio State University: almost 6,000 illegal arrests made in violation of the rights of American citizens are registered in the United States every year.

Harassment of the scientists, people in the arts and members of the press holding independent views are being intensified. Marxist historian David Abraham was denied the right to teach at Universities in Texas and California after publishing the book *The Collapse of the Weimar Republic* in which he describes how German monopolies brought Hitler to power. The administration of the University of the State of New York announced the dismissal of Professor Ernst Dube who "dared" to compare Zionism with racism in a lecture. Over the past few months the ultra-right group Accuracy in Academia launched a campaign all across the country to check the "loyalty" of the authors of humanitarian lectures delivered at universities. The purpose of the campaign is to "expose" professors holding Marxist views.

The widely advertised "freedom of the press" is being increasingly eroded. Alexander Cockburn, a journalist of the newspaper *Village Voice* was fired when it appeared he did not suit Zionist circles. Patricia Macaroni, editor of the student newspaper *South End* of Wayne State University in Detroit, was fired after she refused to publish a Pentagon advertisement in the paper.

One can hardly name any area of constitutional liberties and civil rights which has not been the object of the anti-democratic offensive. Take, for instance, freedom of religion, this holy of holies of bourgeois democracy. So long as the clergy back up Washington's course, no one

¹⁴ *The New York Times*, Aug. 11, 1985.

accuses them of political activities. But now, 11 clergymen have been on trial in Tucson, Arizona, since last October. They are accused of holding in churches political emigres from El Salvador whom the US authorities wanted to extradite to the Salvadoran regime. Preparing frame-up trials, the US secret services, insulting the status of the Church, planted their agents in churches. During services the agents secretly recorded conversations of clergymen and parishioners.

The situation has become more deplorable in the area of social and economic rights over the past five years. Upon coming to power, the Republican Administration set to wiping out the "legacy of liberals" who had allegedly overburdened the federal budget with inordinate social spending.

Every year the Administration slashes appropriations for social programmes adopted by the previous Administrations to alleviate the plight of the poorest strata of the population, simultaneously boosting arms spending.

The myth that US citizens are granted extensive rights and liberties, which is designed to whitewash capitalism as a social system, no longer evokes illusions in a large segment of American society. No wonder the credibility crisis in the government, Congress and other political institutions of bourgeois democracy has been growing in the country. It is most clearly manifest during election campaigns in which about half of the eligible voters refuse to cast their ballots. This is a source of growing concern for US politicians. Strident propaganda campaigns over imaginary "human rights violations" in other countries, (meaning Washington's domestic-policy goals, not just foreign-policy ones) are designed to inject fresh life into the fairy tale about the United States being a bastion of Western democracy and thus give it a facelift. But reality demonstrates the futility of any such attempts and shows that the hopes to undermine the social system in the socialist countries by spreading lies about the exercise of human rights in them are all in vain.

ARBITRARY RULE OF THE USA IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

V. KARTASHKIN,

D. Sc. (Law)

Detente, which reached its peak in the early 1970s, instilled great hopes in the peoples for the emergence of sound and lasting peaceful relations between states with different socio-economic systems. However, the forces that gained the upper hand when the present US Administration came to power had never supported detente in the first place. They are now working to undermine the system of interstate relations whose normal work was achieved by no little effort, and, above all, to torpedo the agreements that have been reached in the most diverse spheres of Soviet-American relations. As underlined in the new edition of the Programme of the CPSU, "The citadel of international reaction is US imperialism. The threat of war comes chiefly from it".

The US "crusade" against socialism, and its overtly aggressive hegemonistic policy are incompatible with such generally acknowledged norms and principles of international law as sovereign equality of states and their full equality in international relations irrespective of their socio-political systems, non-interference in their internal affairs, and the banning of the threat or use of force, among others.

When the question concerns the hegemonistic interests of the USA it ignores the UN Charter and major international treaties and agreements without any scruples. Speaking at the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly, Andrei Gromyko underlined that the USA arrogates to itself the right to impunity and a licence to do anything. It had no scruples about declaring legitimate any criminal ways and means if these could serve the desired ends.¹ At the time of detente the USA toyed with the idea of observing international legality; its present policy rejects the major and universally recognised norms and principles of international law. This line is a matter of grave concern for many of the country's realistically-minded political leaders. For instance, former Under Secretary of State Matthew Nimetz, called upon the USA to relinquish its "scornful" attitude to international law. He wrote in *The New York Times*, that "the Reagan Administration has at best ignored and often transgressed basic rules of international conduct".²

The arbitrariness of the present US Administration in the international arena clearly shows the reactionary, antihumane essence of US imperialism, its readiness to perpetrate the most heinous crimes for the achievement of its mercenary aims and designs, to suppress peoples' freedom by military force, to trample on their sovereignty and independence, and refuse to observe agreements previously agreed upon.

¹ *Pravda*, Sept. 28, 1984.

² *The New York Times*, Apr. 19, 1984.

USE OF ARMED FORCE BY THE USA—A CRIMINAL VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The UN Charter, the principal multilateral agreement of our time, prohibits not only armed aggression but also the threat to use force (Article 2, Paragraph 4). According to the UN Charter, armed force can be used only on the decision of the UN Security Council to maintain or restore international peace and security (Article 42), as well as by way of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs (Article 51). The charter of the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg which tried Nazi Germany's major war criminals, claimed that not only the unleashing and waging of a war of aggression but also its planning and preparation were to be referred to the category of international crimes (Article 6). This provision received worldwide acknowledgement, was fixed in the resolutions of the UN General Assembly and supported by international law.

That is why one cannot regard the use of force by the USA as anything but the criminal violation of these provisions of international law. The USA has long been claiming the role of world gendarme who foists its own order by force of arms in the sphere of its "vital interests". The present US President openly claims that "military force ... must remain an available part of America's foreign policy" and that "without it there can be no effective diplomacy and negotiations".³ In effect the use of force has become an inevitable attribute of US foreign policy.

On October 25, 1983 the US invaded Grenada; as the American Professor, Christopher Joyner, writes, "it would be folly to suggest that Grenada's Government, its internal activities or its two-thousand-man army jeopardized the security of the United States."⁴ The UN has justly defined this act of aggression as a flagrant violation of international law, and an encroachment on the independence and sovereignty of this tiny Caribbean state. The resolution of the UN General Assembly which condemned the aggression and demanded the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Grenada's territory was supported by 108 UN member states, among them many NATO allies of the USA.

Prominent American experts in international law, among them Francis Boyle, Abram Chayes, Clyde Ferguson, and Richard Falk qualified US armed aggression against Grenada as a dangerous threat to world peace. In *The American Journal of International Law* they wrote that "U.S. military action in egregious violation of international law sends a strong message to the entire international community that in the opinion of the U.S. Government the traditional rules restricting the use of force no longer apply in settling the myriad of contemporary international disputes. ... the only consequence can be an increasing degree of international violence, chaos and anarchy."⁵

In its confrontation with socialism and the national liberation movements the USA gives wide support to bands of mercenaries and terrorists, openly interferes in the internal affairs of other countries, sends its warships to their shores and blockades their coastal waters. Highly indicative in this respect are the US actions against Nicaragua. Official US departments finance, train and equip gangs of cutthroats who break into Nicaraguan territory, sowing plunder and violence and killing its civilian population. The mercenaries include representatives of US special agencies posing as "instructors".

³ *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, Vol. 20, No. 14, 1984, pp. 490, 497.

⁴ *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 78, No. 1, 1984, p. 133.

⁵ *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 78, January 1984, p. 174.

In April 1984 the government of Nicaragua officially applied to the International Court of Justice in the Hague to take proceedings against the USA due to its aggressive actions against the Nicaraguan people. This appeal enumerated all the US acts against Nicaragua which grossly violated the generally recognised norms and principles of present-day international law. The Nicaraguan government asked the Court to make it incumbent on the USA to immediately stop its aggressive actions and to indemnify for the damages caused by its flagrant violation of international law.⁶ The request of the USA to dismiss the case was voted down by the unanimous decision of the Court. It also decreed by unanimous vote that "the United States of America should immediately cease and refrain from any action restricting, blocking or endangering access to or from Nicaraguan ports, and, in particular, the laying of mines."⁷ By a vote of 14 to one (US Judge Schwebel was the only one to oppose the decision) the Court maintained that "the right to sovereignty and to political independence possessed by the Republic of Nicaragua, like any other State of the region or of the world, should be fully respected and should not in any way be jeopardized by any military and paramilitary activities which are prohibited by the principles of international law."⁸

However, the USA refused to comply with this resolution. It declared that it would disregard in the course of two years the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice which it had formerly recognised, in arguments dealing with Central America. By refusing to abide by the decision of the principal judicial organ of the UN the USA grossly violated Article 94, Paragraph 1, of the UN Charter, which obliges each UN member to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party. The USA keeps up its aggressive actions against Nicaragua, making clear its contempt of the International Court of Justice and scorn for the universally recognised norms and principles of international law.

The USA is also a direct accomplice in Israel's aggression in Lebanon. It supports, finances and provides arms to the antigovernment bands and groupings in Afghanistan, Angola and Kampuchea. It is common knowledge that in his speech at the 40th Jubilee Sessions of the UN General Assembly the US President tried to substitute the discussion on ways of normalising a number of regional conflicts for the decision on the urgent issue of our time--the radical reduction of nuclear weapons and renunciation of the militarisation of outer space. Yet it is precisely Washington's endeavour to foist its will by force of arms upon other countries and peoples that is responsible for these conflicts.

The use of armed force by the USA against peoples' freedom and independence goes hand in hand with its acts of state terrorism, which in their most dangerous form are aimed at undermining and altering the socio-political systems of sovereign states and bringing down their legitimate government. Characteristic in this respect is the campaign of political and economic pressure on Libya, as well as of military threats against it, launched by the USA.

Another dangerous factor inherent in the policy of state terrorism pursued by the USA is that some of the US allies avail themselves of its direct aid and support to perpetrate acts of state terrorism of their own accord, using armed force against sovereign states and peoples. Evidence of this is Israel's act of aggression in October 1985, when its air forces bombed PLO headquarters in the environs of Tunis, the capital of a sovereign state, taking a heavy toll of the country's civilian population.

⁶ UN. Doc. S/16564, May 16, 1984.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

The 39th Session of the UN General Assembly condemned in its Resolution 39/159 on the Inadmissibility of the Policy of State Terrorism and Any Actions by States Aimed at Undermining the Socio-Political System in Other Sovereign States adopted on December 17, 1984 the policy and practice of terrorism in relations between states. The General Assembly demanded that all states take no actions whatsoever aimed at a change or undermining of the socio-political system of states, destabilisation and overthrow of their governments under any pretext whatsoever. As evidenced by subsequent events the USA has no intention of complying with this decision of the UN General Assembly either.

The acts of aggression and state terrorism perpetrated by the USA against sovereign states are qualified by present-day international law as one of the gravest international crimes.

BLATANT REFUSAL TO FULFIL INTERNATIONAL LEGAL COMMITMENTS

The blatant refusal of the USA to comply with the reached agreements and to fulfil its international obligations is another violation of the basic principles and norms of international law.

The containment of the arms race, above all in strategic arms, is an urgent issue of present-day international relations. The talks between the USSR and the USA, which have been protracted and far from easy, resulted in the signing of the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties which have played a tangible role in containing the arms race. These treaties are based on one of the newest principles of international law—the principle of the equality and equal security of both sides, which emerged, developed and was fixed in international relations as the direct consequence of Soviet-American talks on the limitation of strategic arms. The Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America of May 29, 1972 contain the provision of the “recognition of the security interests of the Parties based on the principle of equality” as a major condition of their peaceful relations.⁹ This principle was later fixed in many international legal documents. Called upon to ensure a balance of interests of the two powers in matters of limiting armaments, this principle is of exclusive importance for Soviet-American relations.

As soon as the present US Administration came to power it immediately took the line of achieving military superiority over the USSR, and frustrating the limitations imposed on ABM defence systems and strategic offensive armaments fixed in the Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, SALT-1 and SALT-2. In the course of the Soviet-American talks that led to the signing of SALT-2, agreement was reached that the provisions of this document would be observed in anticipation of its official entry into force. Hence, the fact that SALT-2 has not yet been ratified by the USA does not free it of its commitment to comply with the provisions of the treaty.

The stepping up of the arms race, and firstly nuclear arms, by the USA and its dangerous plans for militarising outer space are aimed at undermining the established military-strategic balance between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty states and NATO, and are therefore incompatible with SALT-1 and SALT-2, the principle of equality and equal security for both sides. The 13 year-long Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, signed for an unspecified period of time, which envisages the mutual limitation of ABMs, is now being

⁹ *Foreign Policy of the USSR, 1972. Collection of Documents*, Politizdat, Moscow, 1973, p. 85 (in Russian).

"interpreted" by the present US Administration as the legalisation of the extension of ABM systems to outer space.

Moreover, in a bid to pave the way for the militarisation of outer space Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger even spoke of his country's possible renunciation of this treaty. And it is not by chance that several Western allies of the USA are breaking with the dangerous schemes for the preparation of "star wars". As stated by the French President, François Mitterrand, at the joint press conference with Mikhail Gorbachev, the transfer of nuclear weapons into outer space would not only break the treaty of 1972 on ABM defence but also signify the beginning of a new round of the arms race.¹⁰ It is commonly known that Article V of this Treaty directly envisages that "each Party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based." The incompatibility of US "star wars" plans with the Treaty on the Limitation of ABMs is acknowledged by Western specialists in international law.¹¹

Ominous plans for using nuclear arms to achieve political aims were discussed and engineered under the Truman, Eisenhower and other administrations. They have not been scrapped by the present US Administration whose nuclear arms race has become a grave threat to world peace.

Present-day international law has not yet put a ban on the production of all weapons, with the exception of their more dangerous and inhuman types, or on the legal right of states to strengthen their defence potential. According to Article 51 of the UN Charter each state possesses the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence and in this respect has every right to strengthen its defence potential. If any state steps up the arms race to an extent exceeding its needs for self-defence, or uses force in international relations, such actions are illegal and incompatible with the UN Charter, which demands that all states "develop friendly relations" with each other, "take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace" (Article 1, Paragraph 2) and seek a solution by "peaceful means" (Article 33).

However, the policy of the present US Administration which is building up conventional and nuclear weapons on an unprecedented scale is incompatible with the development of friendly relations between states and poses a threat to world peace. The USA does not only refuse to pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons but justifies the possibility and "right" to use them, motivating the "legality" of this action by the absence of a specific treaty banning nuclear arms.¹² However, it is common knowledge that the chronicles of international law contain a number of multilateral agreements (the St. Petersburg declaration of 1868, the Hague conventions of 1899 and 1907 on the laws and customs of war, the Geneva Protocol of 1925 for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare), prohibiting the use of weapons that are capable of causing "genuine suffering" and contradicting the "laws of humanity" and the "requirements of social consciousness". There is no doubt that nuclear weapons can be classified among the most inhuman means of warfare which threaten the very existence of human civilisation.

Essentially, the use of nuclear weapons is prohibited by the general contractual norms of international law and in UN decisions. In the Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe of December 9, 1981, the 36th Session of the UN General Assembly solemnly proclaimed that

¹⁰ *Pravda*, Oct. 5, 1985.

¹¹ See article by P. Meredith in *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 72, No. 2, 1984, pp. 418-423.

¹² *International Law*, Vol. 11, Washington, 1982, p. 43.

"states and statesmen that resort first to the use of nuclear weapons will be committing the gravest crime against humanity".

Of late it has become obvious that the USA intends to reject the ban on the testing of nuclear arms, although the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water contains a provision on the endeavours of its signatories to achieve for all time to come the banning of all nuclear weapons tests. Washington still has not ratified the Soviet-American Treaty of 1974 on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes under the pretext of having to revise the system of control over their observance. At the end of 1980 the USA broke off the trilateral talks between the USSR, the USA and Britain which began in 1977 with the object of concluding a treaty on the complete and universal banning of nuclear weapon tests. The USA comes out against the Soviet draft treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests submitted for discussion at the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1982. Neither has it followed the example of the USSR which took a unilateral decision to stop nuclear explosions starting from August 6, 1985.

In the early 1980s it became obvious that the present US Administration was virtually against the complete banning of chemical weapons and destruction of their stockpiles. It comes out against banning the use of herbicides for military aims, and irritants. It is indicative that during the ratification in 1975 of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 on the banning of chemical and bacteriological weapons, the USA introduced illegal reservations to maintain the right to use certain types of chemical weapons. Its stand on this matter is far from accidental, bearing in mind that it is stepping up the production of a new generation of chemical toxins (binar shells) and is nurturing plans to double the general stockpiles of its chemical weapons.

The more reactionary-minded US international law experts known for their proximity to the ruling circles are out to justify the aggressive policy of the present Administration, its refusal to fulfil the reached legal international commitments. Moreover, they claim that international law does not give a clear-cut distinction between war and peace and has no definite criteria of the permissible and impermissible use of force in international relations. For instance, Professor H. Almond defends the "lawful right" to use force even in outer space, justifying in this way Washington's plans for waging "star wars".¹³

However, in spite of all the theoretical "grounds" that are used to justify US aggressive policy, present-day international law and its basic document—the UN Charter—contain clearly worded provisions banning not only the use of force in interstate relations but also the threat of its use.

It is indicative that 150 UN member states voted for the resolution of the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space¹⁴ confirming that "outer space shall be used exclusively for peaceful purposes". Only the USA voted against this resolution.

The policy of counteracting the achievement of bilateral and multilateral agreements aimed at limiting the arms race, reducing tensions, establishing mutually beneficial international cooperation and rejection of the elaborated agreements or their revision to suit the hegemonistic ambi-

¹³ H. Almond, *Toward Shared Interpretation of the Critical Policy Dimensions of Space Law*, Proceedings of 26th Colloquium on the Law of Outer Space, American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, New York, 1984, pp. 271-286.

¹⁴ Resolution of the UN General Assembly 39/59 of Dec. 12, 1984.

tions of the USA, are extended to outer space and to the World Ocean.

It is commonly known that the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea established order in nearly every aspect of the World Ocean. From 1973, in the course of nearly 10 years, representatives of three US Administrations had been taking part in working out the convention. Several provisions of this document were formulated with consideration for the US stand or on US direct initiative. Nevertheless the new US Administration launched a frontal attack against many previously coordinated provisions of the draft Convention, obstructed the work of the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, and attempted to frustrate the adoption of this important international agreement. US representatives to the Conference even began to crack down on those provisions whose drafts they had previously agreed upon. Despite the pressure from the USA the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea was adopted and on December 10, 1982 was signed by 119 states.

The USA still refuses to sign this international document and is sparing no effort to undermine the entire system of legal control over the World Ocean. It recognises only those provisions that are suitable to it and is seeking in effect to split the "package" of agreements binding all the closely-knitted problems of regulating the World Ocean so as to be free of the provisions regulating the extraction of its living and mineral resources and thus enjoy unhindered access to its wealth. The US President has bluntly declared that the regime of the World Ocean floor must be "free of ... political and economic restraints".¹⁵

Disregarding the protests of other signatories to the Convention the USA has concluded separate deals with a number of its allies so as to be able to explore the resources of the ocean floor and engage in their commercial exploitation while arbitrarily evading the Convention.

This is a far from complete list of all the actions taken by the present US Administration to undermine the existing system of international relations and agreements. To this one can add its regular attacks against the activities and decisions of the UN, the US withdrawal from UNESCO, and the refusal to recognise henceforward the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. In its attacks against the UN, and the universally recognised principles and norms of international law, the US Administration is echoed by the US Congress which passed a decision in September 1985 limiting the country's financial contribution to the UN budget unless it introduced the so-called "weighed vote". The aim of this decision, which runs counter to the principle of sovereign equality of states and undermines the UN Charter, is to enable the US and its allies to have the majority of votes, whose number should depend on the size of their financial contribution to the UN budget, and thus enable the US to foist its will on other UN members.

The open refusal of the present US Administration to comply with the reached agreements, its attempts to sabotage and frustrate these documents play havoc in international relations and disrupt the established code of behaviour of states in different spheres of intercourse. The strict observance by all states of the UN Charter and all their international legal commitments is an essential prerequisite for and an indispensable condition of the existence of an orderly system of interstate relations and for ensuring international legality. The principle *pacta sunt servanda* (treaties must be observed) is a universally recognised and indispensable norm of international law. It must be particularly observed in the nuclear age when it has become necessary to promote all possible cooperation (small as it may be) between states, including the USSR and the USA, so as to guarantee the future of human civilisation.

PLAYING UP THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE

The speeches of the US President and other leading representatives of the current US Administration abound in high-sounding words of their dedication to the cause of "freedom", "equality" and "social justice". The campaign "in defence of human rights" is regarded by the USA as a long-term ideological strategy aimed at denigrating socialism and bolstering the myth of "freedom" and "justice" which is alleged to be the cornerstone of the capitalist system.

However, only a single fact like the US refusal to ratify major international agreements on human rights makes naught of US statements that it is allegedly concerned with human rights and freedoms. True, in 1976 the USA took part in the Convention on the Political Rights of Women. It remained purely formal, for the US Senate never adopted the amendment to the Constitution that was to give women equal rights with men. The USA seeks to cover up the systematic and wide-scale violation of major rights and freedoms at home by launching a blatant campaign of lies against the USSR and other socialist countries.

According to one of the instigators and masterminds of US human rights policy, Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, the US Administration "invented" a new "conservative" strategy along these lines. It consists of laying special stress on anti-Soviet slander in assessing the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and using "quiet diplomacy" towards its own allies.¹⁶

When transferred to the international scene, the policy of suppressing the basic rights and freedoms of people in the USA pursued by the country's ruling circles turns into a grave violation of the principles and norms of international law pertaining to the ensuring and defence of man's rights and freedoms. The acts of aggression committed by the USA in many parts of the world do not only violate and gainsay such a fundamental right of man as the right to life, which can be ensured only in conditions of peace and the peaceful coexistence of states, but lead to the denial of the universal principles and norms of international law, the trampling upon and abolition of man's basic rights and freedoms.

Present-day international law qualifies as an international crime not only wars of aggression but also the policy of genocide and apartheid. According to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, persons guilty of these crimes are subject to criminal prosecution regardless of whether they are state leaders or private individuals. The norms and principles fixed in these conventions are universally recognised. Nearly 100 states have ratified the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. However, for nearly 40 years now, since this principal international agreement was adopted by the UN, the USA has refused to ratify it. Only pressure of the world public made it change its position last February. The USA is particularly set against Article 2 of the Convention which defines genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group". As acknowledged by many prominent Western state and public leaders it is precisely under this Article that the USA is guilty of acts of genocide perpetrated repeatedly in its own territory and during the war in Vietnam, etc.¹⁷ The policy of genocide and apartheid conducted by the USA from its inception against the country's native population—American Indians—is particularly brutal.

¹⁶ *U. S. News & World Report*, Sept. 10, 1984, pp. 38-39.

¹⁷ See article by L. LeBlanc in *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 78, No. 2, 1984, pp. 369-385.

With the active participation and support of the USA, Israel has been perpetrating the policy of genocide for many years now against the Arab population of Palestine and the population of territories it has occupied in the Arab states. These criminal actions of Israel's ruling circles, which were actually aimed at massacring the Palestinian people and depriving them of their legitimate right to establish their independent state, prompted the 30th Session of the UN General Assembly in its resolution 3379 on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination adopted on November 10, 1975 to declare Zionism a form of racism and racial discrimination.

The US Administration renders aid and support to the racist regime of South Africa thereby helping to preserve the criminal apartheid regime. The USA makes no secret of its intentions to cooperate with South Africa and is making great headway in this direction. It supplies the Republic of South Africa with arms thereby violating the embargo on delivery of weapons to that country, established by the UN Security Council in 1977. It opposes UN sanctions against the Republic of South Africa. Instead of fighting for the elimination of the murderous apartheid regime the present US Administration has proclaimed a policy of "alternative" development which includes the extending of cooperation and "constructive engagement" with the South African regime to achieve the "liberalisation" of apartheid. Yet Article 3 of the Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid fixes the criminal responsibility of persons who "directly abet, encourage or cooperate in the commission of the crime of apartheid". And it is precisely due to US support and aid that the racist regime was able to escalate repressions in its attempts to perpetuate the shameful apartheid system.

The present US leaders speak to no end of their resolve to achieve and strictly observe order and legality in international relations. However, while assuring everyone of its adherence to law and order the US Administration gives its own interpretation of these terms, engineering "new rules" and "new trends" in its international activities that run counter to the UN Charter and the universally recognised principles and norms of international law. The implementation of US "rules" in international life is fraught with anarchy and lawlessness in interstate relations, and shameless interference in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples. In characterising the US stand ex-congressman, Professor Robert Drinan, of Georgetown University, wrote that in the 40 years of the UN's existence he had never observed a stronger contempt for UN principles than the one existing today, a fact that shows the whole world that there is actually no faith in international law.¹⁸

Clearly, the USA would like to overhaul international law to make it serve its aggressive ambitions. However, life itself shows that the international community is coming out with increasing resolve against such a dangerous course of the USA. At the same time there is a growing awareness that only along the lines of strict and consistent observation of the UN Charter and the universally recognised principles and norms of international law, and with the participation of all peaceloving states, is it possible to settle questions of preserving and strengthening peace, curbing the arms race, and doing away with the existing conflicts and crises, and thereby normalising and developing mutually-beneficial good-neighbourly relations.

¹⁸ *The New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1985.

THE USSR—ZIMBABWE: A NEW STAGE OF RELATIONS

The Republic of Zimbabwe, the 50th sovereign state in Africa, appeared on the world political map on April 18, 1980, when the Union Jack was taken down in the stadium of the country's capital Salisbury, now Harare, and replaced by the flag of the new independent state. The fact symbolised the downfall of one of the last strongholds of colonialism and racism in Africa and was further proof of the inevitable triumph of the people's will and the realisation of their unquenchable striving for freedom and independence.

Of no small importance to the victory of the Zimbabwean people was solidarity of all the progressive forces in the world, first and foremost of the socialist countries. The Zimbabwean leaders see the sources of that victory in the lessons of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the moral, political and material support given to the Zimbabwean champions of freedom by the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union.

After the country gained independence, the USSR backed and continues backing the struggle of the Zimbabwean people against the imperialist diktat and for the triumph of the goals proclaimed by the ruling party—Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). This was graphically confirmed by the results of the official visit made to the USSR on December 2-4, 1985, by the party and government delegation of the Republic of Zimbabwe led by First Secretary and President of the ZANU-PF and Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe.

The visit of the young African state's leader to this country attracted much attention and evoked extensive response in the world press. Most of the commentators saw it as a logical result of the rapprochement between the two countries and a manifestation of growing friendship between the Soviet and the Zimbabwean people.

The focal point of the visit was a talk between Mikhail Gorbachev and Robert Mugabe, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere. The two sides exchanged opinions on the fundamental problems of strengthening further friendly Soviet-Zimbabwean state relations and Party cooperation. They also discussed the most topical international problems and the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting. The Zimbabwean leader was of the opinion that the Geneva meeting could mark the appearance of a new climate of international peace and mutual understanding. He spoke highly of the Soviet efforts to ease international tensions in the interests of universal peace and the security of nations.

During the talks Robert Mugabe described the efforts made by Zimbabwe to translate into life the resolutions of the Second ZANU-PF Congress, which set the task of the progressive development of Zimbabwean society towards socialism. He stressed that the socio-economic transformations would be effected in the country on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. "After almost a century of political oppression, cultural and economic exploitation by imperialism under the banner of the settlers' racist regimes

which replaced one another," Robert Mugabe said, "our people decided that new Zimbabwe should be a socialist society."

It is obvious that it will not be an easy job to implement the resolutions of the Second ZANU-PF Congress, though by the time the country gained independence its economy was one of the most developed and diversified on the African continent. At the same time its colonial nature was responsible for the glaringly unbalanced development and the contrasts between, on the one side, large enterprises in the mining and manufacturing industries and highly productive plantations and farms belonging in the main to foreign capital, and, on the other, the semi-natural economy with a low level of labour productivity characteristic of the traditional African economic sector. Progressive socio-economic transformations are also impeded by the so-called Lancaster Constitution, which had been imposed upon Zimbabwe and in accordance with which one-fifth of the parliamentary seats are held by the representatives of the country's white minority that for the most part maintain pro-capitalist ideas and struggle to retain their privileges.

For this reason the Zimbabwean leaders deem it a task of prime importance for the state to seize the control over commanding posts in the country's economy by gradually expanding and strengthening the state sector. "The Zimbabwean people," Robert Mugabe pointed out, "are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that they should be not only the masters of their policy but also the masters of their economy because political power is ineffectual without economic power."

It was emphasised during the Moscow talks that in coping with that task the Zimbabwean leaders count on the socialist countries' assistance in particular the Soviet Union. It was stated that favourable conditions existed for the further activation of relations between the two countries and with this aim in view an agreement was signed on economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Zimbabwe.

Much attention was accorded during the talks and negotiations to exchanges of opinion on the international situation. The leaders of both countries confirmed that the Soviet Union and Zimbabwe held identical or similar positions on the main international problems of our day. They stressed the importance of strengthening interaction among all the progressive and peace-loving forces in promoting peace and international security and guaranteeing the rights of the peoples to independence and social progress. The positions of the two sides on the majority of regional problems also fully coincided.

The Republic of Zimbabwe is a front-line state. It is therefore only natural that special attention was paid during the talks to the situation in southern Africa and to the analysis of the causes of unending tensions in that part of the world. The two sides voiced their conviction that the main cause of continuing violence in the region was the domestic and foreign policy pursued by the racist regime of South Africa.

By force of historical and geographical factors, relations between Zimbabwe and South Africa are of a specific character. The young Republic inherited from its colonial past strong economic dependence on its southern neighbour and in particular the problem of transportation links with the outside world. Despite this fact, already in August 1980 Zimbabwe broke off diplomatic relations with Pretoria, declaring its opposition of principle to apartheid. For its part, the racist regime views the successes scored by the Republic of the black majority of Zimbabwe as a dangerous precedent and attempts, never letting-up, to destabilise that country.

While the visit was still in progress alarming reports started coming in from the southern border of Zimbabwe on the concentration of South African troops in that region and the violations of its airspace. The leaders of the racist regime threaten to openly invade Zimbabwe under the

pretext of "persecuting terrorists". Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe stressed repeatedly that, should they be attacked by South African troops, the Zimbabwean people would in unity rise to the defence of their homeland. At the same time the country's leaders realised full well that the socio-economic transformations planned by them could only be effected in conditions of peace and security. For this reason they attached great importance to raising the country's defence potential and the further strengthening of the cohesion and unity of the front-line states in their joint struggle against the forces of imperialism and racism.

The Eighth Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, which is to be held in the Zimbabwean capital in 1986, is to draw the attention of the entire world to the situation in southern Africa. The Soviet side observed that the very fact that Harare was chosen to be the venue of that forum attested to the high prestige of the Republic of Zimbabwe and of its leader on the international scene and wished them success in holding the conference.

Both sides expressed profound satisfaction with the results of the visit made by the Party and government delegation of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the USSR and regarded them as an important contribution to strengthening friendship and mutual understanding between the Soviet and the Zimbabwean people. An important result of the visit was the signing of a protocol on cooperation between the CPSU and ZANU-PF, proceeding from the principles of internationalist solidarity and the common adherence to the ideals of social progress.

A report published in the Soviet press on December 13, 1985, said that the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee discussed and approved the results of the talks between the Soviet leaders and Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. The Political Bureau meeting stressed the readiness of the Soviet Union to expand cooperation with that country in all fields with the aim of strengthening peace and putting an end to the vestiges of colonialism and racism in Africa.

Robert Mugabe called his first official visit to the USSR "a mission of friendship". The entire course of the visit and the atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding in which the talks and meetings between the leaders of the two countries were held confirmed the justness of his opinion.

A. PATIN

PERÉZ DE CUÉLLAR: THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IS A PARAMOUNT TASK

What developments in world affairs in the year 1985 do you consider the most important?

The year 1985 was marked both by terrible tragedy and a renewal of hope. There were no break-throughs in the serious political and economic problems with which the world is burdened. However, the constructive discussions between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan in Geneva have produced a more favourable environment and give hope that much needed progress can be achieved in 1986 on issues that affect the well-being and security of the world community. Moreover, the wide support for the United Nations, evidenced by the participation of so many world leaders in the events marking the 40th anniversary of the Organization, should enhance the prospects of moving forward on programmes of long-standing concern.

The natural catastrophes such as those in Mexico, Colombia, and in Africa gave witness of the continuing fragility of human existence. The spread of terrorism challenged the capacity of governments and peoples to deal both with the cruel effects of this phenomenon and its causes. Yet, there was reason for encouragement in the degree of international cooperation which has been forthcoming in providing assistance where needed. In Africa, millions of people were saved from death through international efforts mobilised and coordinated to a significant degree by the United Nations.

The year 1985 had a special place, too, as a year of assessment, of looking back over the 40 years since the end of the Second World War and the founding of the United Nations and of analysing the experience of these years in terms of future needs. Certainly, the most important conclusion to be drawn is that the maintenance of peace remains the paramount task of the community of nations. The persistence in 1985 of conflict, dissension, and an arms race of inconceivable proportions has shown that this task demands the concerted efforts of all.

What should be done this year to strengthen universal peace and eliminate the threat of nuclear war?

The possession of nuclear weapons carries with it a heavy responsibility to all humanity. I believe the hope is universally shared that General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan, as the leaders of the two most powerful nuclear states, when they meet again in 1986, will agree on concrete steps to reduce the threat of nuclear war which they have, with great wisdom, agreed must never be fought.

Peréz de Cuéllar is the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

THE DOCTRINE OF GLOBAL INTERFERENCE AND TERRORISM

All new doctrines have to be tested—this is the usual line put into practice by American imperialism since the end of the 19th century. As Anthony Lewis, a columnist for *The New York Times*, noted, “the new globalism... is the most important conceptual movement in American foreign policy in years”.¹ It boils down to the fact that the United States should interfere in the internal affairs of any country in the developing world where a spectre of “Marxist influence” arises. He stressed that “the doctrine can be seen in its purest form in the current effort to involve the United States” in hostilities in Angola.

The “new globalism” doctrine translated from theoretical parlance into the language of state policy spells nothing but interference and aggression. What is more, the USA is not only arrogating the right to interfere in existing internal conflicts, thereby provoking new bloody clashes and depriving peoples of the right to follow the path they have chosen, but also resorts to using its armed force. This primarily applies to the socialist-oriented developing countries.

There are disagreements in Congress and the Administration over the bills the US has to foot to totally destabilise the situation in Angola. Some say it will come to \$27 to \$30 million,² while others insist that this figure should be boosted almost tenfold. After heated debates it was decided that about \$30 million be allocated, so far, and that money be given to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), a splinter antigovernment organisation, led by Jonas Savimbi.

It is indicative that the US Secretary of State did not agree that this sum would be included into a “humanitarian aid” item or go under the item of “military aid”. It was decided to include the sum into the “intelligence expenses” item. In other words this money will fall into the hands of the CIA—a long-standing UNITA proponent.

Let us recall that in 1975 the Senate approved the Clark Amendment prohibiting the CIA from spending money on the Angolan terrorists’ struggle against the lawful government of the country, which had shaken off the yoke of Portuguese colonialism. However, ten years after this sober-minded decision had been made the US Congress once again embarked on the war path against Angola having repealed the Clark Amendment, thereby casting aside all legislative impediments to the CIA activities against the Luanda government.

It is a well-known fact that in the past decade UNITA received considerable military, material and political backing from the apartheid regime in South Africa. This fact not only compromised the separatists in the eyes of African peoples but provoked contempt and hatred for them. That is why Washington entertains the hope that having replaced South Africa as the chief benefactor of UNITA, it will become possible to create a halo of “freedom fighters” round the terrorists, repeating a circus

¹ *International Herald Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1985, p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1985, p. 1.

trick of the like tested with the Afghan dushmans, Nicaraguan contras and Kampuchean Pol Pot men.

The importunate use of the "freedom fighters" term vividly testifies to its demagogic essence, for as Anthony Lewis noted, this doctrine is geared to involve the USA into local conflicts in the Third World zone and, in fact, to group and amass the forces of the counter-revolutionaries to use them against the countries and peoples who have attained genuine freedom.

American imperialism does its utmost to camouflage its aggressive plans, but even the new doctrines are failing to help it attain the targets it has set. It is no secret that control over the bloody actions of hired terrorists "from Nicaragua to Afghanistan" is executed by the CIA which in its turn has the blessing of the US National Security Council. This is state-sponsored terrorism in action.

US propaganda is now trying to pass it off as "counter-terrorism". Urging that a war be declared on terrorism, David Broder, a political observer for *The Washington Post* stated candidly: "Instead of concealing American cooperation and participation in counter-terrorist strikes, we should publicise them."³ In other words, the doctrine of "new globalism" does not merely imply a stake on terror but even advertises it as a tool of blackmail and coercion.

Congressman Jack Kemp, a Republican from the State of New York, is one of those who are particularly vociferous in calling for an "American intervention in Angola". He said the following: "With financial aid from the United States, UNITA need not rely on South Africa. Our obligation-[is] to help people fighting for freedom..." As he noted, the USA's ultimate aim should be to replace communist regimes such as in Angola and Mozambique by "genuine democracies".

Besides Kemp—a hawk in the Republican Party who intends to run for Presidency in 1988—there are other people demanding that practical preparations for an aggression against Angola be started, among them Congressman Mark Siljander, a Republican from Michigan, a member of the Subcommittee on African Affairs of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, a proponent of the bill providing for open military aid to UNITA, Senator Malcolm Wallop, a Republican from Wyoming; Senator Robert Kasten, a Republican from Wisconsin.

In a broader context, the "new globalism" doctrine serves the more bellicose circles in the Administration and Congress as a smoke-screen for the far-reaching plans of "global destabilisation" by non-nuclear means. Under the guise of the struggle with "radical regimes" which allegedly pose a threat to the West, Washington is obviously banking on increasing the number of countries against which it intends to apply the "new globalism" doctrine. As was stated by the US Secretary of State, "covert action has been part of the arsenal of states since time immemorial, providing a means of influence short of outright confrontation. We should be prudent, realistic and always cognizant of the political dimension of the problem. Nevertheless, the factor of power is inescapable."

However, one can recall numerous occasions when the stake made by neocolonialists in attempting to strangle people's power backfired. There is no doubt that the same fate lurks in the wings for the architects of the new militaristic doctrine. Equally futile are covert operations in Angola where the free people, who gets, at the request of its government, internationalist assistance from the socialist and developing countries, is confidently building a new life. The Second MPLA-PT Congress, held in Luanda last December, underscored Angola's resolve to consolidate

³ *International Herald Tribune*, Dec. 28-29, 1985, p. 4.

the bonds of friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries.

The Chairman of the MPLA-PT, Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos, supplied a clear-cut answer to the "new globalism" doctrine saying that the "warlike circles of the United States of America persist in encouraging racist South Africa to continue an aggressive and destabilising policy against neighbouring countries". Simultaneously he stressed that Angola would never again be "colonized or subjugated to any form of domination".

Meanwhile, heated debates are going on in the United States regarding the new doctrine's goals and methods. As a matter of fact, two major foreign policy journals—*Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy*—came out against that doctrine pointing to the fact that the ultra-Right circles which advanced it are actually opposing the postulates of American conservatism. Indeed, in the 1950s and later on many ideologists usually relegated to the trend of "moderate conservatism" supported the idea of a so-called neo-isolationism implicitly opposing the unprovoked US military interference in the affairs of other countries.

However, this is not the whole story. In *Foreign Affairs* George Kennan, an authoritative US international affairs historian, and a former US Ambassador to the USSR, questioned the very idea of "new globalism". He said that America has to limit its military commitments abroad. And he is not alone. Summing up the views espoused in *Foreign Policy* by Christopher Layne, an expert on international affairs, Anthony Lewis wrote in *The New York Times* the following: "Now we are in the age of neo-conservatives, who want America to intervene everywhere.... Old-fashioned ideas—the tradition of respect for established governments, the ingrained American dislike of covert methods, the obligation of presidents to respect the will of Congress—should not be allowed to get in the way of a crusade."⁴

The criticism levied at the "new globalism" doctrine inside the United States indicates that the sober-minded Americans are not so eager to get involved in aggressive "crusades", which would not only violate international law but also the US Constitution and would run counter to the aspirations of most Americans to live in peace with other peoples.

International Herald Tribune, Dec. 17, 1985, p. 8.

V. PETRUSENKO

THE GROWING INSTABILITY OF THE MONETARY AND FINANCIAL SYSTEM OF CAPITALISM

In the first half of the 1980s monetary and financial contradictions in the capitalist world grew more acute. This time the changes in the correlation of economic and political forces have led to a massive influx of capital into the USA and a rapid increase in the foreign exchange rate of the dollar, which affected the overall monetary and financial system of the capitalist world. The capitalist and developing countries faced new economic upheavals and in some cases political destabilisation. The leading capitalist states have been trying to take the edge off these antagonisms by pursuing a more coordinated course when dealing with key economic, monetary and financial problems. However, success in establishing this very necessary international cooperation is undermined by acute antagonisms existing between individual countries and groups of countries.

The current decade has witnessed profound changes in the monetary and financial situation in the capitalist world. The scale of the international transfer of capital has grown. There have been sharp fluctuations in the currency exchange rates due to the mass influx of capital into the USA.

The policy of the American Administration toward building up the country's military potential and encouraging private investment in order to speed up the structural reconstruction of the economy has engendered a situation whereby domestic savings no longer suffice to cover the expenditure by the state, corporations and individuals.

The situation in which a country spends considerably more than its resources permit could not have lasted as long had its economy been isolated from foreign markets. However, the existence of the world market and the high level of development of international crediting make it possible, even if for a restricted time-stretch, to attract the necessary resources from outside.

Over the recent period, dollar investments have been yielding fairly high profits, which can be explained, above all, by higher interest rates in the American finance market. In 1979-1980, the real rates of interest in the USA reached about 10 per cent as against 2 to 3 per cent in the 1960s and 1.5 per cent in the 1970s. In 1984, the real interest rates in the USA exceeded those of Canada by one, of Japan and Britain—by three, and of the FRG—by four percentage points.¹

The considerably large budget deficit of the USA is one of the chief factors helping to maintain a high rate of interest. In the 1984 fiscal year, the deficit reached \$185,300 million; and in 1985 it exceeded \$220,000 million.² To finance it and make payments on standing debts the state is forced to borrow ever more heavily, which augments the demand for credit and makes it more expensive (according to various esti-

¹ *Chemical Bank, Weekly Economic Package*, July 24, 1984, p. 10.

² *Continental Bank, A Weekly Commentary on Business and Financial Topics*, March 29, 1985.

mates, by over one-third). Before the end of the current decade, loans of this kind will average about \$230,000 million annually, i. e. six times the figure for the 1970s.³

As a result, the influx of capital into the USA is steadily increasing. While in 1982 the country received around \$10,000 million, the figure for 1984 was nearly \$100,000 million. At present, the United States is utilising about 15 per cent of the savings of other capitalist countries, as well as of developing nations. Both military preparations and industrial development are financed to a large extent from outside resources. Were it not so, the USA would have been unable to produce both "guns and butter".

Greater demand for American currency as a result of the influx of capital has caused the exchange rate of the dollar to skyrocket. In the first half of 1985, the exchange rate of the American dollar was over-inflated by 40 to 50 per cent as compared to the leading West European currencies, and by 25 per cent as compared to the Japanese yen.⁴

In the long run, the dollar's growing exchange rate weakens America's export ability to compete and at the same time speeds up the growth of import. This factor has considerably contributed to the rapid increase of the USA's trade balance deficit (from \$69,400 million in 1983 to \$123,300 million in 1984); according to preliminary estimates, in 1985 the deficit reached \$150,000 million.

Until recently, the trade balance deficit was covered by the revenue from other items of the balance of current operations⁵ and, above all, by the income yielded by foreign investment and credit. For instance, these assets reached \$33,000 million in 1981, exceeding the trade deficit by \$5,000 million. Later, they became incomparable with the rapidly growing trade deficit. As a result in 1983, the deficit of the balance of current operations in the USA amounted to \$41,600 million, and in 1984 rose to \$101,600 million (see the Table).

Balance of Current Operations of the Leading Capitalist Countries
(1,000 mln dollars)

	1982	1983	1984	1985*	1986*
USA	- 7.4	-41.6	-101.6	-119.75	-145.25
Japan	-17.6	-20.8	-1.35	-39.25	+48
FRG	-3.3	-4.1	-6.2	-12.25	+18.5
France	-11.5	-4.4	-0.1	-0.5	+2.75
Great Britain	-19.6	-3.9	-0.1	-1.25	-1.75
All OECD member states	-26.1	-25	-65.4	-72	-74

* Estimates.

Source: *Ajeji*, June 31, 1985.

The economic and financial position of the USA and the policy of the American Administration in this sphere have powerfully affected the economic development and foreign economic positions of the majority of capitalist countries, not excluding the more developed ones. The outflow

³ *U. S. News & World Report*, Oct. 22, 1984, p. 75.

⁴ *Financial Times*, March 15, 1985.

⁵ The balance of payments of current operations includes (aside from commodity trade) payments on and revenues from social insurance, freight and tourism, income from foreign investments, credits, etc.

of financial resources to the United States has reduced the relative surplus of loan capital on the domestic markets of these states, and at the same time served to keep its "price" high. In its turn, this slowed down the investment activities of companies and retarded the economic development of other capitalist countries.

Unlike the USA, Japan has recently manifested a trend for the accumulation of capital to markedly surpass the opportunities for its investment within the country. Against the background of relatively low (for Japan) economic development rates (4 to 5 per cent) the investment activities of the country's corporations are rather feeble. Neither is consumer demand sufficient for realising the available resources. However, the savings of individuals and corporations in Japan are at present in the vicinity of 17 to 19 per cent of the income as against 5 to 7 per cent in the USA.⁶ These factors contribute to the steady outflow, starting with 1981, of capital from Japan, predominantly to the USA. In 1984 its dimensions reached about \$50,000 million as compared to \$19,000 million in 1983.⁷ In the same year considerable means were also channelled to the USA from Switzerland (\$16,000 million), the FRG (\$9,000 million) and Great Britain (\$2,000 million).

The outflow of capital has a depreciating effect on the currency exchange rates of the USA's principal partners, which serves to lower the prices of their commodities. Stemming from this, a rapid increase in Japanese and West European export has been observed ever since 1983, going mostly to the US market. In 1984, the growing demand of the American market accounted for 70 per cent of the increase in Japanese exports.⁸

For many capitalist countries, the growth of exports conditioned by the dollar's growing exchange rate, as well as more vigorous business activity in the USA observed since 1983, has over recent years become one of the principal driving forces of economic development, given the absence in these countries of substantial internal growth factors, and this has increased their dependence on their overseas partner even more.

The changed direction and volume of the flow of goods, determined to a large extent by monetary and financial factors, has produced a marked improvement in the trade balances and the balance of payments on current operations (see Table) in the majority of the capitalist countries at the expense of the USA. For instance, the revenue received by Japan from its trade with the USA has risen from \$18,200 million in 1983 to \$36,800 million in 1984. The estimate for 1985 is \$50,000 million.⁹ In 1983, after a break of 11 years, the exports of the Common Market countries to the USA surpassed the imports. In 1984, the trade balance in favour of the Common Market amounted to \$11,000 million and is still growing.

The growing imbalance of the international flow of goods and finances contributes to a further destabilisation of the capitalist economic mechanism and causes the old antagonisms to grow worse and new ones to emerge.

The US trade deficit has recently begun to acquire a long-term, structural character, which enhances the protectionist tendencies within the USA. This is shown, specifically, by the President's speech delivered on September 23, 1985 on questions of trade policy, in which he directly threatened the USA's principal partners to introduce import restrictions and stated that measures are about to be taken to finance American exports. Fiercer protectionism and the erection of trade barriers

⁶ *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 13, 1985, p. 65.

⁷ *OECD Economic Outlook*, June 1985, p. 61.

⁸ *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 13, 1985, p. 58.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

reflect the determination of the USA to find a way out of the prevailing situation by throwing its partners to the wolves.

It is also noteworthy that with the influx of capital the United States has been gradually losing the status of the chief creditor of the capitalist world. While in 1983 American assets abroad exceeded foreign investment in the USA by \$106,000 million, by the end of 1984 the figure was only \$6,000 million. The United States is now finding itself in the position of an international debtor for the first time since 1917. According to preliminary estimates, by late 1985 the USA's debt exceeded \$100,000 million and may reach \$250,000 million in 1986.¹⁰

In the meantime, the role of principal creditor country is ever more played by Japan, whose investments abroad topped the inflow of means by \$74,000 million at the end of 1984.¹¹

Fortune, an authoritative American magazine, wrote that, given the continuance of the present trends, by 1990 the USA's trade balance deficit may reach \$200,000 million, and the total foreign debt—\$1,000,000 million. In that case, taking into account servicing earlier loans, the balance of current operations deficit may reach \$300,000 million.¹²

Thus, fresh antagonisms are rapidly accumulating in the monetary and financial system of capitalism which threaten to shake the system of the world capitalist economy.

Matters are made still worse by the deteriorating monetary and economic situation in the developing countries, whose debt to the West, in conformity with the IBRD data, neared \$1,000,000 million as of early 1985. A so-called liability crisis has arisen which began when Mexico stopped making payments on loans in August 1982.

The capitalist countries led by the USA reacted to the situation which had evolved by taking a whole set of international state-monopoly measures. The mechanism of the "salvation" of the debtor-countries is roughly as follows: the debtor-country is obliged to sign an agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which provides for implementing a programme of "austerity" economy, mostly at the expense of the working population. The agreement serves as a necessary condition for private banks to resume crediting to the country and for revision of old debts.

The truly harsh measures by the governments of quite a number of developing countries, adopted under pressure from the capitalist states, to improve their foreign economic position in order to continue paying off standing debts have sharply exacerbated not only the economic but also the socio-political situation in these countries. Many are objecting to the "austerity" measures imposed on them. Doubt has arisen as to the very necessity of making payments on loans, especially against the backdrop of economic stagnation. As Alan García, the Peruvian President, stated, "The fact is that Latin America cannot pay, and at the same time cannot terminate its economic development."¹³

Latin American countries were the first to become aware of the necessity of drastically changing their approach to the prevailing monetary and financial situation. This was stressed at the conferences of the region's principal debtors held in 1984 in Mar del Plata (Argentina) and Cartagena (Colombia). It is noteworthy that the issue of financial liabilities was discussed in a political context, an approach which is invariably meeting with opposition from the USA, which insists on continuing talks between private banks and individual debtor-countries with the partici-

¹⁰ *Financial Times*, Feb. 7, 1985.

¹¹ *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 13, 1985, p. 53.

¹² *Fortune*, Aug. 5, 1985.

¹³ *Wall Street Journal*, May 14, 1985.

pation of the IMF. And even when the question is posed in this way, the USA rejects the need to develop more general criteria compulsory for all participants in the talks. Such a policy is aimed at approaching each debtor-country individually with the objective of splitting the developing countries, which would facilitate the introduction of the model of economic development best suited to promoting imperialist interests. The US strategy is to force the banks to give to the "obedient" debtor-countries preferential terms of paying off their debts.

Essentially, all measures of this kind introduced to solve the monetary problems of capitalism are aimed at merely touching up the mechanism of relations between the capitalist and the developing countries without affecting the foundations of these relations. They cannot do more than temporarily relieve the growing pressure on the monetary and financial system of capitalism.

Recent events have shown quite clearly that the monetary and financial sphere increasingly becomes one of the chief sources of trouble in the capitalist economy. There is a glaring need for greater state intervention in the activities of monetary markets and more effective international regulation of monetary and financial relations.

Not long before the conference of the seven leading capitalist countries in Williamsburg (May 1983), French President Mitterrand spoke out in favour of establishing a "new international monetary system" and convening, for this purpose, a conference patterned after the one held in 1944 in Bretton Woods. The economic declaration of the Williamsburg conference voiced the need to examine the possibilities of holding such a conference. The Conference entrusted experts from the leading Western states with preparing recommendations on the matter.

At present, the stress in the plans for restructuring the monetary system of capitalism is placed on three issues. Above all is the need to introduce order into the system of currency exchange rates whose incessant chaotic fluctuations impede international economic exchanges, and enhance the disproportions in the world capitalist economy. Further is the necessity to raise the role of state and interstate bodies in the financing of the developing countries. And, finally, there is the need for greater interstate coordination of the monetary and economic policy and, with this end in view, the establishment of necessary institutional foundations, specifically, changing the role of the IMF to some extent.

Attaining more real and stable relations between currencies requires that countries coordinate, on a multilateral level, their approach to issues of not only strictly monetary but overall economic policy as well.

Pursuing its selfish ends, the United States regards "cooperation" in the field of coordinating the monetary and economic policy as an instrument of pressure on its principal partners which would make them follow the course pursued by the Federal Reserve System of the USA and the American Administration. And this despite the fact that the US Federal Budget deficit and high interest rates on the American market are the chief cause of monetary upheavals. For this reason, the various projects and arguments of the USA's partners are shattered against the unwillingness of the American Administration to take any serious steps to straighten out the international monetary and financial situation, and the desire of the United States to shift the responsibility to other states for at least partially normalising it.

Still, both military-political and economic considerations make it impossible for the USA to completely ignore the viewpoints of its partners. It is forced to manoeuvre and compromise. Recently, the USA has display-

ed readiness to discuss the issues involved in a reform of the monetary system, but it is obviously reluctant to assume any *tangible commitments*.

Such was the stand of the United States at the extraordinary conference of ministers of finance and managers of central banks of France, the FRG, Japan, Great Britain and the USA held on September 22, 1985 in New York. The conference was convened against the background of further aggravation of monetary and economic contradictions caused by the threat of greater foreign trade imbalance between the leading capitalist countries and by the consolidation of protectionist tendencies. Threatening to introduce import restrictions, the USA forced its partners, above all the FRG and Japan, to agree to promote economic development using predominantly budget, as well as money and credit levers. As far as the USA is concerned, it did not go beyond promising to continue with the programme of reducing the budget deficit, i. e. in fact evaded assuming any additional commitments.

An important place in the plans for a reform of the monetary system of capitalism belongs to revising the role of the IMF. In the 1970s, when the monetary mechanism elaborated at the Bretton Woods Conference completely disintegrated, the impact of the IMF on the functioning of the monetary system of capitalism and the policies of individual states was notably weakened. This can be explained, first and foremost, by the cancellation of the main object of the Fund's activities—the system of fixed currency exchange rates. The significance of its crediting operations dropped simultaneously.

However, early in the current decade, when the need for a more effective international regulation of monetary relations had already become pronounced, the IMF regained some of its importance. It became a coordinator of sorts, a motivating force for necessary changes both in the policies of individual states and in the activities of the private sector. The leading capitalist countries have stepped up their efforts to use this objective process toward their own ends. Ideally, they see the IMF as an organisation giving recommendations on issues of economic policy which are mandatory for its members, while questions pertaining to international financing are to increasingly become the prerogative of the private sector.

However, under the prevailing conditions the possibly greater role of the IMF in exercising control over the economic policies of its principal members is viewed by the majority of the capitalist countries as an attempt on the part of the USA to use this international organisation to exert additional influence on its competitors outside the monetary sphere. That is why, the USA's partners' attitude to such projects remains guarded and evokes a host of reservations. Thus, due to the constant controversy between the leading capitalist countries, the ambitious plans to set up an efficient supra-national coordinating mechanism within the IMF framework are no more than pious wishes.

The monetary and financial disturbances in the capitalist world are a consequence of profound economic processes under way in the sphere of capitalist production and reflect the worsening general crisis of capitalism. Against the backdrop of general instability, serious disruptions are bound to emerge in the functioning of the monetary and finance mechanism of the capitalist world. Attempts made by the capitalist states to solve monetary, financial and economic problems by making partners the scapegoat serve only to increase instability in the monetary sphere. Concerted or unilateral actions taken by the leading capitalist states in an attempt to introduce order into the monetary mechanism and blunt the edge of the contradictions have hitherto had only a temporary effect as they are powerless to eradicate the inherent flaws of the capitalist system.

S. GORBUNOV

THE "BRAIN DRAIN" FROM NEWLY-FREE STATES

Scientific and technological advances, a sign of our age, which has turned science into a directly productive force in society, have increased the importance of highly skilled specialists capable of contributing to their states' economic and social headway. Emigration of skilled personnel, or the "brain drain", predominantly from developing countries to the West, cripples nations intellectually and undermines their scientific and technological potential, thus slowing down not only the development of productive forces of Asian, African and Latin American countries but also their socio-economic, socio-political and cultural advance. Letting skilled specialists emigrate, the young states get nothing in return; in terms of their national wealth—it is pure loss.

Starting from the second half of the 1960s, emigration of skilled personnel from the developing world has been on the rise. According to UNCTAD data, more than 300,000 specialists have emigrated from newly free countries to the USA, Britain and Canada over the past 15 years. It has been calculated that in the past eight years alone the United States has saved \$5,000 million by "importing" 150,000 doctors, engineers, technicians and scientists instead of training them at home.

The economic basis of this process is the technological dependence of young states on foreign capital, and above all on the transnationals. The latter encourage the "brain drain" and as a result, withdraw the most productive economic units from under control by the governments of developing countries, thus hampering a restructuring of the economy on an up-to-date technological foundation and, consequently, the process of sensible personnel placement. Then the TNCs act as organisers of an "internal brain drain", recruiting highly skilled specialists for work at their enterprises. Lastly, as a study conducted in India and Kenya has shown, overseas branches operating in the developing states, in fact, do not conduct independent research. In some more advanced countries (Brazil and Mexico) the TNCs set up small research laboratories whose function is to adapt the output to local market conditions. In individual cases, the branches established by the TNCs in these countries are engaged in researching narrow fields and work on assignments from parent companies, thus presenting no interest in terms of either transferring the technology to or conducting research for recipient countries.

International Herald Tribune wrote in this connection that big business tycoons have agents "hunting for brains" all over the world. Among highly skilled personnel there is not a single category that has not been affected by the "brain drain". Naturally, the share of emigres is higher in some professions than in others. This can be explained by the greater demand for an individual profession, the chances of getting a job abroad and favourable immigration "quotas".

The specialists who emigrate are mostly medics (general practitioners, dentists, nurses), teachers, scientific workers and engineers. According to UNCTAD data, in the total number of skilled specialists emigrating from developing countries to the USA, Canada and Britain, medics make up 60 per cent, and scientific workers—40 per cent. Emigres mostly head for the Western states where living standards are high or for the developing countries with a high gross national product, specifically, for the oil-producing states of the Persian Gulf area.

The principal source of highly skilled specialists coming in from the developing countries (about 50 per cent of the total number) is Asia, especially India and the Philippines. "Emigration of Indian doctors, engineers and other specialists leaving the country in search of more advantageous terms," wrote *National Herald* of India, "greatly hampered the economic and technological progress of India." At present, the country sorely needs skilled doctors: in rural areas, where about 80 per cent of the population lives, there is only one physician for every 10,000 people. In the meantime, 15,000 Indian medics are working abroad. There is also a shortage of scientists and skilled specialists in the leading branches of science and technology, while about 8,000 Indian mathematicians, physicists, research chemists and biologists have left the country for the USA, the FRG, Britain and other Western states.

The causes of the "brain drain" lying in the features of internal socio-economic and scientific and technological development of Asian, African and Latin American countries are only one facet of this phenomenon. Being important for understanding the core of the problem, the processes under way in the developing countries still fail to provide a direct answer to the questions immediately pertaining to the "import of brains": which international forces are interested in its continuation, how is it organised, and how does it work?

To throw light on this second set of causes behind the "brain drain" would mean to reveal the active sides taking part in this international process, and define the role of the West in it. The "import of brains" cannot be viewed independently of the economic and scientific and technological policies of imperialist states towards the developing countries. It is a link in the chain of their efforts aimed at consolidating the West's dominant position in the world system of the capitalist economy, efforts that allow them to continue exploiting other countries. The "brain drain" is a serious manifestation of the scientific and technological monopoly of the imperialist powers in the world capitalist system.

A significant feature of imperialist policies is that they are directed at maintaining the inequality of the countries' scientific and technological development levels and consolidating the inferior position of the developing countries in the international capitalist division of labour. Building up their scientific and technological potential, to which the "import of brains" contributes not inconsiderably, imperialist states at the same time seek to restrict scientific and technological progress in newly free countries. Imperialism is trying to replace the historically moribund division of the world into a few industrialised countries and the majority of backward agrarian ones with a new, equally unjust, division based on inequality of scientific and technological development levels.

The real state of affairs in the distribution of scientific and technological resources within the capitalist system and the use of science and technology for the purpose of imperialist expansion give every reason to assert that the development of imperialism has led to the emergence of a new kind of monopoly—a scientific and technological one, which is marked by the imperialist powers' usurpation of the achievements of scientific and technological progress and of the opportunities for their realisation. The more developed capitalist countries conduct 95 per cent of R&D, and expenditure for this purpose amounts to two per cent of gross national product, or \$147 in per capita terms. The corresponding indicators for Asian, African and Latin American countries are 0.38 per cent and \$2.75 respectively.

John Bernal, a progressive English scientist, called neocolonialism "scientific imperialism". The latter boils down to the fact that, using their monopoly position in the capitalist world, the USA, Britain, West Germany and other imperialist states continue to enrich themselves at the

expense of other, less developed countries. As John Bernal wrote, the United States, even when rendering aid to scientific programmes abroad was still getting more than it was giving away.

The profoundly self-seeking interests lying at the roots of the "import of brains" are so obvious that even the official representatives of imperialist states charged with organising this campaign do not attempt to conceal them. Dean Rusk, former US Secretary of State, said: "Immigration of specialists, if completely organised, may become one of the principal resources of our nation."

As regards this, it should be noted that the United States stops at nothing to gain access to the most advanced technology. This implies not only legal purchases of licences and science-intensive commodities or not so legal industrial espionage. Replying to questions put by *Time* magazine, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the USA is practising its own specific methods, "the 'brain drain', for example, and not only from Western Europe, but from the developing countries as well. Or take the activities of transnational corporations which through their subsidiaries are laying their hands on scientific and technological achievements of other countries. Now they are trying to use the so-called 'star wars' research programme for the same purpose."

The benefits reaped by the imperialist countries from this process have many aspects. Above all, there is the contribution which the immigrants are making to the development of productive forces and the growth of the national income of the recipient countries, and to the consolidation of their scientific and technological monopoly. According to President John Kennedy, an indisputable authority, the contribution of immigrants to American science and culture exceeds that to all other spheres of the life of society, including economics and politics.

Another profit of sorts received by the imperialist states from the "brain drain" is its peculiar regulating function. "Importing" the required categories of workers, these countries have got hold of an efficient means of filling in the gaps in the capitalist economy and eliminating the disproportions and bottlenecks on the internal labour market.

The third advantage yielded by the "brain drain" is economy of the money that would have gone into the training of specialists at home. Despite difference of opinions when estimating the exact sum, the authors researching this question all agree that it is a goodly one.

The list of advantages gained by the imperialist states from the "brain drain" would be incomplete if another significant aspect of it is overlooked. It is also a tool of imperialism's expansionist policy. Luring more specialists away from developing countries than they are themselves sending out, imperialist powers, in fact, compensate for their losses sustained under the programme of scientific and technological aid, and gain an opportunity to increase the spending needed to carry on imperialist penetration into Asian, African and Latin American states.

The developing countries are taking steps to solve the problems posed by the emigration of skilled specialists. They are concentrating on developing such national educational systems which ensure the training of specialists in the professions most needed in the economy. An effort is being made to prevent specialists and other trained personnel from leaving by raising their salaries, and a system is being introduced of planned training of personnel on the basis of the existing and expected demand in all categories and at all levels.

At present, a matter of primary importance is for the states to conduct an educational policy that would coordinate the number of graduates with opportunities for their employment. A number of UNCTAD sessions have stated that the developing countries should take steps to adapt their systems of professional training to the needs of their development. An

integrated approach within the framework of national development policies which would embrace all categories of human resources must become the principal target of national education and training programmes. A UNESCO report on the subject pointed out that the long-standing traditional exchange of scientists and specialists has developed noticeable anomalies manifested through violations of the basic norms and principles of international scientific and technological cooperation and the principles of equality and reciprocity. The "brain drain" from Asian, African and Latin American states is defined as "an abnormal form of scientific exchanges between countries marked by a one-way migration current to the advantage of the more developed countries".

The world community has recently begun to emphasise the different forms of cooperation between developing countries as a major factor that can check the outflow of skilled personnel. The very first Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries advanced proposals pertaining to economic and technological cooperation between developing countries. Later, these ideas were elaborated and voiced at various conferences and meetings. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries in New Delhi again urged to enhance cooperation and scientific and technological exchanges among developing countries, and give priority employment rights to scientists and technicians from non-aligned and developing countries in the institutions of these countries.

For instance, it may be impossible to ensure the effective specialisation which is essential for economic and social progress within the framework of one country. This can be done only through a regional plan of specialised education. Greater standardisation of higher education on a regional or subregional basis would facilitate professional training of students and the exchange of teachers and workers. The programme of action for economic cooperation adopted in 1983 by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries provides for a whole system of measures in the field of education and vocational training.

Cooperation between developing countries with a view to changing educational structures and the training of personnel may be furthered by the elaboration of curricula programmes. One of the functions of technical cooperation in the field would be adapting education programmes to local needs and tasks accompanied by more lively exchanges with foreign countries, especially with their scientific community.

The choice of technology is an important factor affecting the character and size of the work force and by virtue of this, the scale of the "brain drain". As a rule, big international monopolies do not supply the most up-to-date technology. According to information released by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 70 per cent of the technology imported by Latin American countries from developed capitalist states is dated. And yet the annual sum paid by the developing countries in the early 1980s for acquiring or using technology amounted to almost \$35,000 million, i. e., over one-third of the total increase in the developing countries' external debt a year.

However, even though the question of choosing technology for the developing countries is of major importance, "the decisive role in the future progress will most probably be played by passing on knowledge rather than transferring technology", said UNESCO Director-General Amadou M'Bow. The choice of technology itself can be independent only to the extent to which potential opportunities exist for conducting research and accumulating knowledge.

Research and development is a potential field of cooperation among developing countries which could substantially reduce the "brain drain".

In this context, considerable importance is attached to OPEC's decision to establish an institute of higher education for the purpose of rendering assistance to newly free states in their socio-economic development by supplying them with technologies which would be financed by this organisation.

Reports issued by the UN and its specialised agencies note that regional cooperation could strengthen scientific research centres and that UN bodies and regional economic commissions must play the decisive role in this matter. Defining the principles of technological cooperation among newly free countries, the UN General Assembly suggested that special attention should be paid to enlisting experts, consultants and contractors from developing countries. Fuller employment of technical experts and consultants from newly free countries in the implementation of development programmes can help reduce the "brain drain". Those developing countries which have surplus skilled personnel could set up a system allowing surplus specialists to be put at the disposal of other developing countries that stand in need of them.

The efforts undertaken now at the international and regional levels to solve the "brain drain" problem are, of course, of great importance, but the main way to stop the outflow of skilled personnel from developing countries and put them to use there in order to promote these states' progress is to introduce drastic socio-economic changes, remove the obstacles hindering the advance of the young states, establish a state sector in the economy, industrialise the country, carry out a progressive agrarian reform, cooperate agriculture, plan socio-economic development, more effectively influence the private sector subordinating it to national interests, and restrict the activities of foreign capital, above all the TNCs. These measures must go hand in hand with a decisive improvement in the people's living standard, introduction of progressive forms of health care, education and social security, extensive housing construction and expansion of cultural and service facilities. Such a socio-economic policy will help the developing countries to put an end to "brain drain", this vestige of colonial times.

V. DRACH

Soviet Foreign Policy Documents

**For Peace and Security of Nations. Foreign Policy Documents of the USSR.
1968 (in two books), Politizdat, 1985.
Book 1—333 pp. Book 2—429 pp. (in Russian).**

The commission on the publication of diplomatic documents under the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs put out another collection of Soviet foreign policy documents, including communiques on negotiations, texts of treaties and agreements, TASS statements and other papers relating to the Soviet Union's multi-faceted activities on the international scene in the tense and complex year 1968 when NATO, the United States in the first place, shifted the arms race into a higher gear, when US imperialism continued its "dirty war" in Vietnam and there was no end in sight to Israeli aggression in the Middle East, and when international reactionary forces launched an attack on the Czechoslovak working people's socialist gains.

Soviet foreign policy in 1968 was highlighted by the USSR's efforts to promote friendship, consolidate cooperation and expand mutual assistance among socialist countries. The Soviet Union's efforts are corroborated, among other things, by the documents of the Sofia meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) on March 6 and 7, the meeting of the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties and governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia in Dresden on March 23, and the Bratislava meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia on August 3.

The documents appearing in this collection emphasise that the WTO countries are guided by the policy of peace and friendship and the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in their deter-

mination to safeguard the peaceful gains of the socialist community's nations against imperialist attacks.

The Statement of the Bratislava meeting underscores the extraordinary role played by the Warsaw Treaty in maintaining peace and international security. "Today", the Statement reads, "when the imperialist forces in the USA, the FRG and other countries are engaged in aggressive activity and are making persistent attempts to weaken the socialist community, the representatives of the fraternal parties deem it necessary to accentuate the outstanding role of the Warsaw Treaty. Signed by the socialist countries in response to the revenge-seeking West Germany's joining the NATO aggressive imperialist bloc, the Warsaw Treaty remains a powerful factor of peace and security of the European nations. It puts up an insurmountable barrier in the path of all those who want to revise the results of the Second World War. It reliably protects the achievements of socialism, and the sovereignty and independence of the fraternal states. It is intended to promote European security and maintain world peace" (Book 2, pp.144-145).

In August 1968, the Soviet Union demonstrated its loyalty to its internationalist socialist commitments by helping, hand in hand with the peoples of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR and Poland, the Czechoslovak people to ward off the encroachments of internal reactionaries and international imperialism against their socialist country.

With the US aggressive "dirty war" going on in Vietnam, the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community strove in every way to help the fraternal Vietnamese people in their just fight for

freedom, independence and unity of their nation. In their Declaration of March 7, 1968, on the threat to peace posed by the escalation of US aggression in Vietnam, where half a million US troops were concentrated, the Warsaw Treaty member countries issued a strong warning to the US government about the responsibility "it was taking upon itself in the eyes of the entire world by continuing and expanding its aggressive war in Vietnam" (Book 1, p. 157).

The signatories to the Declaration confirmed their unshakable determination to continue to assist the fraternal socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with whatever it needed, including defence weapons. On its part, the Soviet government was making every effort to extinguish the flames of war in Vietnam. When on November 1, 1968, the representatives of the DRV and the USA agreed at their talks in Paris that the USA would suspend the use of force against the DRV, the Soviet government's Statement of November 3 qualified the agreement "as a major breakthrough towards a peaceful settlement in Vietnam" (Book 2, pp. 245-246). "The Soviet government believes," the Statement said, "that more favourable conditions have today been created for an end to be put to the bloodshed in the south of Vietnam, for a complete withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam, and for a political settlement of the Vietnam problem as a whole" (*Ibid.*, p. 246).

The documents contained in the collection under review provide sufficient evidence to show that the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries regarded security and cooperation in Europe as matters of great importance.

The Warsaw Treaty countries had on numerous occasions turned the international community's attention to the negative and dangerous developments in the FRG, where the hurried pace of militarisation, the propaganda of chauvinistic and nationalistic ideology, and the growth of neo-Nazism carried a threat for both the West Germans and for their neighbours alike. A TASS Statement of November 23, 1968, said in this connection that the full-scale hostile propaganda campaign launched by the NATO countries against the socialist countries, and the continued upsurge of militarism did nothing to promote peace and stability in either Europe or other areas of the world. The Soviet leadership voiced the hope that rea-

lism would eventually prevail in the member states of the North Atlantic bloc.

The importance the Soviet Union's government attached to European security and co-operation is corroborated by the documents contained in the collection and portraying the Soviet Union's relations with France, Great Britain, Austria, Italy, Finland, Sweden and other capitalist countries.

In 1968, the smouldering hotbed of war in the Middle East, an area close to the Soviet borders, remained among the Soviet people's major concerns. The documents and materials featured in the collection reviewed here bring out with striking clarity the Soviet diplomats' consistency and resolve in their efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement in the Middle East and to offset the consequence of Israeli aggression. The Soviet Union sided with the victims of aggression and lent its support to the Arab peoples' legitimate demands for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories they had occupied.

As the danger of a nuclear conflict was growing, the prevention of nuclear arms proliferation was becoming a top priority in the Soviet Union's foreign policy. The USSR deserves much of the credit for its role in the preparation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which was signed by more than 80 states in 1968 (Book 2, p. 333). The Treaty is rightly considered a major victory for Soviet diplomacy and for all those campaigning for an end to the arms race.

The message sent by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers on August 15, 1968, to the UN conference on the exploration and the use of outer space for peaceful purposes then in session in Vienna, Austria, is highly relevant in our day when the USA is seeking to use outer space for its aggressive ends. This message to the international forum of representatives of many countries conveyed a proposal that an international communications system using artificial earth satellites be set up on democratic principles, including full equality of all members.

"In exploring and exploiting outer space," the message runs, "we must not allow it to become an arms race arena. Outer space must be a zone of peace and international cooperation. In our view, a solid foundation for equitable international cooperation in this field has been laid by the Treaty on the Principles Governing the Activities of States

in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies of January 27, 1967, which has been signed by the majority of the world's states" (Book 2, pp. 153-154).

This message and many more documents included in the collection testify to the Soviet Union's consistent peaceful policy in approaching the prevention of the arms race in outer space.

In 1968, the Soviet Union continued to devote much attention to developing trade with both socialist and capitalist countries. As is evidenced from the documents contained in the collection, the Soviet Union spoke out on many occasions at the UN against the policies of exclusive economic groupings formed by developed capitalist states as a major barrier to wider equitable and mutually beneficial economic cooperation among individual countries and world trade in general. Accordingly, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries submitted pro-

posals on specific measures to expand trade and economic contacts on a mutually beneficial basis.

The documents and materials of the collection attest to the CPSU's and the Soviet government's vigorous efforts to maintain peace and security of the world's nations. On December 31, 1968, the Soviet Union had diplomatic relations with 104 states. Soviet peace initiatives were acclaimed by increasingly greater numbers of people across the world. The USSR remained in 1968, just as previously, a strong barrier in the path of imperialism bent on unleashing a nuclear war.

Collections of Soviet foreign policy documents, published in the series "For Peace and Security of Nations", are intended for a broad Soviet and foreign readership showing an interest in the international relations after the Second World War.

I. KRASNOV

A Key Aspect of Nuclear Problems in the Present-Day World

V. G. Trukhanovsky, *The British Nuclear Weapons. History and Politics*,
Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, Moscow, 1985, 229 pp. (in Russian).

The British nuclear forces—the second largest in the capitalist world, after the USA—are assigned a prominent role in the military and political strategy of imperialism in general and of the aggressive NATO bloc in particular. The research undertaken by Vladimir Trukhanovsky, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, into the history of the British nuclear forces, the content and specific forms of the British nuclear strategy, and the effect the possession by Britain of the nuclear weapons has on Britain's foreign policy, is highly relevant, therefore, especially in the light of the Soviet Union's latest proposals on an exchange of views with Britain and France on problems of medium-range missile weapons in Europe.

The author shows that as it was making its first steps in the 1940s to develop the

nuclear bomb Britain regarded it not only as a weapon capable of accelerating victory over Nazi Germany but primarily, as a clout it could wield to reinforce its international positions, and revive its empire and influence in the postwar world. Although the war effort compelled Britain to team up with the USA on the atomic bomb project, the then British rulers were convinced that possession of the bomb in the postwar world would give ultimate control to a country that owned the secret of its production (p. 19).

At the same time, Britain's rulers considered thermonuclear weapons right from the start of the nuclear buildup as an important means of attacking socialism and preventing its influence spreading around the world. Recalling Winston Churchill's words, who said during the war years that "Soviet Russia had become a mortal danger to the free (i.e. bourgeois) world," the author

emphasises: "Since that time, Britain's foreign policy and nuclear weapons plans have been moulded by this conception of Anglo-Soviet relations" (p. 18).

The author graphically demonstrates that the anti-Sovietism engrained in the British rulers' minds prevented them, and continues to do so today, from realistically assessing Britain's ability to influence international relations or to assess the potential of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, or the sources of the latter's impact on the world scene. Whereas four decades ago they rejoiced at the prospect of acquiring the nuclear weapons, ruling out a possibility of the Soviet Union being able to manufacture them within at least the next 15 years, they were deeply shocked in 1949, when the Soviet Union developed its own bomb (p. 72). There were many more shocks in store for them, because all plans made in the USA, Britain and NATO as a whole to attain military superiority over the USSR and other socialist countries members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, and all their attempts to talk to the socialist countries from positions of strength were overturned. The author sees a close parallel between Winston Churchill's aphorism that Britain arms itself to talk and the words the world has been hearing from the US President in the 1980s. History repeats itself, he concludes, and imperialist politicians are its worst pupils (p. 73).

Despite their vast experience and practicalism, British leaders were lacking a realisation of the fact that their hopes of speaking on equal terms with the USA, given their own nuclear forces, and soliciting US help in winning back their imperial grandeur were vain. In his 1946 speech in Fulton, USA, Winston Churchill looked forward to a pooling of British and US efforts and means that would open up a bright future for Britain and the United States in a whole century ahead (p. 42), while Clement Attlee dreamt of a time when Britain would greatly reinforce its positions by establishing very close relations over the atomic problem with the United States. In practice, however, Britain found itself cut off from US nuclear plans in that same year 1946 (following the adoption in the USA of the MacMahon Act banning cooperation with other countries in the nuclear field). This development left Britain with no choice but work on its own nuclear bomb and even adopt its strategy of "an independent nuclear deterrent".

The logic of anti-Soviet militarist course and cooperation with the USA in the cold war context, however, were irrevocably forcing the British ruling circles to put their interests behind those of their overseas partner. The declaration of the principle of interdependence and cooperation between the USA and Britain in the nuclear field in 1958 (after the Soviet Union launched its first artificial earth satellite) turned out to be a step towards Britain's greater dependence on the USA. The most conspicuous evidence of this was the British government's consent to allow the USA to build nuclear bases on British soil, under complete jurisdiction of the US government; the building of British nuclear submarines armed with US missiles; the support Britain gave to the NATO decision on the nuclear "rearmament" of the bloc (the deployment of US medium-range missiles in Western Europe), and some other steps the British government took to hitch the country's policies more tightly to Washington's imperial strategy that poses a threat to world peace, not the least Britain's consent to participate in the "strategic defense initiative", which Washington is foisting on its NATO partners.

However, the book lacks detailed analysis of the US attitude to the British nuclear weapons in our day and about the role to which it is consigned by the current US Administration which is openly steering a course towards higher international tensions and confrontation with socialist countries.

Particularly praiseworthy is the fact that by drawing extensively on historical and contemporary materials, including his personal conversations with some British politicians, the author exposes the demagogical tactics and political subterfuges Britain's rulers are resorting to to conceal their true intentions and to cloak them with a mantle of legality before Parliament and the country's population have a chance to criticise them. "All Foreign Office documents", the author writes, "irritate the researcher with their endless diplomatic clichés designed to deceive nations and history" (p. 66). He cites numerous examples of British rulers' formal declarations being contradicted by their actions, a practice they continue to this day.

The realities are such that, as is shown in the monograph, all nations, including the British people, are gradually learning to recognise the true purport of the policies pursued by their rulers who rely on strength

and nuclear intimidation behind a screen of rhetoric and intricate diplomatic and political manoeuvring. The best evidence of this is the steadily growing antiwar movement which has swept the cross-section of the British public and has, in effect, caused a split in the country. The book presents in considerable detail the history and current

state of the antinuclear movement in Britain. Vladimir Trukhanovsky's latest monograph, providing a blend of scholarly argumentation and political analysis, is a useful addition to the campaign against the imperialist threat of nuclear war and for a more healthy international climate.

L. VIDYASOVA

European Economic Cooperation As a Factor of Detente

East-West Trade and Finance in the World Economy. A New Look for the 1980s, Ed. by Ch. Saunders, London, MacMillan Press, 1985, 338 pp.

This book covers the work of the Eighth Workshop on East-West European Economic Interaction held by scientists from Western Europe and the socialist countries since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. Its participants meet regularly to discuss issues of international trade, technological exchange, monetary and financial relations, the energy crisis, the problems of the developing countries, West European integration, and other topical issues of international affairs.

The recent Eighth Workshop, which was held in Moscow, was jointly organised by the Vienna Institute for Comparative Economic Studies, the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. Its proceedings were marked by the striving of participants, well-known Western economists and scientists from the socialist countries, to reactivate and strengthen detente, and to ensure the earliest possible removal of the artificial barriers erected by Western reaction to the promotion of large-scale international economic cooperation.

The main idea of the book lies in the fact that European economic cooperation is an objective necessity and has good prospects of development. According to the authors, the expansion of mutually-beneficial cooperation between West and East European countries is a powerful factor in overcoming the present dangerous confrontation and

strengthening mutual trust and understanding among nations.

Giving a realistic assessment of the present dangerous international situation, the authors come to the conclusion that it "offers only limited opportunities for betterment and expansion" (p. 20). Here, Daniel Bond and Lawrence Klein note that the crisis which has gripped the economies of capitalist states is only partially to blame for the present difficulties in the sphere of East-West economic cooperation. Other Western scientists also mark the dominating influence of politics on the state of economic relations between West and East European countries (p. 80). One cannot but agree with this opinion, especially bearing in mind the repeated attempts by international reaction to disrupt detente and freeze European economic cooperation.

In his report, Academician Oleg Bogomolov extends the range of issues to be considered, while studying the present state and future prospects of this cooperation. Stressing the need for a fundamental political-economic approach, he points out that "the world economy represents a contradictory, although integrated system" (p. 43). From the estimates given in the book one can see that already 20-22 per cent of world production goes for international exchange, while by the year 2000 this figure will grow to 33 per cent (p. 44).

The process of the internationalisation of the world economy (or the growth of mutual

dependence, as Western economists call it) is the primary condition of progress. Socialist diplomats stand for broad and comprehensive international cooperation, as Soviet experts point out, "the socialist countries are not interested in world economic chaos" (p. 54). Interdependence makes the development of international cooperation a vital necessity. In the 1970s the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and the transition to detente promoted the process of world economic internationalisation.

The role of the socialist and developing countries, as well as that of Western Europe and Japan, in the modern world economy and exchange is constantly growing, while that of the US economy is decreasing. Washington's most vigorous political counteractions cannot obstruct this objective tendency of world development. Neither is it possible to hamper the development of European economic cooperation based on the fairly solid and mutually supplementary foundation of European economies in both the West and the East.

Despite all the attempts by the enemies of detente to slow down the process of European cooperation, to curtail (if not completely break) the ties between East and West, the West European states and their business circles, in a effort to defend their interests, increasingly ignore Washington's embargoes, sanctions and other arbitrary restrictions. Deliberately erected barriers, still numerous today, are being broken down one after another by life itself with its natural ties and contacts.

The prejudices of West European political and business circles remain another obstacle to normalising trade and economic relations

between European states with different social systems. Despite the fact that the Western participants in the Workshop strove to overcome these obstacles and get rid of biased, thoughtless assessments, the latter are nevertheless present in certain parts of the book. For instance, the book states that the socialist countries alone are interested in the development of trade and an exchange of modern technology. Apart from this, the authors of the book exaggerate some socialist countries' economic difficulties, unjustifiably stressing the problem of their foreign debt, which has shrunk considerably and can in no way be compared to the debt of developing countries, and even of some Western capitalist countries, which is a heavy burden on their economies.

The prospects of East-West economic cooperation are determined primarily by its mutually beneficial nature. Peaceful coexistence is not only struggle and competition, but also, to a growing extent, cooperation and interaction, which constitute the necessary conditions for success in solving the global problems facing the whole of mankind, above all the problems of peace, an end to the arms race, an early and effective steps in the field of disarmament, and speeding up economic development.

The further expansion of mutual business exchanges on the basis of equality and mutual benefit is not only of great economic importance, but would help considerably to improve the European and world political climate. In this context the Workshop on the problems of East-West economic relations, which was held in the spirit of loyalty to the Helsinki accords, is no doubt a positive contribution to this cause.

Professor B. KLYUCHNIKOV

Outlines of Finland's Foreign Policy

Yu. Komissarov, *The Paasikivi—Kekkonen Line: Past, Present and Future*, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, Moscow, 1985, 175 pp. (in Russian).

The book reviewed here is, in effect, a first attempt of looking from all angles at the evolution of Finland's foreign policy between 1944 and 1984, and examining the principles and specifics of the policy which has

gone into the history of present-day diplomacy under the name of the Paasikivi—Kekkonen line. The book is essentially based on original sources—publications and speeches of Finland's leaders, including its pre-

sidents, vested under the country's Constitution with supreme responsibility for its foreign policy.

Understandably, enough, the narration is centred mostly on the presidency of Urho Kekkonen, whose 25-year tenure is associated with the making of Finland's new foreign policy in the decades following the Second World War. The new policy, the author recalls, was not an easy-going one, however. Leaning on the country's progressive and democratic forces, Finland's leaders succeeded, through firm and consistent effort, in establishing a nation-wide consensus on the principal points of the new line, now acclaimed internationally. The Finns experienced something of an aboutface in their attitudes to the Soviet Union.

Unlike some other countries, for example, Austria, Finland does not have a law laying down the general directions or specifying the main elements of its foreign policy. Instead, the country's basic foreign policy principles are recorded in its international treaties, the pride of place among which is held by the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. Although the Finnish-Soviet Treaty covers the two countries' bilateral relations, it means much more than that for Finland; indeed, Finland's leaders have repeatedly pointed out, it lies at the basis of the country's foreign policy in general.

The author focuses on the role assigned to the promotion of goodneighbourly relations, mutual trust and multifaceted cooperation between the two countries in Finland's foreign policy.

Such an approach to the relations with its Eastern neighbour has always met with understanding and support in the Soviet Union. The two countries' efforts, Komissarov writes, have raised their bilateral relations to a level that is justly regarded as an embodiment of the principle of peaceful coexistence of states belonging to different social systems. Stability of Soviet-Finnish relations, based on mutual trust, is pivotal to the long-term interests of both the Soviet Union and Finland and is a major factor contributing to peace in Northern Europe and on the European continent as a whole.

The Soviet Union and Finland are engaged in constructive cooperation on a large scale in many fields, international politics included. For several decades, the leading socialist power and a relatively small capi-

talist state have worked together for each other's benefit on an equitable basis, Finland surrendering none of its sovereignty to its giant neighbour. The joint documents signed over the years emphasise the full conformity of the bilateral cooperation with the two sides' national interests, their security in the first place.

There is still some hias in the West towards Soviet-Finnish relations. Some people visiting Finland do not hesitate to "sympathise" with the Finns over the circumstances allegedly "compelling" them to maintain goodneighbourly relations with the Soviet Union. The Western news media are apt to speculate on the "disadvantages" of the Soviet-Finnish economic cooperation for Finland and to deplore the non-existent "self-censorship" in the Finnish press.

Playing up the concern ordinary people (Finns included) feel over the destinies of the world, reactionary propaganda has in recent time been suggesting that the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance is a dangerous liability for Finland to have in an atmosphere of growing international tensions, one that could embroil that country automatically in a conflict between the great powers. With Kekkonen's departure from the political scene, the author writes, some people in the West, and in Finland itself, have been increasingly putting forth spurious arguments in favour of a reassessment of values allegedly necessary at this new stage (p. 75). They are calling for "a free foreign policy debate", for a change of accents in Finland's foreign policy and for looking for new friends "elsewhere on the globe" (that is, across the ocean).

On its part, Finland's government is rejecting these "recommendations". President Mauno Koivisto has set the record straight by stating, on many an occasion, that he intends to continue the line laid down by his predecessors and will not allow anyone to wreck the heritage they have left him (pp. 75, 166). Foreign Minister Paavo Väyrynen, too, has repeatedly spoken out against tampering with Finland's traditional foreign policy. It will be recalled that at their meeting in Moscow last September Mikhail Gorbachev and Mauno Koivisto reaffirmed their intention to continue to develop Soviet-Finnish cooperation on long-term factors of principle and on the invariable policy of trust and friendship in any international situation.

Examining Finland's activities in the

world—in the UN, in the preparations for the Helsinki Conference, and its relations with the other northern countries, the author emphasises that the Paasikivi—Kekkonen line stands not for isolationism but for active involvement in international affairs, broad-scale cooperation with all peace-loving states, unequivocal steps to promote detente and disarmament, and support for the just demands of the developing countries. Finland's constructive approach to international affairs has made its foreign policy a tangible factor of peace and cooperation particularly in Europe.

The basic principles and priorities of this line are being planned for the long run. Most of Finland's politicians and the general public believe that the country's security should not be built on temporary considerations. Soon after being elected President, Mauno Koivisto proposed that the 1948 Treaty be extended, ahead of time, for another 20 years. That was a graphic confirmation of the steadfast policy of friendship and coo-

peration between the two countries, the international situation notwithstanding.

This policy is viable, the author concludes, because it is steeped in historical experience that realistically takes into account the country's national interests and the realities of our day. It has enabled Finland to find its own place in the world, and work out its own approach to relations with its neighbours, the Soviet Union, the Western states and with developing countries (p. 162). It has earned Finland and its capital, Helsinki, which is today a busy centre of European politics, a well-deserved prestige around the world.

Regrettably, the narration is centred on an analysis of statements, communiques, speeches and other foreign policy documents, while the overall picture of Finland's political life, and the prominent figures of the recent past are not given proper attention. Despite this oversight and some minor factual errors, we have a thoroughly explored book by a qualified author.

V. SLAVIN

THE STEPS OF FIVE-YEAR PLANS ★ MILITARISTIC EXERCITATIONS OF
THE PENTAGON AND NATO ★ THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION: THINK TANK
OF THE US ADMINISTRATION ★ FRANCE: ON THE EVE OF PARLIAMEN-
TARY ELECTIONS

The Steps of Five-Year Plans

In the past five years, the Soviet Union has made headway in all directions of social and economic development. The country's economic potential has grown considerably. As compared to 1980, the national income has increased 17 per cent (here and further on, tentative figures for 1985 are cited). The output of industry, the leading branch of the economy, has risen by 20 per cent. The industries determining the rates of scientific and technological progress — electric power engineering and chemical and petro-chemical industries — developed faster than the rest. The USSR energy programme stresses the need for accelerated development of nuclear power engineering, which accounts for one-tenth of the country's total electric power generation. The Soviet Union, which has long been the world's number one oil-producing country, has now attained this frontier in the production of natural gas.

Further steps have been taken to intensify production, to provide for more rational use of material resources, enhance the quality of the output, and more extensively apply scientific discoveries and inventions. Ninety per cent of the increase in the national income has been secured through higher labour productivity.

The Food Programme of the USSR has been steadily carried out. One-third of all capital investments went to consolidate the material and technical base of collective and state-run farms, and the agro-industrial complex as a whole. The average annual gross agricultural output has risen by 6 per cent. Over the past five years, production of meat has grown by 10 per cent, and eggs by 18 per cent, and production of ve-

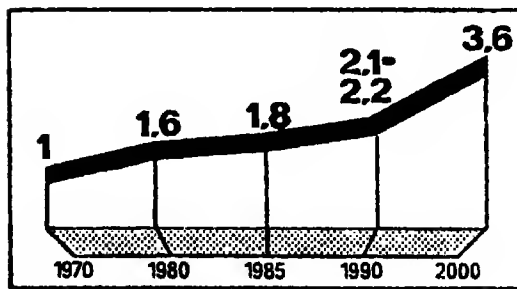
getables and fruit has also risen substantially.

The advance of production and its higher efficiency has allowed the people's material and cultural standards to be risen. Per capita real incomes have gone up by 11 per cent. As a result of major centralised measures, over 20 million people have received a pay-raise. Payments and benefits out of the social consumption fund have grown by 25 per cent to reach, in 1985, about 530 rubles in per capita terms. The old-age pensions system has been improved. A qualitative and quantitative step forward has been made in supplying the population with goods and services. Retail trade turnover has grown by 16 per cent and the volume of communal services available, by one-third.

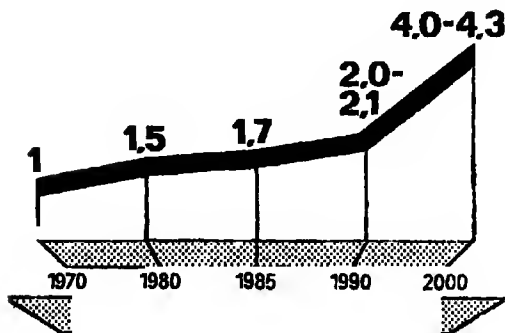
Housing construction continued to grow steadily. In the past five-year plan period, over 550,000,000 sq. metres of floor space has been commissioned, which has allowed over 50 million people to improve their living conditions. The system of public health, leisure and rest facilities and public education have made strong headway; general secondary and vocational school reform has been launched.

Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the CMEA member states has expanded substantially. Socialist economic integration has been developing, and measures provided for by the decisions of the Economic Summit Conference of the CMEA Member States were steadily implemented. At the present stage of socialist economic integration, the fraternal countries are laying special emphasis on greater specialisation and cooperation of production, and the establishment of direct links between amalga-

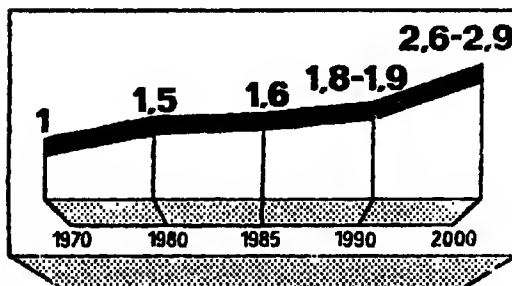
**The Growth of the National Income Used
for Consumption and Accumulation
1970-1**
(1985, preliminary assessment)



**Productivity of Social Labour
1970-1**
(1985, preliminary assessment)



**The Growth of the Real Per Capita Income
1970-1**
(1985, preliminary assessment)



tions, enterprises and organisations. A characteristic feature of such links is direct fusion of scientific and production activities of enterprises and organisations for the purpose of implementing production programmes and raising technical and economic standards, as well as joint development of new machinery, equipment and technologies. At present, direct contacts are maintained by over 4,000 enterprises in CMEA countries, and by many scientific research centres and establishments.

To a large extent, the changes for the

better under way in Soviet society are attributable to the work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Soviet people extended their approval to the new edition of the CPSU Programme, changes in its Rules, and Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000 discussed at the 27th CPSU Congress, documents which had earlier been submitted for a nationwide referendum. In fact, what was discussed in a businesslike, lively and constructive way was how the Soviet people are going to live and work in the next five and fifteen years. For whatever branch of the economy our citizen may be working in, he naturally wishes to see farther ahead.

The chief goal of the Party's economic policy is to steadily raise the material and cultural standards of the people's life. To attain it, it is urgently necessary that a new impetus to social and economic development be given, a switch be made to intensify production methods and that production be made more efficient through introduction of scientific and technological achievements. Within the three five-year plan periods, the Soviet people are to build a production potential equalling that which has hitherto been created. The part of the national income used for consumption and accumulation will have to nearly double by the year 2000, and the productivity of social labour to increase 2.3 to 2.5 times over. What will the outcome of this be? Suffice it to say that a mere one per-cent rise in labour productivity means an over 5,000,000,000-ruble increase in the national income, i. e. about 8,000,000,000 rubles worth of industrial output.

A far-reaching social programme has been elaborated; the real per capita incomes will grow 1.6 to 1.8 times over, and social consumption funds will double.

In the country's accelerated social and economic advance to be secured in the next fifteen years the place of principal importance belongs to the Twelfth Five-Year Plan. Its main target is to increase growth rates and enhance the efficiency of the national economy through more rapid scientific and technological progress, technical re-equipment and reconstruction of production, intensive use of the existing production potential, improvement of the management system and the economic mechanism, and a substantial build-up of the people's well-being on this basis.

A point which has significance of principle: under the current five-year plan higher growth rates have to be attained against the background of a restricted build up of fuel and energy, material and human resources. The whole increase in the national income will have to be secured through higher productivity of social labour. Consumption of materials will drop by 4 to 5 per cent, of energy by 7 to 9 per cent, and of metal by 13 to 15 per cent.

The Twelfth Five-Year Plan provides for a complex of measures aimed at promoting science and technology. It envisages a large-scale introduction of up-to-date technologies and an almost double increase in the standard of automation. Scientific and technological progress is to secure at least two-thirds of the increase in the productivity of social labour, and to make the machinery and equipment better and more reliable. The share of top-quality industrial output is to double.

It is planned to secure priority development of manufacturing industries. A matter of prime importance is a drastic reconstruction and priority development of machine-building, above all, machine-tool building, computers, instrument-building and electro-technical and electronic industries. This will make it possible to renovate a large part of the production base and replace low-efficiency machinery and equipment with highly productive up-to-date ones, thus providing a foundation for maintaining high rates of economic growth in the longer term. Replacing over one-third of the active part of basic production assets is planned.

Capital investments will go, first and foremost, into reconstruction and technical re-equipment of already functioning enterprises; in construction for production purposes, the share of capital investments used in this way will grow to reach 50 per cent.

To build new up-to-date equipment and machinery and be able to implement the resource-saving trend, it is necessary that the structure and quality of structural materials be improved, above all, metals. It is planned to raise the production of oxygen and converter and electric steel 1.3 to 1.4 times over, to at least double the continuous casting of steel, and to more than double the production of metal powder. In the current five-year plan, production of synthetic resin, plastics, chemical fibre and filament, mineral fertilizers and chemical

means of plant protection will also grow.

Whether we shall be able to secure higher rates of economic growth will depend to a large extent on the advance of the fuel and energy complex and a planned and steady implementation of the energy-saving policy in all spheres and branches of the economy.

In this major link of the national economy the decisive role belongs to scientific and technological progress especially its most promising directions. Among the measures to be introduced are the building of more fast breeder reactors and creating manoeuvrable energy capacities; raising the efficiency of oil extraction by using rational methods of exploitation of oil fields and improving the technology of mining; in the gas industry, extensive introduction of automated utilized plant; priority development of progressive open-cast coal mining.

The Party course towards enhancing the peoples' well-being is probably most apparent in the planned development of the agro-industrial complex. Relying on intensive growth factors, application of the most recent scientific achievements and of up-to-date technologies and practical methods, and efficient use of the existing production potential, it is planned, by 1990, to raise the production of grain to 250 to 255 million tons, of meat to 21 mln, milk to 106 to 110 mln tons, and eggs to 80 to 82 billion.

In order to more fully meet the growing demand of the population in the different foodstuffs and consumer goods, a number of organisational and economic measures will be introduced which will promote the development of the food, meat, milk, fishing and microbiological industries, as well as production of consumer goods and extension of the service sphere. In the current five-year plan period, production of consumer goods will grow by at least 30 per cent, and the amount of paid services available by 40 per cent. Production of fabrics, clothes and shoes, as well as of sports, household and leisure goods will also grow substantially.

Along with better labour remuneration, the social consumption fund will increase and the system of its distribution improve, which will allow the distinctions in the material conditions of individual citizens, families and social groups to become less significant. With a view to raising the people's real incomes, the policy of retail prices will be modified; specifically the prices

of certain goods will go down as the efficiency of their production is enhanced and their prime costs become lower.

Measures have been mapped out to render larger assistance to families with children, improve women's labour and daily conditions, raise old-age and disability pensions and make housing conditions better. In the current five-year plan period, 565 to 570 million square metres of floor space will be commissioned. The bulk of the capital investment in the field will be channelled by the state into newly-explored regions, specifically, Siberia, the North region and the Soviet Far East. The material and technical base of health care will be developed, and facilities for leisure and rest expanded and improved. Great importance is attached to physical culture and sports and their large-scale introduction into everyday life.

Developing its economic policy for the coming years, the Soviet Union plans to carry on far-reaching economic cooperation with the countries of the socialist community, and to make better use of the opportunities offered by socialist economic integration. In this field, the principal goal is to ensure a more intensive development of these countries' economies and to drastically

accelerate scientific and technological progress. In this, a place of importance belongs to the Integrated Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member Countries up to the Year 2000, which has been jointly elaborated by decision of the Economic Summit Conference and approved at the 41st (Special) CMEA Session. Its implementation will allow for a considerable renovation of the production apparatus supplying the economies of the socialist countries with radically new technologies, machinery and equipment and will allow socio-economic projects to be carried through. Realisation of the programme of cooperation aimed at a thrifter consumption of material resources up to the year 2000 will ensure considerable economy of these resources.

Attaining these long-term goals will allow Soviet society to reach a higher social and economic development level and to further consolidate the unity of the socialist community countries, whose achievements will help them to exert an increasingly beneficial influence upon the course of international development.

V. ANDREYEV

Militaristic Exercitations of the Pentagon and NATO

**(Review of the Military Exercises and Manoeuvres Held
by the USA and Its Allies in 1985)**

The bluntly imperialist and aggressive policies of the present US Administration have brought about extremely strained situations in many regions of the world such as Central America, Western Europe, the Middle and Far East, Southwest and Southeast Asia. In a bid to achieve its hegemonistic goals Washington has ever more often resorted to strong-arm politics and to military prowess demonstrations. A prominent place in this "arsenal of intimidation" has been assigned by the USA to all sorts of military exercises and manoeuvres carried out both independently and jointly with its bloc allies and partners in military treaties.

The year 1985 has been no exception, with the number and the geographical scope of the militaristic shows staged by the Pen-

tagon and NATO being so stupendous that it would be virtually impossible to cover them all. Therefore we shall deal only with the largest and most distinctive exercises and manoeuvres.

The beginning of 1985 was already quite symbolic in this regard. In Panama, 6,000 US Marines together with 3,000 Panamanian troops participated in the Blazer Trail exercises while the underground bunkers of the Chitose military base on the Japanese Island of Hokkaido set the stage for the US-Japanese command-and-staff exercises code-named Yamasakura-7, in the course of which 2,500 officers of the two countries tested the mechanism of Japan's rapid involvement in Pentagon's possible military operations in the Far East.

Yet, the largest militaristic demonstrations

in January took place in Western Europe, namely the Reforger-85 manoeuvres which practised the airlifting of major American units from the USA to the FRG "in a crisis situation". During the manoeuvres American troops cooperated with the armed forces of the West European countries through the territories of which US troops and combat equipment were transported. In parallel with Reforger-85, NATO conducted in Central Europe another large-scale manoeuvres code-named Central Guardian, which covered vast areas in the West German Länder of Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony and Rhineland-Palatinate. This power demonstration on a grand scale drew in 65,000-odd troops from the United States, Canada, Luxembourg and the FRG, about 20,000 tanks, self-propelled assault guns, armoured personnel carriers and over 600 helicopters.

In February, the Far East witnessed the takeoff of the traditional 10-week long "militaristic marathon", i. e. the US-South Korean Team Spirit-85 manoeuvres. It should be noted that such shows of force have been regularly arranged by Washington for many a year now and are gaining in scope with every passing year. For instance, over 200,000 US and South Korean servicemen participated in the 1985 manoeuvres. Moreover, the United States involved troops stationed not only in South Korea but also in Japan, at other Pacific bases and in the USA itself. Furthermore, this was the first Team Spirit manoeuvres with the participation of US special forces units—the notorious Green Berets, which since 1984 are posted on the Japanese island of Okinawa. During the manoeuvres, a powerful naval armada of the USA, including the aircraft-carrier *Midway* and the helicopter-carrier *Tarawa*, was dispatched to the South Korean coasts while the "air attacks" were carried out by US aircraft deployed on the Japanese archipelago and on Guam.

The "fierce fighting" staged by the Pentagon in the south of the Korean Peninsula has certainly somewhat overshadowed all other militaristic demonstrations. Yet, some of those ought to be mentioned, above all US exercises in Central America which were plainly anti-Nicaraguan in their thrust. Throughout the first decade of February, Honduras hosted the Lempira-85 exercises, with US Green Berets coaching the Honduran henchmen in the "rebels neutralising" techniques. Those exercises were a

prelude to the large-scale Big Pine 3 manoeuvres involving 6,000 American troops, with US tank units deployed in the immediate vicinity to the Nicaraguan border.

In March, the most "representative" show of military prowess was staged by NATO in the Arctic region of Norway and in North Atlantic. During the Cold Winter-85 manoeuvres, over 15,000 military men from the USA, Britain, Holland, Canada and Norway, supported by air force and naval units, were practising the transfer of "reinforcements" to Northern Norway in the event of the selfsame "crisis situation". At the same time NATO's naval manoeuvres were held in the Gibraltar Straits with the participation of Britain, Spain, Italy and Portugal. Those "militaristic exercises" were noted for the participation of France therein. Somewhat later, France itself staged a huge air force exercises in its national air space, "inviting" seven NATO countries to participate.

In May, the NATO command and the Pentagon conducted six large-scale manoeuvres in Western Europe and the adjacent waters. Denmark hosted three of them, namely Bold Game-85, Brigade Frost-85 and Albatros Exchange-85, the latter testing the ability to transfer NATO's so-called mobile forces to Denmark. The Pentagon did not lose sight of Central America either. Once again Honduras set the stage for a large militaristic demonstration, i. e. the US-Honduran Big Shot manoeuvres.

The late summer, which, on the whole, was marked by a relative "lull" in NATO's militaristic exercises, saw a new upswing in the pitch of Pentagon's military activities. That time, Washington chose the Middle East as the location for a large-scale demonstration of its military muscle. The Bright Star-85 manoeuvres were held in the territories of Egypt, Jordan, Oman and Somalia, involving up to 10,000 American GIs, a naval task force headed by the atomic-powered aircraft carrier *Nimitz*, B-52 strategic bombers, F-15, F-16 and AWACS aircraft. During the Bright Star-85, Washington displayed its capacity "rapidly to respond" to what it considered an unfavourable course of events in the Mideast.

August saw another large-scale manoeuvres, Ocean Safari-85 which drew the total of over 160 men-of-war and support vessels and some 400 airplanes from 10 NATO countries as well as from France. It was

announced officially that that naval armada would practise operations designed to "ensure the security of trade convoys across the Atlantic". The NATO command, however, was solving that "defensive task" in a peculiar manner. At the concluding stage of the manoeuvres when the Ocean Safari approached the coasts of Norway, nuclear strikes were simulated at the territories of the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries.

September witnessed the annual NATO's series of exercises and manoeuvres under the overall code-name of Autumn Forge-85. About 200,000 troops and huge numbers of combat hardware from 13 NATO countries took part in 20-odd separate exercises and manoeuvres in many areas of Western Europe.

Just like in previous years, the FRG became a principal area for the ground force component of Autumn Forge-85. In the course of those exercises the Bundeswehr, together with army units from the USA, Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands, practised "cooperation between various of service arms" as well as the transfer of their units across the Elbe in the immediate vicinity of the GDR state border. Those "drives to the East" were viewed by the democratic public in Europe as still another convincing proof of the growing aggressiveness of the West German Bundeswehr which is being assigned an ever greater role in the NATO's military structure.

It should be noted in particular that most of the militaristic shows comprising Autumn Forge-85 were clearly anti-socialist, provoca-

tive in their nature. For example, during the Ballops-85 exercises held in October a large group of NATO's naval ships, including the US modernised battleship *Iowa*, was moved into the Baltic Sea. The battleship *Iowa* was one of the first US surface ships to be equipped with the Tomahawk nuclear-tipped cruise missiles. The American broadcasting company, CBS, stated with satisfaction that the *Iowa* demonstrated its power just a few miles off the territories of socialist countries.

A no less provocative scheme was mounted by the NATO and Pentagon brass hats in the bloc's southern flank as well, with the large-scale manoeuvres Display Determination-85 held in October in Eastern Mediterranean and on the territory of Turkey. During the manoeuvres the armed forces of the USA, Britain, Belgium, Italy, the FRG and Turkey imitated "battles" at sea, in the air and on land. A key element of those "militaristic games" was the Archway Express-85 exercises during which a 5,000-strong assault force consisting of elements of NATO's "mobile forces" landed in the area of Akhisar (Turkey). The landing was supported by American F-16 fighter bombers which, as is known, are nuclear-capable. The exercises' scenario stipulated for the working up of actions intended to prevent the seizure of Istanbul and Erzurum by the Eastern bloc troops.

This is the upshot of the "militaristic merry-go-round" organised this year by the Pentagon and NATO in various parts of the globe.

V. KRASNOV

The Heritage Foundation: Think Tank of the US Administration

Shortly after the 1980 elections that brought the incumbent US President to the White House, the ultra-right research organisation, the Heritage Foundation, published a paper, instructions to the new Administration, entitled *Mandate for Leadership*. The press conference to launch the publication was attended by about two dozen Washington reporters. Few people outside the right wing of the Republican Party even knew the name of that think tank.

Unlike the media people, the Reagan Administration treated the *Mandate for Leadership* with the utmost seriousness. Many of the new President's aides came to regard it as a household manual. Not surprisingly, a year later the Heritage Foundation could pat itself on the back because about 60 per cent of its recommendations had been either carried out or were in the process of being realised.

The Heritage Foundation has made a tail

spinning climb to the top since it was set up in 1973 founded by Joseph Coors, a beer baron from the state of Colorado with the help of some ultra-Conservative groups including the American Security Council, the American Conservative Union, and the Liberty Lobby. At first it occupied the premises of a small grocery store in a Washington suburb. The Heritage Foundation's budget was swelling as its popularity among right-wing politicians grew and as it gained more influence in Washington's corridors of power. Its initial budget of \$250,000 had increased more than ten-fold by 1979 to reach \$2.8 million. Today it amounts to \$10 million.

American corporations contributed generously to the Foundation's treasury. Before long the corporations, and not individual donors from amongst the ultra-right, were providing the main source of money for the foundation. Among the new donors are about 90 big businesses listed in the top 500 US corporations. The Heritage Foundation also draws financial support from some Zionist organisations, notably, B'nay B'rith.

As its budget grew it acquired a gloss of respectability, moving from a former grocery store into a modern \$9.5-million worth administrative building near Capitol Hill. Today the Heritage Foundation has a permanent staff of 90 professors and 600 experts. It maintains contacts with more than 1,000 professors and teachers at major scientific and research institutions across the country (Harvard, Yale, Georgetown, Columbia, and California universities, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, etc.) involving many of them in its projects on a regular basis.

The policy guidelines are laid down by the Board of Governors comprising prominent conservatives, such as William Simon, former Secretary of Treasury, Frank Shakespeare, Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting, former Director of the US Information Agency, and Midge Deeter, Executive Director of the reactionary Committee for the Free World. A year ago Charles Lichenstein, US deputy permanent representative to the United Nations, noted for his fierce attacks on that organisation, joined the Board of Governors.

The main task of the Heritage Foundation is to prepare analytical studies for the Administration, congressmen, and other leaders involved in shaping US foreign and

domestic policy. According to *The New York Times*, the Foundation supplies its materials to the majority of legislators and members of the Administration, to 6,000 journalists, publishers and scientists. The Foundation works with dispatch: it can prepare and publish a brief analytical survey on a particular issue within 4 to 6 days.

Although its popularity with the right wing rests on its "fundamental" works such as *Mandate for Leadership*, vintage 1980 and 1984, they are not its only product. As the need arises, the Foundation provides "backgrounders" on concrete problems. In addition, it publishes a monthly *National Security Record* covering topical international and domestic issues, *Policy Review*, a magazine with lengthy analytical articles, and *Insider News Letters* containing references on various subdivisions of Congress and research groups.

The secret of the Heritage Foundation's popularity and influence with the US ruling circles is simple: it provides the "theoretical basis" for the views of the Republican Party's right wing, which dominates the whole Party, and the views of conservative Democrats. The Foundation helps to justify their policies, providing arguments and formulations and coming up with "suitable theories".

It is no accident that the Foundation members drew up the platforms for a number of Republican Congressional candidates during recent election campaigns, and moreover, took part in shaping the Republican platform at the presidential elections in 1984. No wonder many speeches of Republicans sound like carbon copies of Heritage Foundation documents.

What are the more "interesting" recommendations offered by the Foundation?

The main message of the 1,300-odd instructions in the *Mandate for Leadership-2* is to "carry on as before." It urges the Administration to go on building up armaments, to redouble efforts to create an ABM system with space-based elements, to renounce the indefinite Soviet-American treaty of 1972, limiting anti-missile defence systems, etc. It invariably says "no" to any moves that could defuse international tensions, and end the policy of confrontation and says nothing but "yes" to anything that intensifies the arms race. This is the obstructionist position the Foundation recommends to the present Administration in its second term.

The *Mandate* reads in part that the USA should stop any attempts to limit the development or deployment of American strategic defence systems as part of the "star wars" programme. This presidential initiative in the strategic defence opens promising prospects for the preservation of the American nuclear potential of containment and restoration of strategic stability. And it goes on to claim that the programme of anti-satellite weapons is essential for US secu-

rity and should be neither delayed nor postponed.

The American delegation's stand at the Geneva talks and public statements by US Administration officials on arms control are eloquent proof that the present US leadership sticks to the Heritage Foundation's recommendations in its foreign policy. This explains the Foundation's strong influence in the Washington corridors of power.

O. POLYAKOVSKY

France: On the Eve of Parliamentary Elections

In early March parliamentary elections are to be held in France which will decide who is going to represent the voters' interests in the National Assembly, the country's highest legislative body, in the next five years. The present alignment of forces stands as follows: out of 491 deputies, 269 (the absolute majority) represent the Socialist Party (SP); 43 — the French Communist Party (PCP); 131—right-wing opposition, including the Alliance for the Republic (AR) (81 deputies) and the Union for French Democracy (UFD) (50 deputies).

The leading political parties have on the whole completed preparations for the elections. Programmes have been adopted and candidate lists drawn up. The reserves of tactical intra- and, in a number of cases, interparty unity have been mobilised. At their conference in Toulouse, the Socialists managed to put aside their differences, even though they are rather serious. The AR and the UFD have agreed on a common platform and submitted jointly drawn-up candidate lists to the majority of constituencies. Moreover, they have stated that if they win, they will administer state affairs "in collaboration and only in collaboration".

The chief feature of the situation is the considerable changes in the alignment of the country's political forces which have not been to the advantage of the ruling Socialist Party. In 1981, the French electors gave it their votes, having been promised changes for the better. But their hopes proved vain. The positive steps taken by Socialists in the first year and a half of their term of office, prompted largely by the influence of Communists, who were in the government of that time were practically invalidated by the "austerity" policy which the country's leadership has been pursuing since the summer

of 1982. The number of unemployed has hit a record high of 2.4 million. For two years in succession the purchasing capacity of the working majority has been dropping. Crime and racist sentiments against the 4.5 million immigrants living in France have been building up. A considerable foreign trade deficit, inflation and a large, foreign debt leave the government little opportunity for artificially speeding up the rates of economic growth badly needed to enhance its image with the elections so near.

The prospects are not terribly bright either. According to the estimates of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), in the next year or two the situation in the field of employment will deteriorate even further and the rates of economic growth will remain low (1.25 to 2 per cent annually). Characteristically, the Socialists have been unable to suggest a workable alternative to the present course in their election programme (which is essentially very much like that of the AR and the UFD). Its cornerstone—the urgently needed modernisation of French society—is sure to entail heavy social losses under the conditions of capitalist economy. The working people of France have already been given a taste of such modernisation, which has involved the closing down of enterprises in the traditional branches, more layoffs, and higher unemployment.

Voters' dissatisfaction with the government's policies has manifested itself in the failure of Socialists to win any single election ever since 1981, whether a local or a national one.

The position of the Socialist Party has been further complicated by the loss of such a strong ally as the French Communist Party. In July 1984 French Communists

withdrew from the government and the ruling majority on the ground that the Socialists' socio-economic policy began to openly clash with the interests of the working people. This step took a great deal of political courage, but it was a necessary one for the FCP, as alliance with the Socialists was damaging to it. The 25th FCP Congress (February 1985) confirmed the need for an independent political course. However, refusing to cooperate with the Socialists in any way either prior to or after the elections, French Communists do not reject the very principle of a political alliance with the Socialist Party. But it will have to be formed on new terms which would not bind the French Communist Party by a long-term joint governmental programme but would allow it to remain politically independent.

Preparing for the elections, the French Communist Party has drawn up a comprehensive programme of measures aimed at combatting crisis, inflation and unemployment and promoting democracy and social justice. It is the only party that has a constructive platform pursuing long-term national interests rather than immediate self-seeking ends. The goal of the party in the elections is to maintain and then consolidate its position in France. The elections to the National Assembly are a stage in its campaign to establish a broad front of the country's democratic forces.

As concerns the AR and the UFD, the main parties of right-wing opposition, their objective is to win the upcoming elections and gain an absolute majority in the National Assembly. Their best bet is people's dissatisfaction with the outcome of the socialist policies, not the attractiveness of their own election promises. The opposition's slogans—"less state control, lower taxes, more freedom"—in fact imply the same austerity policy, only on a larger scale. In their election campaign the AR and the UFD have concentrated on discrediting the activities of the government and of the key figures in it.

Not entirely confident of the successful outcome of the elections, the Socialists have risked changing the election procedure. The former majority system which had two rounds has been replaced by the system of proportional representation having one round. Its novelty is only relative: elections were conducted along these lines at the time of the Fourth Republic (1946-1958). The parties nominate their candidates not

on a nationwide scale but within departments, administrative and territorial units which have been granted the status of constituencies. The minimum 5-per cent quota of votes has been established necessary to win the right to representation at the National Assembly. The number of deputies to this chamber of Parliament of the 1986 convocation will be 577, i. e. it will increase by 86 deputies. The new electoral system is called upon not only to secure victory for the Socialist Party at the upcoming elections but also to eventually open up opportunities for making it the core of a coalition uniting representatives of petty groupings elected to the National Assembly, from left centrists to moderate right-wingers.

On the whole, the change in the electoral system was not much to the liking of the country's political parties. French Communists have pointed out that the reform is incomplete, justly maintaining that only if candidates are nominated on a nationwide scale can the system of proportional representation fully meet the demands of justice and democracy.

In its turn, right-wing opposition condemned the reform as being a ruse of the government. The AR, whose members claim to be the ideological heirs of Charles de Gaulle, have denounced proportional representation point-blank as undermining the very foundations of the Fifth Republic's political system. The UFD is not so adamant on this point. However, these bourgeois parties have been drawn closer together by the realisation that the purpose of the new system is to prevent them from gaining the desired absolute majority and to face them with the serious problem of their relationship with the ultra-right groupings represented by the so-called National Front.

More vigorous activity of the latter is a recent feature of political life in France. The National Front has managed to capitalise on many people's loss of confidence in the "traditional" political parties, a direct consequence of their failures. The alternative suggested by the National Front is to establish strong authority permeated with the spirit of rabid anti-communism after the pattern of fascist dictatorship. The growing influence of ultra-right forces is causing a great deal of anxiety among the principal bourgeois parties of the country. However, failing to understand the true causes of this phenomenon, they have confined themselves to trying to shift the blame onto each

other, and have even been known to make advances to ultra-right elements. The danger of the latter course for the democratic gains of the working people has been pointed out by the Communists, who have exposed the National Front as a product of a society in the clutches of an acute socio-economic and moral and psychological crisis.

This crisis has gone so deep that the ultra-right elements can now count on gaining access to France's highest legislative body. At the cantonal elections in March 1985, the National Front won over 8 per cent of the votes, and in some constituencies as many as 20 per cent. In March, the recently established 5-per cent deadline may prove quite attainable for this grouping.

Such prospects have complicated the position of the AR and the UFD: should they fail to win an absolute majority in the elections, they will probably have to try for it by forming a coalition with the representatives of ultra-right forces. It is a ticklish situation. On the one hand, the National Front is a potential class ally of the AR and the UFD, but on the other, an alliance with it may do a great deal to smear the public image of these self-professed champions of liberalism and democracy.

Experts and political observers could not fail to notice that the struggle among political parties on the eve of parliamentary elections was affected by the prospect of the presidential elections looming ahead. Neither bourgeois party has lost any time trying to build up its leaders' image. Some experts noted that elections to the National Assembly are only a battle in the war for the presidency. However, this battle may prove decisive considering the indisputable importance of the results of the upcoming voting for

the outcome of the 1988 Presidential elections.

Preparations of the country's leading political forces for the elections to the National Assembly have been carried out against the background of a serious crisis of French society. The greatest losses have been sustained by the ruling Socialist Party. To make things right, it has risked giving its political and ideological credo a rightist slant and resorted to tactical manoeuvring. Its election campaign was clearly prompted by the wish to gain an immediate advantage and was not unlike the political game played by the parties of right-wing opposition.

The AR and the UFD laid the main emphasis on criticising government policies. In this campaign, they succeeded fairly well in presenting a united front. At the same time, there are a number of factors, including fiercer struggle for leadership, especially with the presidential elections not too far away, that may aggravate the differences between the political parties.

Against the background of this political wrangling, the principled policy of the French Communist Party, the only party that has advanced a constructive programme for helping French society to become healthier, cannot but command profound respect.

The Fifth Republic has never seen such a combination of factors capable of affecting the upcoming elections and their consequences for the country's political future, and this makes the situation on the eve of the elections very involved indeed. It is now up to the French voters to decide which turn the events will take.

S. VLADIMIROV

MOMENTOUS PLANS OF CONSTRUCTION AND THE POLICY OF PEACE

The beginning of the latter half of the 1980s is marked by an event of major political importance, the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Congresses of the Leninist Party are milestones not only in the history and life of the CPSU and the Soviet state, they also make an imprint on the course of and prospects for the development of world relations, and largely predetermine ways of the worldwide struggle of the peoples for the strengthening of peace on the planet. And this quite logically reflects the role which the Soviet Union plays in present-day international relations. The firm and consistent stand of the CPSU and the Soviet state imparts a powerful impetus to the fight of all progressive forces for peace and socialism. The heightened role of the Soviet Union as a formidable barrier to the imperialist policy of oppression, aggression and war, as a genuine champion of peace, democracy and social progress has been convincingly confirmed at the highest forum of Soviet Communists.

The strength of the domestic and foreign policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union consists in the fact that it correctly mirrors the fundamental interests of the Soviet people, maps out with scientific exactness the vital guidelines of Soviet society's progress toward the perfection of socialism and the gradual transition to communism, and corresponds to the aspirations of all the peoples of the world, who have a vested interest in the elimination of the war danger and in the creation of conditions for mankind's peaceful development. The creative potential of the country's momentous internal development plans is being multiplied by the mighty potential of international activity, which is aimed at the solution of the most urgent problems of the day. The crucial goals and tasks facing the Soviet state on the domestic scene, and the overriding tasks, the accomplishment of which it is working for on the international scene, have one common denominator, the peace effort. The entire creative strategy on the road towards communism permeates the two overriding aspects of the Soviet state's activity—its domestic and foreign policies, which reflects the very nature of socialism as a new social system. It is the cohesion of and organic interconnection between these two facets of the activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state that come to the fore in the extensive outlines which have been considered at the highest forum of the Soviet Communists.

The significance of the 27th CPSU Congress—a major landmark in the country's development—is determined by the signal importance of the questions tabled for discussion at it, the nature of the current period, and the newness and vast scope of the problems facing Soviet society. A wave of creative enthusiasm on the part of the Soviet public at large was evoked by the broad nationwide and Party-wide discussion of the pre-Congress documents—the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme, the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, and the changes in the CPSU Rules. These are documents of tremendous political and mobilising importance, which reflect the progress Soviet society is making. Their enthusiastic endorsement showed

anew the close ties between the Party and people and promoted the further consolidation of the moral and political unity of Soviet society.

The discussion of the pre-Congress materials was a period of intense and extensive work in all spheres—political, economic, organisational, and ideological and theoretical. The CPSU appeared before the whole world as the genuine political vanguard of the Soviet people, the guiding and organising force of Soviet society connected with the masses by unbreakable bonds and directing the complex and diverse process of socialist development. The programme for accelerating the development of Soviet society elaborated by the Party meets the vital needs of the country; it draws on the results attained in the building of socialism in previous years. Incidentally, as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev has stated, we are only at the start, "at the very start of complex work, of major changes which require of us more persistence, selflessness, and a fearless rejection of everything that has become outdated, of inertia in thinking, of customary but now useless schemes and approaches. What we especially need today is high public activism, creativity on the job, irreconcilability toward shortcomings, and decisive support for everything that is new and advanced and that has been born of the time."

The Soviet state is at a turning point, which by implication requires a search for fresh solutions to the problems that have cropped up, and the decisive elimination of the shortcomings that hold back the rate of the country's advance toward the perfection of socialism. A profound and fearless analysis of the actual situation, elaboration of bold, well-considered and grounded plans with due consideration for all the facts, and the mobilisation of the efforts of all the working people for their implementation—such is the invariable line of the CPSU. It is this style that distinguishes all facets of the Party's multifaceted work in present-day conditions; it is this style that characterised the entire preparatory effort for the 27th CPSU Congress. The Party came to it highly cohesive, equipped with a clear-cut, verified programme of activities not only for the current period, but for the long term as well.

The record of the USSR and the other socialist countries in building a new society brilliantly corroborates the veracity of Lenin's tenet to the effect that "living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves".¹ The creativity of the working people in all spheres of social life is the decisive factor on which this country's advance, and the scope and rate of the acceleration of its socio-economic progress depend. It is to this goal that the extensive measures being elaborated by the Party and implemented by it of late are subordinated. The CPSU proceeds here from Lenin's tenet that "the whole art of government and policy-making consists in being able to assess and know in good time where to concentrate your main forces and attention".²

Concentrating its efforts on the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development, the Party pursues the aim of effecting a qualitative transformation of all facets of life of Soviet society, which includes: a fundamental renewal of its material and technological base drawing on scientific and technological breakthroughs; the upgrading of social relations, above all economic; far-reaching changes in the content and nature of labour, and the material and cultural conditions of life; and intensification of the entire system of political, social and ideological institutions. The successful accomplishment of these cardinal tasks is closely bound up with the enhanced role of the human factor, since, as is stressed in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, the greater the scope of the historical goals, the more important the interested, responsible, conscious and active participation of millions of people in achieving them.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 288.

The course drafted by the Party is geared to decidedly eliminating existing shortcomings so that the advantages and potential of the socialist system could be fully ascertained and utilised. This course accords with the Leninist traditions of the Party, which has always profoundly and objectively analysed all aspects of its work, and has invariably followed Lenin's behest: "Self-criticism is vitally essential to every live and virile party. There is nothing more disgusting than smug optimism...".³ It is under this slogan that the preparations for the Party Congress were carried out, as well as the nationwide and Party-wide discussion of the pre-Congress documents, which was characterised by a democratic, businesslike atmosphere, was constructive and embraced millions of industrial workers, collective farmers, members of the intelligentsia, Communists and non-Party people.

The concept of accelerated socio-economic development elaborated at the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was concretely embodied in the draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000 which were put up for discussion at the 27th Party Congress. Drawing on the powerful economic, scientific and technological and cultural potential created by the labour of several generations of Soviet people, the CPSU advanced fresh momentous plans, the implementation of which will ensure a rapid growth of the people's well-being and the further strengthening of the Soviet Union's economic and defence capability.

A steady rise in the material and cultural standards of living has always been the focus of the Party's economic strategy. If this goal is to be reached, it is imperative to raise the production forces and the production relations to a qualitatively new level, drastically accelerate scientific and technological progress, ensure rapid advancement in the strategic areas of economic development, and create a production potential equal in scope to that amassed over all the preceding years. It is envisaged to increase real per capita incomes by between 60 and 80 per cent, commission dwelling houses with an aggregate living space of about 2,000 million sq m, transfer production to a predominantly intensive path of development, drastically boost productivity of labour and on this base speed up the economic growth rate. Suffice it to say that it is planned, over the coming 15 years, to increase the country's national income almost two-fold and boost the productivity of social labour by between 130 and 150 per cent. Such a vital indicator as the production of industrial goods is to be doubled. All this will require improved economic management.

The bold socio-economic development plans elaborated by the Party are incontrovertible proof of the fact that the country is firmly and consistently pursuing a policy of peace and international cooperation. After all, their implementation is only possible in conditions of peace, and this mirrors the inextricable tie between Soviet foreign policy and the state's fundamental, strategic tasks on the domestic scene, and the striving of the Soviet people to engage in creative labour and live with all other peoples in peace.

The "Soviet military menace" myth being intensively spread by imperialist propaganda is fully debunked by the actual facts, and above all by the fact that it is unthinkable to imagine a state hatching aggressive, expansionist plans if all its energies are concentrated on implementing such a vast programme of peaceful development.

A state of peace is not only the goal of Soviet foreign policy, but also a prerequisite for the successful accomplishment of the cardinal tasks facing the country in domestic policy sphere. The new edition of the CPSU Programme underscores the fact that the peaceable foreign policy course being elaborated by the Party and consistently pursued by the Soviet state, in combination with the strengthening of the country's defence capability, has ensu-

red the Soviet people and the majority of the Earth's population peace over the longest period in the 20th century. The CPSU will continue to do all in its power to preserve peaceful conditions for the creative work of Soviet people, to improve international relations, to put an end to the arms race that has engulfed the world, and to eliminate the threat of nuclear war hanging over the peoples.

The clarity and definitiveness of the Soviet Union's foreign policy goals which obtain from the class nature of the socialist system also predetermine the nature of Soviet foreign policy, namely, the policy of peace and cooperation among states. All the practical actions of this country on the international scene are subordinated to these noble aims.

A distinguishing feature of 1986 is that it has been declared the International Year of Peace by the United Nations. This is not only highly symbolic, it also orients the world community to the immediate implementation of concrete steps that would indeed promote the consolidation of the edifice of world peace today. Fully sharing the noble aims underlying the UN initiative, the Soviet Union on its part is in favour of the Year of Peace becoming a decade of peace, so that mankind might enter the 21st century in conditions of peace, trust and cooperation.

A clear-cut and specific manifestation of the consistent course of peace and disarmament, which is the centrepiece of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, is the decision taken by the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government early this year on a number of major foreign policy actions of principle, which were set forth in the Statement by Mikhail Gorbachev of January 15, 1986. The essence of the complex of new foreign policy initiatives being proposed by the Soviet Union consists in enabling mankind to enter the next millennium under peaceful skies and a weapons-free outer space, so that it might not know fear of nuclear, chemical or any other threat of destruction and might be firmly confident of its survival and the continuation of the human race. A logical fact is that it is precisely the Soviet socialist state that has advanced and substantiated clear-cut and constructive programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons worldwide before the end of the current century. The whole planet has again been shown an example of the peaceable thrust of Soviet foreign policy and its being geared to a practical solution of the most urgent problems of vital importance for all the peoples of the globe. Carrying aloft the banner of peace, socialism opens up before the whole of mankind a workable path towards deliverance from the threat of nuclear war.

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The steady broadening and deepening of cooperation between the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries and extensive efforts to consolidate and advance the world socialist system figure prominently in the foreign policy of the CPSU and Soviet state. The closely united community of socialist states, its economic and defence might, and coordinated actions on the international scene are an invincible force in the struggle for a peaceful future for mankind. All-round bilateral and multilateral ties between the socialist states are being extensively and fruitfully developed. Underlying the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries are the unshakable principles of socialist internationalism, the importance of which in present-day conditions is particularly growing. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union manifests constant concern for the development and improvement of the new type of international relations that is taking shape among the socialist states, and proceeds from the belief that the objective need for ever greater cohesion among the socialist countries obtains from the very essence of socialism.

The strengthening of unity and deepening of interaction among the fraternal socialist countries are embodied in the activities of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The initiatives of the socialist countries aimed at consolidating peace in Europe and reviving detente in international relations are bound up with the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. The participants in the summit meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member countries held in Prague last November stated the resolve of the Parties and states represented at it to work together to continue to do all in their power for a turn for the better in European and world affairs. They are unanimous in their belief that in today's complex international conditions unity and cohesion of the allied socialist countries, class solidarity, and strengthening cooperation in all spheres are of paramount importance.

The Economic Summit and the follow-up meetings of the leaders of the fraternal countries, during which ways and means of resolving the tasks of economic development, above all in the sphere of science and technology, were outlined, became major, milestone steps in the continued deepening of socialist economic integration as the material basis for the cohesion of the socialist countries. The Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress adopted last December gears the fraternal countries to the solution of fundamental economic problems—intensification of social production and its improved efficiency, and advance to the forefront of science and technology. All this will make it possible to reveal more fully the advantages of the new social system, and boost the economic, social and cultural potential of the socialist community and its technological independence and invulnerability from imperialist attempts at pressure and blackmail.

The Party congresses planned for this year in a number of fraternal socialist countries are designed to elaborate and adopt broad programmes for the further acceleration of economic, social and scientific and technological progress. The 27th CPSU Congress and the congresses of the fraternal Parties of the socialist countries are important links in the further improvement of the new social system, in the consolidation of the international positions of socialism and the heightening of the powerful potential of peace on the Earth.

One of the distinguishing features of the modern age, which imparts an important qualitative feature to it is the embarking of formerly enslaved peoples upon the path of independence, the emergence of dozens of new states and the heightening of their involvement in world politics and economy. Relations of sincere friendship, mutual respect and multifaceted cooperation have been established between the Soviet Union and these states. The fact that the role being played by the non-aligned countries in world affairs is constantly enhancing is a good sign. The CPSU and the Soviet state have been consistently in favour of the growing influence of the peoples of the newly-free countries increasingly contributing to the cause of peace and social progress. The socialist world and the movement of peoples for their social emancipation and national liberation have a community of fundamental interests, which is an objective base for their joint actions against imperialism.

Consistently coming out on the side of countries and peoples repelling attacks by the aggressive forces of imperialism, and safeguarding their freedom, independence and national dignity, the CPSU and the Soviet state view solidarity with them as an important part of the overall struggle for international peace and security. The alliance between the forces of social progress and national liberation is a guarantee of a better future for the whole of mankind. This policy-making goal of the CPSU determines the policy of the Soviet state as regards the emergent countries and is a principled underpinning for the consolidation of cooperation with them on the key problems of the day.

The Soviet Union is proposing to all states, the capitalist ones included, a broad, long-term, multifaceted programme of mutually beneficial cooperation, which takes into consideration the new possibilities which the era of the scientific and technological revolution opens up before mankind. The realities of our time dictate the urgent need to transfer relations between countries with different social systems from military confrontation to peaceful cooperation that would rule out the use of force in resolving contentious issues. War between them today would entail truly catastrophic consequences and would in effect lead to the destruction of human civilisation.

Here the question of whence the danger of world war emanates, of who its main source is, has always been one of principled importance. The very thrust of the efforts in countering this threat depends on the answer to it. The facts again and again attest that the danger of war is inherent in imperialism, in the aggressive policy which it is pursuing on the international scene. For this reason decisive opposition to the imperialist course is a vital condition for the struggle for universal peace and security. Curbing the forces of aggression and militarism today has become the overriding, most crucial mission of world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, the peoples of the emergent states, and mass democratic movements.

A tremendous influence on all vital processes of present-day international affairs is being exerted by the attainment by socialism of military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, which has made it possible to consolidate the positions of the socialist countries and all the progressive forces, and to debunk the hopes of the aggressive quarters of imperialism, above all American imperialism, for victory in a nuclear world war. However, imperialism has not laid down its weapons, it has not desisted in its attempts to take social revenge and restore the positions it has lost. It continues to wage a large-scale campaign to halt the advance of historical development and put a brake on the broadening and deepening of the liberation struggle of the peoples. Featuring prominently in the strategy of American imperialism is the desire to upset the military-strategic parity which is a solid guarantee of international peace and security. This goal is served by the plans for the continued extension of the arms race, especially Washington's declared course for the militarisation of outer space, which is fraught with the most baleful consequences for peace.

It is quite natural that the fight against the attempts to orbit the arms race is the central issue in present-day international politics. It is around them that a heated debate, including in the USA itself, where the White House's course is encountering mounting opposition on the part of sober-minded political figures, is unfolding today. The arguments for the so-called strategic defence initiative, which was advanced by the US President, are based on dangerous self-deceit, on demagoguery designed to veil the true aim of this ominous project. Its essence is to attain, through a new method, the same unattainable goal—military superiority over the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet leadership has stated unequivocally that such hopes should not be entertained, as the USSR will not allow the military-strategic parity to be broken; in the event American space-based weapons are created the Soviet Union will be forced, in order to restore the balance, to heighten the effectiveness, accuracy and yield of its armaments to neutralise, if so required, the electronic space-based "star wars" machine being created by the USA.

The Soviet Union together with the other socialist countries has advanced and is consistently upholding a broad programme to curb the arms race which, through the fault of imperialism, is gaining momentum rather than weakening. The pre-Congress documents and the Statement of January 15, 1986 formulate the vital measures touching upon the cessation of the arms race and upon disarmament, and the ensuring of international peace and security. Specific proposals at the respective international forums have been made by the Soviet Union on each of the enumerated points. The Soviet

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Union is working untiringly and consistently for their practical implementation, thus in deed demonstrating its sincere vested interest in resolving the urgent problems facing the world community. It can be stated without exaggeration that there is no other state in the world that has come forth with so many well-considered constructive initiatives.

Underlying Soviet policy vis-à-vis the capitalist countries is the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, which has been tested by life and has proved its fruitfulness and effectiveness. The CPSU and the Soviet state are in favour of working purposefully for the all-round establishment of this principle in international relations as a norm of interstate relations that is recognised and observed by all. However, peaceful coexistence is not at all a process which yields unilateral benefit. After all, the record of history attests to the fact that the establishment of the principle of peaceful coexistence in the practice of international relations does not encroach upon anyone's interests; quite the contrary, it furthers the development of businesslike cooperation and is a paramount means of improving the international climate as a whole.

It cannot but be noted in this connection that the most aggressive reactionary quarters of imperialism, American imperialism first and foremost, while not denying peaceful coexistence in words, each time a trend toward an easing of international tensions is observed, artificially and purposely try to undermine or put a brake on this process. They always come up with a host of fabricated pretexts, such as judgements on "international terrorism" of which they accuse sovereign states, on "human rights violations" supposedly taking place in socialist countries, and much else. If the demagoguery masks behind which the USA conceals the real motives of its actions are removed, one thing becomes clear—it is in this way that the chiefs of the military-industrial complex are attempting to hamper positive developments on the international scene. Alongside this, by whipping up an atmosphere of tension, uncontrollably stepping up the arms race, and pursuing a policy of militarising all spheres of life in the capitalist countries, they hope to overcome the growing crisis. However, and the facts constantly corroborate this, such actions not only do not alleviate the internal contradictions which are organically inherent in bourgeois society, but, on the contrary, deepen them. Ultimately each new phase in the imperialist policy of aggression and of whipping up tensions only reveals with greater clarity the policy and strategy of imperialism which are hostile to the interests of the peoples, to the interests of the whole of mankind, and unmasks their historical doom and lack of a future.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is rightly called Leninist not only because Lenin was its founder, but also because it in turn has always firmly and consistently adhered to Lenin's teaching, creatively developed it, and inherited and enriched the immortal ideas of Lenin. The scientific grounding of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is conditioned by the fact that this policy is formed in accordance with an objective analysis of the real processes taking place in the world and is based on a knowledge and utilisation of the laws of social development revealed by Marxist-Leninist teaching. Of fundamental importance is the continuity of the vital theoretical and political principles of the Party, which reflect not only the historical connection and consistency of its policy goals and tasks, but also the creative development of them in keeping with the demands of life. The question of continuity in the development of the theory and policy goals of the Party is the question of its theoretical adherence to principle and consistency, its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism.

As the 27th Congress drew near, the CPSU profoundly generalised the tremendously important experience of the Soviet state's struggle for the con-

solidation of peace among nations and the development of cooperation on a democratic, equitable basis, which was reflected in the principled provisions formulated in the new edition of the Party Programme. This truly epoch-making document reflects the collective wisdom of all the Soviet Communists and of the entire Soviet people, and their historic accomplishments and their well-considered, time-tested plans for the future.

It is highly noteworthy how a number of bourgeois figures assess such a feature of Soviet policy as continuity. In an article published recently in the journal *Foreign Affairs*, former US President Richard Nixon wrote: "The one absolute certainty about the Soviet-American relationship is that the struggle in which we are engaged will last not just for years but for decades. In such a struggle, one advantage the Soviet Union has over the United States is that its foreign policy has consistency and continuity."

The advantage of Soviet foreign policy lies not only in its continuity. This policy is stable, consistent and not subject to time-serving vacillations; it is guided by the scientific system of principles underlying it. Not only our friends but many of our foes have been repeatedly forced to admit that words and actions match up in Soviet foreign policy, that the Soviet state firmly and consistently keeps to its commitments, and truly values the positive potential that has been accumulated in its relations with its partners.

The same cannot be said of US policy, however. It is an indubitable fact that a serious worsening of the international situation took place beginning in the late 1970s through the fault of the Washington Administration. The United States in effect wrote off many important accords and agreements of the detente period. A course prevailed in Washington not for a positive development of Soviet-American relations but for confrontation in all areas. A banking on the attainment of military superiority was most vividly manifest in the unprecedented programme for nuclear and other rearmament. The policy of military pressure, and at times open blackmail against peoples and states that embarked upon the road of independent development, was stepped up. Today, too, there is no reason to believe that this course has undergone any radical changes, that Washington has shelved its policy of force and diktat. Ample proof is the actions of the United States itself as regards Central America and Libya and many other actions by the American authorities for that matter.

However, it would likewise be incorrect to fail to see another highly important process which is taking place in the USA itself and in other Western states. What is meant is that this course of Washington is increasingly running counter to present-day realities, and its further conduct not only promises no success for American policy, but is leading it into a blind alley. The anachronism, lack of prospects and ultimate doom of the policy of whipping up tensions and confrontation are becoming totally obvious. It is quite natural that elements of realism have begun to appear and find expression in the US of late, which are prompting Washington to reassess its untenable foreign policy aims.

A strong impact was indubitably exerted on this process by the set of large-scale foreign policy initiatives which the USSR has come out with of late. It has been impossible to fail to notice them or pretend that they do not demand any response from Washington. The peace offensive of socialism is such a powerful factor in the development of the positive processes on the international scene that all who shape policy in Western capitals are, like it or not, forced to reckon with this. Today the public at large in the capitalist states is insistently calling upon its governments to desist from the policy of confrontation with the socialist countries and embark upon a search for mutually acceptable solutions to the existing problems on the basis of the principle of equal security, with due account for each other's legitimate interests.

In most general terms, the rivalry between these two opposite trends in

Western foreign policy resulted in weakened positions for the most aggressive militarist circles, which, in turn, created objective prerequisites which made possible the Soviet-American summit in Geneva. This meeting is indubitably one of the most important international events, and its impact on the prospects for world development can hardly be overrated. The Geneva talks were, by and large, a success.

It would be incorrect, however, to fail to see forces which are clearly displeased by the results of the Geneva summit. What is meant first and foremost are highly influential circles in the US itself. The facts show that the foes of a Soviet-American dialogue are very active. The struggle around the extremely important and topical problems which were a subject of the Geneva talks is continuing. The all-round and realistic assessment of the result of the Soviet-American summit in Geneva is based on consideration of the totality of the realities of the present-day international situation and the nature of the development of Soviet-American relations. "At the given meeting," read the Resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet, "the sides failed to find a solution of the major questions connected with the task of halting the arms race and strengthening peace, and major disagreements still remain between the Soviet Union and the USA on problems of principle; its results, however, create a possibility for a shift from the current state of dangerous confrontation to a constructive search for ways to normalise Soviet-American relations and to improve the international situation as a whole."

Soviet foreign policy is based on multifaceted, solid and steady bilateral ties with all countries. Proceeding from this, the Soviet state attaches principled importance to the development and deepening of its relations with the capitalist countries of the West, viewing this as a workable and weighty contribution to the overall improvement of the international climate and the establishment of broad and multifaceted cooperation in a wide range of fields. It is the vigorous stand of the USSR that opens up new vistas for their broadening in the interests of these states themselves, and in the interests of universal peace and the strengthening of international stability.

The primary task facing the peoples of the globe is to break the dangerous course of international developments and eliminate the threat of a nuclear catastrophe hanging over mankind. This goal can and must be attained; after all, the possibilities for preserving and strengthening peace have never been so real. A vital prerequisite for a dramatic improvement in the international situation is the pooling of efforts of all peoples and all forces aware of the fact that there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence.

The strategic domestic and foreign policy course of the Party is imbued with the spirit of historical optimism, which is vividly manifest in the pre-Congress documents of the CPSU. The goals and tasks which are being posed by the Party are astonishing in their boldness and scope; they open up before the country the prospects for a substantial acceleration of socio-economic progress as a way of attaining a new qualitative state of society. The Communists and all the Soviet working people are confident of their strength and are firmly convinced that through the selfless and creative labour of the Soviet people the tasks posed will be accomplished, that all frontiers mapped out will be reached. Such is the unswerving will of the Communist Party and of the entire Soviet people.

COMPLETE ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS— THE SOVIET PROGRAMME

A. S O V E T O V

In his statement of January 15 this year Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, outlined a strategy for peace designed to rid the Earth of all nuclear weapons until the end of this century, to deliver mankind from the threat of nuclear holocaust and ensure a peaceful future for it.

There is no task more noble and urgent today. In its advance mankind has reached unprecedented heights and the potential of knowledge and experience it has accumulated has offered opportunities for rapid social progress. At the same time, human genius is used by imperialism for creating weapons of enormous destructive power. The policy pursued by the imperialists, who are prepared to sacrifice the destiny of whole nations, is increasing the danger of the arms race spilling over into outer space, of new weapons being employed.

"The most acute problem facing mankind is that of war and peace," reads the new edition of the Programme of the CPSU. "Imperialism was responsible for two world wars that claimed tens of millions of lives. It is creating the threat of a third world war."

Twice in the 20th century the militarists pushed mankind into the abyss of world war. In both cases people were faced with the dilemma: peace or carnage. And in both cases the forces of militarism overwhelmed the forces of reason. Today, an entirely new threat is confronting mankind and it has to choose between peace and the death of the human race, an end to the world civilisation. In this situation it has become more imperative than ever that statesmen, the public at large, and every individual should realistically assess the process going on in the world and draw the appropriate conclusions, and see their role in the efforts to prevent the world from sliding down to another war.

The Soviet Union has drawn such a conclusion. It believes that the world needs a turn for the better. Being aware of this, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government have adopted a decision on a number of major foreign policy actions of a fundamental nature. "They are designed", reads the Statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, "to promote to a maximum degree an improvement in the international situation. They are prompted by the need to overcome the negative confrontational trends that have been growing in recent years and to clear the way to curbing the nuclear arms race on Earth and preventing it in outer space, to an overall reduction of the risk of war, and to the building of confidence as an integral part of relations among states."

The Statement offers a set of new proposals encompassing all the main areas of foreign policy activities for the benefit of disarmament, for lessening world tensions and providing better prospects for a peaceful future and progress of all nations.

The chief proposal is the concrete programme, scheduled for a precisely defined period until the end of this century, and envisaging large-scale

measures aimed at a complete and total elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

The Soviet Union has proposed that at the first stage, within the next 5 to 8 years, the USSR and the USA, mutually renouncing the development, testing and deployment of space weapons, would cut by half the nuclear arms capable of reaching each other's territory. On the remaining delivery vehicles of this kind each side will retain no more than 6,000 warheads.

At this stage, all the Soviet and American medium-range missiles in the European zone, both ballistic and cruise missiles, are to be eliminated as a first step to rid the European continent of nuclear weapons. The USA would assume an obligation not to transfer its strategic and medium-range missiles to other countries, while Britain and France would not build up their relevant nuclear arms. It is necessary that from the start the USA and the USSR agree to stop all nuclear explosions and call upon other nuclear states to join the moratorium.

The second stage is to begin no later than 1990 and to last for 5 to 7 years. During these years, nuclear disarmament would be joined by the other nuclear powers. In this period the USSR and the USA would continue the arms reductions agreed upon during the first stage and also carry out further measures designed to eliminate their medium-range nuclear weapons, freeze their tactical nuclear systems. Following the completion by the USSR and the USA of the 50 per cent reduction in their relevant arms at the second stage, another radical step is to be taken: all nuclear powers will eliminate their tactical nuclear arms.

At the second stage, the Soviet-American understanding on the prohibition of space strike weapons should become multilateral, with the obligatory participation in it of major industrial powers. All nuclear powers would stop nuclear weapon tests. Simultaneously, the development of non-nuclear weapons based on new physical principles, whose destructive capacity is close to that of nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction would be prohibited.

The third stage should begin not later than 1995. By the end of 1999, no nuclear weapons would remain on Earth. Moreover, a universal agreement is to be drawn up to prevent such weapons from being revived in future.

The new Soviet proposals, however broad their scope, are specific and practicable. This was noted immediately by many bourgeois news media. A West German magazine proposed that the Soviet initiatives be accepted as "a comprehensive universal and thoroughly elaborated, in time and content, working plan"¹ of eliminating nuclear weapons.

True, the meaning of the Statement is often deliberately distorted in the Western press. It is stressed in the Statement that the reduction of strategic weapons is only possible if the development, testing and deployment of space strike weapons are banned. Some people in the West are trying to present this condition as "linkage" of sorts, that is, employment of the method constantly used by the United States in its foreign-policy activity, while others began even to speak of a "Soviet ultimatum". What is evident is the deliberate distortion of the truth. The Statement says not about "linkage" but about the objective logical interrelationship which cannot be broken because of the Pentagon's plans envisaging a first strike from behind a "space shield".

It is also quite obvious that the development of a new type of weapons and their deployment in outer space cannot open a way to an elimination of nuclear weapons, though the US Administration spokesmen are trying to convince the nations it can. On the contrary, this will crea-

¹ See *Der Spiegel*, Jan. 20, 1986.

The Soviet Proposal

1986	Stage One	Stage Two	Stage Three	2000
	USSR and USA 1990	USSR and USA 1995	USSR and USA 1995	USSR and USA 1995
	<p>END ALL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS</p> <p>WITHIN THE NEXT 5-8 YEARS REDUCE BY HALF THE NUCLEAR ARMS THAT CAN REACH EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY AND MUTUALLY RENOUNCE THE DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF SPACE STRIKE WEAPONS, ON THE REMAINING DELIVERY VEHICLES EACH SIDE RETAINS NO MORE THAN 6,000 WARHEADS.</p> <p>FULLY ELIMINATE MEDIUM-RANGE (BALLISTIC AND CRUISE) MISSILES IN THE EUROPEAN ZONE</p>	<p>TAKE FURTHER STEPS TO ELIMINATE THEIR MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR ARMS</p>	<p>COMPLETE THE ELIMINATION OF ALL REMAINING NUCLEAR WEAPONS</p>	
	<p>THE USA DOES NOT TRANSFER TO OTHER COUNTRIES ITS STRATEGIC AND MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES AND WARHEADS FOR THEM</p>	<p>FREEZE THEIR TACTICAL NUCLEAR SYSTEMS</p>		
	<p>Britain and France</p> <p>DO NOT BUILD UP THEIR RELEVANT NUCLEAR ARMS</p>	<p>The Other Nuclear Powers</p> <p>FREEZE THEIR NUCLEAR ARMS AND DO NOT HAVE THEM ON THE TERRITORY OF OTHER COUNTRIES</p>	<p>The Other Nuclear Powers</p> <p>TOTALLY ELIMINATE THEIR NUCLEAR ARMS</p>	
		<p>All Nuclear Powers</p> <p>CEASE NUCLEAR ARMS TESTING</p>	<p>All Nuclear Powers</p> <p>ELIMINATE THEIR TACTICAL NUCLEAR ARMS HAVING A RANGE (OR RADIUS OF ACTION) OF UP TO 1,000 km.</p>	
		<p>Multilateral Commitments</p> <p>ON BANNING SPACE STRIKE WEAPONS</p> <p>ON BANNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS BASED ON NEW PHYSICAL PRINCIPLES</p>		<p>A UNIVERSAL AGREEMENT ON PREVENTING THE REVIVAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR ALL TIME COMES INTO FORCE</p>

te a situation in which, as was noted in a recent message by the USSR Supreme Soviet to the US Congress, the arms race "will grow unprecedentedly and take most dangerous turns". But to prevent the arms race from spilling over into outer space means to lift a barrier to large-scale reductions of nuclear arms. This is precisely why the Soviet Union, although its material and intellectual potential enables it to produce any weapons, proposes, as it did at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly last year, that any space militarisation programmes be dropped and that mankind concentrate on extensive exploration of outer space for peaceful purposes to ensure progress for the entire world and reliable security for all.

The new Soviet Programme also provides for effective verification of all measures that are to relieve the nations of the heavy burden of armaments and to remove the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. Naturally, verification details are yet to be discussed and agreed upon. The Soviet Union—and this is of fundamental importance—insists that verification with regard to the weapons that are to be destroyed or limited would be carried out both by national technical means and with the help of international procedures, including on-site inspection whenever necessary. The USSR is ready to reach agreement on any additional verification measures. This convincingly disproves the thesis being spread by imperialist politicians and propaganda that the Soviet Union is a "closed society" that will never allow any verification and, therefore, one should not trust Moscow's disarmament proposals, for they are a "trap" for the West. The absurdity of this allegation has become most obvious now.

The USSR has demonstrated its constructive approach to the programme of eliminating nuclear weapons and its wish to place it on a practical basis by yet another important decision—to extend by three months its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions (its term had expired on December 31, 1985) and again proposed that the United States join the moratorium.

It is certainly no accident that a considerable part of the new Soviet initiatives directly concern Europe. If Soviet and American medium-range missiles were eliminated from our continent, without mixing and overburdening this matter with other problems, it would untie perhaps one of the most complicated knots in current world politics, and the path to a radical reduction in nuclear arms and to their complete elimination would be cleared to a considerable extent.

Parallel with the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, the Soviet Union also thinks it possible fully to eliminate by that year such barbaric weapons of mass destruction as chemical weapons, and to take effective measures to reduce armed forces and conventional arms. To that end, all the talks now under way should be activated and the disarmament mechanisms in Geneva, Stockholm and Vienna made most effective. In this way the dangerous tendency when the rate of the arms race exceeds the rate of progress at the talks would be overcome.

The implementation of the programme of eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of this century would also bring the security in Asia to a qualitatively new level and contribute to a search, together with all Asian countries, for an overall comprehensive approach to establishing a system of secure and durable peace on this largest continent with the biggest population.

No state has ever proposed such a detailed and comprehensive programme whose implementation would block all ways to stepping up the arms race. It has set the goal of establishing a new approach to disarmament problems in international relations and calls for abandoning, as the Statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee reads, the thinking of the Stone Age, when the chief concern was to have

a bigger stick or a heavier stone. With such a mentality military rivalry can become an avalanche and any control over the course of events can be impossible. The new Soviet proposals precisely open the way to a radical improvement of the international situation and provide for security to all nations.

Such an approach of the Soviet Union to the prospects of international development has been adopted by the Soviet Union not because, as is sometimes alleged in the West, it is "scared" by the escalation of the arms race by the United States, especially by its space plans. This approach is motivated, above all, by the high sense of responsibility for the destinies of the world, for the destinies of all nations. The USSR sees its duty in using all the prestige of socialism and every opportunity this system offers for tipping the balance in favour of peace and turning international developments in a direction along which mankind could enter the third millenium in a situation of equal and reliable security for all.

The Statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee is a logical continuation of the principled policy pursued consistently by Soviet Communists and all Soviet people, a policy based on the wish to deliver mankind from the fear of destruction in a nuclear conflagration. The proposals it contains have once again clearly demonstrated the most typical features of Soviet foreign policy—its initiative and consistent nature.

It is appropriate to recall in this context that the Soviet Union was the *first* country in the world to advance practical proposals on elaborating measures on the general reduction of armaments way back at the Genoa Conference in 1922 and proposed the convocation of the *first* ever international conference on disarmament, which was held that same year. The Soviet government then proposed a concrete plan for cutting back the numerical strength of the armies of the countries taking part in that Conference. In 1925, the Soviet Union was among the *first* to sign the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, and in the late 1920s and early 1930s it tabled a draft convention on general, complete and immediate disarmament and then a draft convention on arms reduction at the preparatory commission of the World Disarmament Conference and at the Conference itself.

The Leninist course towards general disarmament, of which the destruction of nuclear weapons is a major component today, was continued by the Soviet Union after the Second World War. It tabled at the United Nations, as early as 1946, a draft international convention envisaging an obligation not to use atomic weapons under any circumstances, to forbid their production and storage, and to destroy all the manufactured and unfinished atomic weapons available at that time. But, it will be recalled, the United States rejected that draft in the hope of securing for itself nuclear arms monopoly as a means of world domination. As a result, the world was drawn in the escalation of nuclear armaments.

Though the USSR, in order to build up its defence capacity and to defend the fraternal socialist countries, was compelled to create nuclear weapons of its own, throughout the period that followed it continued to insist on the need to stop the buildup of nuclear arsenals and find an immediate solution to the nuclear disarmament problem.

The struggle against the threat of a nuclear holocaust, for the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons has always been central to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The key item of these proposals, which have been put forward by the USSR at the UN and during the bilateral

and multilateral negotiations with Western countries, is the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear arms to be followed by their destruction, by their removal from the arsenals of all states. The same idea is behind the Soviet efforts to solve in a most radical way the nuclear problem through a complete and unreserved rejection of these monstrous weapons of mass destruction, and the USSR carries on a persistent struggle also for individual, partial measures to restrict the nuclear arms race in all directions wherever it may be possible: a limitation and reduction of strategic arms, clearing Europe of nuclear weapons, a general and complete ban on nuclear weapon tests, the non-proliferation of these weapons, a nuclear arms freeze, the creation of nuclear-free zones, and so on.

Furthermore, demonstrating its desire for peace and a high sense of responsibility for the destiny of nations, the USSR assumed in 1982 a unilateral commitment to refrain from first use of nuclear weapons; in 1983, also unilaterally, it imposed a moratorium on launching antisatellite weapons; in 1985, on deploying medium-range missiles in Europe; and finally, in that same year, on nuclear weapon tests.

The Soviet initiatives served as an impetus which helped to begin talks on many aspects of disarmament, bilateral—between the USSR and the USA—and multilateral. It is the purposeful political course of the USSR towards achieving tangible results in winding down the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, that made it possible to reach several major understandings aimed at slowing down the arms race, such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, the Soviet-US Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-1), the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-2), and the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems.

By contrast, the USA has, throughout the postwar period, invariably launched new rounds of the nuclear arms race and thought it possible that these arms could be used, though, of course, its political leaders did not stint peaceful assurance, nor do they now. In fact, *Washington has always been the first to start developing a new generation of weapons* at every turning point in the nuclear arms buildup: the testing of the atom bomb, and then the hydrogen bomb, the manufacture of heavy strategic bombers, atomic artillery, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs), the deployment of intercontinental ballistic missiles, and so on.

Ever since nuclear weapons have appeared, the USSR has never, under no circumstances, threatened to use them, while the USA has issued such threats more than once. It has long been an open secret that US politicians and brass hats calculated right after the war on how many Soviet cities nuclear bombs should be dropped in order to fulfil the insane plans for "rolling back communism" and contemplated in earnest the possibility of using nuclear weapons during the events in Korea and Indochina, the way they were used in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Each time a resolution or a declaration was being adopted at the United Nations, reflecting the growing concern of world public opinion over the arms race escalation, especially the nuclear arms buildup, and the demand was clearly expressed that a world nuclear catastrophe be averted—the Resolution on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations and Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons for All Time (1972), the Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe (1981), the declaration condemning nuclear war (1983) and a number of other documents—the USA has invariably been with the minority, among those who voted against them.

It is due to the USA that the disarmament negotiations were stuck for years and in a number of instances the talks, which had started earlier, were disrupted, while many understandings reached after a long search for mutually acceptable solutions, the search which sometimes continued for years, as was the case with the SALT-2 Treaty, have never been legislatively formalised by the American side.

Doctrines and concepts envisaging the admissibility of nuclear war ("limited", "protracted", etc.) were produced in the USA one after another. They increased the probability of war, because on their basis the directives were drawn up whose chief aim was to achieve US military superiority, to upset the approximate Soviet-American military parity and thus to disturb stability in the world. All these doctrines and practical measures were based on the concept of a first, disarming, strike.

The unrestrained military preparations plans culminated in the "star wars" doctrine advanced by the present Republican Administration. One of its most vicious aspects is that the so-called strategic defense initiative (SDI) added to the aggressiveness of the military-industrial complex which is suggesting to the Americans "thoughts about the unthinkable", that is, about the admissibility of nuclear war and the possibility of victory in it. For this reason the Heritage Foundation, the brain trust of the ultra-right circles in the USA, has been importunately reiterating in its recent publications on "star wars" problems the idea that a nuclear war can be won if the USA is able to protect itself with a space shield from Soviet missiles.

The US ruling elite is now pulling all strings in a bid to make the economy and science, too, work for the "star wars" plans. It has been estimated that the spending on the SDI will run into one trillion dollars by the end of this century. To finance these plans the Administration is reducing drastically the spending on social needs, which, as the well-known American physician Benjamin Spock justly noted, dooms millions of Americans to poverty and leaves "millions more in hopeless despair". Benjamin Spock is convinced that such steps "will push the National Debt so astronomically high that the US would self-destruct economically long before Star Wars ever gets off the ground".

Today, the world has come to a dangerous point at which the arms race can spill over into outer space, which spells unprecedented menace to all people on Earth. Even experienced persons having a good knowledge of history, such as former US Ambassador to the USSR George Kennan, now a well-known historian, who, incidentally had put into circulation the idea of "containing" the Soviet Union, have arrived at the conclusion that it is the United States that is to be contained. "There is much in our own life, here in this country, that needs early containment. It could, in fact, be said that the first thing we Americans need to learn to contain is, in some ways, ourselves."²

It is this containment that the US Administration lacks. "In implementing the 'star wars' programme," said Mikhail Gorbachev in an interview to the newspaper *L'Humanité*, "Washington, in fact, deliberately aims to thwart the current talks and erase all the existing arms limitation agreements. In this case, the USSR and the United States, their allies, the entire world would find themselves, as early as in the forthcoming years, in a situation of totally uncontrolled arms race, strategic chaos, the most dangerous disruption of stability, general uncertainty and fear, and the enhanced risk of catastrophe linked to that."

By adopting new "super-weapons" and the "wonder technology" the USA wants to ensure absolute security for itself, while placing others in a position of "absolute danger". Space militarisation can bring about a

² *Newsday*, Jan. 12, 1986.

situation in which decision-making will have to be handed over to computers and robots, thus making mankind hostage of the machines, and therefore, of technical breakdowns and faults. How far dangerous this is has been shown by the recent tragedy of the American spacecraft Challenger.

By contrast with the US concept of security based on the SDI, the Soviet concept ensures equal security for all to be achieved by arms reduction and disarmament, with the ultimate goal of totally eliminating all types of mass destruction weapons.

So, the new Soviet peace initiatives clearly demonstrate that the course of socialism is diametrically opposite to the antipopular and venturesome line of US imperialism on the world scene. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union approved at its 27th Congress the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, the document whose peaceful content gives the lie to the assertions of reactionary propaganda about the "aggressiveness" of socialism and about a "Soviet military threat". Meanwhile, the leaders of the much vaunted "free society" are charting the main directions of "development" till the end of this century, clearly proceeding from the interests of the military-industrial complex, giving priority to continued military preparations.

Our new proposals", reads the Statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "are addressed to the whole world". And the world has responded to them. It would be no exaggeration to say there was a general sigh of relief and hope. "The programme of disarmament, development and peace for the whole of mankind"—this is how the Statement was characterised by the Bulgarian newspaper *Rabotnichesko Delo*.

Politicians and parties, spokesmen of parliaments and municipalities, trade-union, women's, youth, religious and other public organisations, scientists, workers in culture, and leaders of diverse trends in antiwar and antinuclear movements have noted the timely, bold, humane and constructive character of the new Soviet moves. The Statement, writes *The New York Times*, makes one aware of the new dynamism of the Soviet Union. Though the Soviet Union had called for complete disarmament before, the paper says, this time it imparted to the idea a new force, and offered a concrete timetable, which apparently means a serious approach to this major problem of our time. "We," said the Japanese newspaper *Tokyo Shimbun*, "welcome the new Soviet proposals. The fact that the Soviet leader named specific dates of complete elimination of nuclear arms is of an epoch-making significance."

The new Soviet proposals were met with enthusiastic approval in socialist countries and in developing states. Many Western countries, too, published statements in which they in one way or another approved the new Soviet initiatives and said they should be "studied fully and thoroughly". This idea was expressed, for instance, by a spokesman of the British Foreign Office. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the FRG, described the Soviet proposals as "something substantially new".

The US President declared he was "encouraged" by the Soviet proposals, and added that this was perhaps the first time that anyone proposed that nuclear weapons should be really destroyed. But Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger hastened to stress that the President's adherence to the SDI and the significance the USA attached to it were widely known. Nothing has changed in that, he stressed.

The peoples of the world expect from the US leadership not answers which are, in fact, confrontational, but a display of a political will for const-

ructive cooperation in solving the priority problems put forward by the Soviet Union. The US Administration declared in the past its adherence to the idea of liquidating nuclear weapons. Now the Soviet Union is offering it an opportunity of doing this not in word but in deed. And it is important that no time be wasted, that the new Soviet ideas not be drowned in a quagmire of all kinds of questions, doubts and evasions of answers to the clear-cut proposals. In the capitals of Western powers there are enough experienced experts who can properly assess the proposals and give their comprehensive conclusions. During a talk with Andrei Gromyko in Moscow, former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance said that from his point of view the US Administration should give a detailed answer, item by item, so that businesslike talks could begin. Though no government in the West expressed a negative response to the new Soviet moves, the leaders of states cannot afford to be slow in adopting their own decisions on them, or to delay actions on preventing a nuclear disaster.

The Statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, no doubt, imparted fresh force to the debate, growing most acute at times, on issues of war and peace, on curbing the arms race and improving relations with the socialist world, the debate which has long been going on in the countries of the capitalist West (in the USA above all). The debate is being joined by ever broader sections of the public. Indeed, the course towards confrontation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries increasingly runs counter to the national interests of the capitalist countries themselves, setting off protests among the progressive forces, and comes up against mounting resistance on the part of more realistic-minded sections of the bourgeoisie. Precisely these sentiments had their impact on the White House as it agreed to holding the Soviet-US summit meeting in Geneva in November 1985. The US reactionaries, by contrast, are taking actions obviously designed for kindling enmity and distrust, for reviving confrontation, this antipode of detente, and spreading pessimistic views with regard to the prospects of Soviet-American relations and the possibility of their improvement and development on principles of mutual benefit.

Nevertheless, the increasing number of people in the United States recall the time when both powers reached a required level of trust and concord to make a tangible contribution to the elaboration and adoption of international and bilateral documents aimed at limiting the buildup of arms, nuclear arms above all, in the world. For instance, ex-President Richard Nixon writes in the book *Real Peace*: "We will continue to have political differences that will drive us apart. We must also recognise, however, that the United States and the Soviet Union have two common interests that can draw us together. As the world's two greatest military powers, we both want to avoid a major war that neither of us would survive. As the world's two major economic powers—each with enormous resources and capable people—we can cooperate in ways that could benefit both of us immensely."³

A similar idea, in fact, was expressed by George Kennan, who wrote after the Geneva summit that "it is entirely clear that Soviet leaders do not want a war with us and are not planning to initiate one.... We are going to have to learn to take as the basis for our calculations, a much more penetrating and sophisticated view of that particular country than the one that has become embedded in much of our public rhetoric.... We are going to have to recognise that a large proportion of the sources of our troubles and dangers lies... within ourselves."⁴

In the political life in the United States ever greater prominence is given to the problem of making the government stop the underground

³ Richard Nixon, *Real Peace*, Boston-Toronto, 1984, p. 16.

⁴ *Newsday*, Jan. 12, 1986

tests of nuclear weapons which are needed by the military mostly for fulfilling space militarisation plans within the SDI framework. Speaking about these plans, Ronald Dellums, a senior member of the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Research and Development, says: "In advocating the expansion of the arms race into a new technological arena, the administration risks losing what may well be the final opportunity for the nuclear superpowers to negotiate their way back from the brink of nuclear annihilation. Too often in the past the US has relied on the illusion of its technological superiority, however transitory, to forge new frontiers in the escalation of the nuclear arms race. To continue on this wrong-headed path is to accelerate the timetable for our mutual destruction. The time to act with responsible and peaceful creativity is now."⁵

No wonder, then, that, as can be seen from US press reports, letters and telegrams from public organisations and individual US citizens demanding a positive answer to the Soviet proposals and an immediate joining of the moratorium on all nuclear explosions, were received by the White House right after the Statement by Mikhail Gorbachev was published. Many organs of news media in the West express the opinion that the US President found himself in a tight corner after the USSR challenged his main argument on which the SDI is based—that a space "shield" is the best way of removing the nuclear war threat.⁶ As a result, an American weekly writes: "Reagan is caught in a public relations bind".⁷

In this situation, the opponents of the new Soviet moves, clearly afraid of being in isolation, do not venture to reject them outright, but prefer a tactics of reservations. They pretend to back the idea of constructive talks with the Soviet Union and admit in words that the Soviet proposals "deserve serious attention", but at the same time they display an obvious unwillingness to heed the call for joining the USSR-announced moratorium on all nuclear explosions, and keep insisting on carrying out the "star wars" programme. Some organs of news media are trying to prove that the Soviet plan of nuclear disarmament can allegedly add to the tensions in relations between the USA and its European allies, for whom it could be "fatal" because, it is alleged, without the nuclear component NATO would become an "empty shell" and Western Europe would be confronted with the superior non-nuclear forces of the USSR. Pierre Lellouche, Associate Director of the French Institute of International Relations, even said in the *Newsweek* magazine that a rejection of nuclear weapons "can only make Europe 'safe' for a total conventional war."⁸

The idea is being spread that the elimination of nuclear weapons can allegedly almost destabilise the situation on whole continents. In a world without nuclear weapons, writes *The New York Times*, "the man with one bomb would be king" and a country which would acquire such weapons would come up to the level of a superpower.⁹ This reasoning shows once again that some Western politicians and journalists are obviously incapable of thinking in a new way, which is strongly demanded by the nuclear age and by the momentous tasks facing mankind, the tasks of liquidating nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

The Soviet Union did not expect, of course, the implementation of its proposals to be all that simple. There are quite many opponents of disarmament and they resort to most sophisticated tricks to deceive the peoples and put up insuperable barriers in the way to solving this most burning problem.

⁵ *Daily World*, Oct. 24, 1985.

⁶ *The New York Times*, Jan. 19, 1986.

⁷ *Time*, Jan. 27, 1986.

⁸ *Newsweek*, Feb. 3, 1986.

⁹ See *The New York Times*, Jan. 19, 1986.

And still, one has every reason to say that the Soviet proposals take the wind out of those who wish to line their pockets by continuing the arms race, even if it would bring an irreparable catastrophe to mankind, and discourage those who stick to the utopian dream of world domination, who still harbour illusions that the progress of mankind can be stopped.

The main thing now is that a recognition by the West, especially the USA, of the importance of the peace proposals would be followed by practical actions as soon as possible. The peoples have every right to hope that the coming period will not be marred by relapses into cold war, that it will see major practical understandings reached on ending the arms race and safeguarding peace.

The goals of the Soviet programme—to save life on Earth—are most noble and humane. Its implementation would offer favourable conditions for solving global and national problems. Deliverance of mankind from weaponry will help speed up the social and economic development of all countries and make it possible to win the war against the age-old enemies of humanity—backwardness, hunger, disease, illiteracy, and others.

Historical optimism has been characteristic of the CPSU, the Soviet state, and all Soviet people. The new edition of the Programme of the CPSU says that, "however grave the threat to peace posed by the policy of the aggressive circles of imperialism, *world war is not fatally inevitable. It is possible to avert war and to save mankind from catastrophe. This is the historical mission of socialism, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world*".

The Soviet strategy of peace says that the solution to the cardinal problems of the end of the 20th century must not be put off or delayed. The present-day world situation leaves too little time to solve them. Therefore, the Soviet Union declares: the situation as it is today is complex and dangerous, but tomorrow it may be still more complex and more dangerous. However, the Soviet people believes that the world can be delivered from the threat of nuclear war, that it can get rid of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. To achieve that, there must be political will and preparedness to start, right now, the search for a solution to the problem mar-
ring the life of the present generation.

The International Significance of the 12th Five-Year Plan Period

Yu. S H I R Y A Y E V,

A. B A R K O V S K Y

The Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, which set concrete plan targets in attaining the programmatic goals of the CPSU, have met with a broad response in the socialist, developing, and developed capitalist countries. That is not only due to the role played by the Soviet Union, with its immense production, scientific and technical potential, in the economy and politics of the modern world. Of key importance here are the character and scale of the tasks formulated for the next fifteen years, the first stage in whose practical realisation will be the 12th five-year period.

The whole of progressive mankind has welcomed the constructive nature of the programme for the Soviet Union's economic and social development, drawn up with due regard for the possibilities of mutually advantageous international cooperation and presenting a constructive alternative to the plans for a spiralling arms race and a further militarisation of the economy being designed by the leading capitalist powers at the bidding of the corporations of the military-industrial complex.

Soviet five-year plans have always had a most significant effect on socio-economic and political processes in the world. In the far from simple present-day situation, the CPSU's consistent line to develop trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural ties with other countries on a mutually advantageous basis acquires special importance. With the accelerating switch to new lines of machinery and technology, major technological and structural changes are taking place in the world economy. In spite of the attempts by the leading Western countries to use programming methods, the technological revolution under capitalism involves an aggravation of internal and inter-imperialist contradictions, a deepening crisis of the system of international division of labour created by monopoly capital.

Technical progress under capitalism serves as a kind of catalyst, both aggravating its classic contradictions and engendering new knots of tension, which manifest themselves on a global scale, as well as within the framework of individual capitalist countries. The militarisation of the economy is the most graphic example of how capitalist monopolies turn the latest technologies—an instrument of creation—into an ever more dangerous (and costly) destructive force which threatens the very existence of the human civilisation.

That is why the technological revolution in the capitalist countries goes hand in hand with an upsurge of the antiwar movement that embraces the most diverse strata of the population, with an intensification of the

class struggle, one of whose ever more important elements is becoming the struggle for the right to work. The forces of national liberation and social emancipation are taking ever more purposeful and vigorous actions.

A point to note is that the deep-rooted contradictions of capitalism, manifesting themselves on a global scale, ultimately exert a destructive external effect on the economy of the developed capitalist countries themselves. The militarisation of the economy, the huge international indebtedness totalling more than a trillion dollars, and the deepening crisis of the capitalist monetary system—all these factors raise ever new barriers in the way of external economic expansion by the Western states.

Nor can capitalism any longer lay claim to a monopoly in the field of technical progress. The CPSU and the other fraternal parties offer a socialist alternative of constructive use of the latest scientific and technical achievements in the interests of progressive changes in the world economy, an alternative which attracts ever more attention not only in the developing states, but also in the countries of developed capitalism.

That alternative makes it possible to ensure in practice an ever closer interdependence of mankind's economic, social and spiritual progress, to establish effective international cooperation with a view to a positive solution of mankind's global problems. Lenin's idea that "until the economic problem is faced from a world standpoint and not merely from the standpoint of certain nations or group of nations, a solution is impossible",¹ fully applies to problems of that kind.

Take, for instance, the programme of space exploration. In the USA in recent years it has been clearly oriented towards the preparation of "star wars" and has in effect been put under the Pentagon's control. The Soviet Union is a consistent advocate of turning outer space into a sphere of fruitful international cooperation. Not only socialist, but also developing states are known to have taken part in Soviet space projects. With the growth of the economic, scientific and technical potential of the CMEA community countries, the possibilities for expanding international cooperation will undoubtedly increase.

As Mikhail Gorbachev noted, "our day is the true Golden Age of science. The boundaries of knowledge are expanding at an unprecedented pace. In every field of knowledge—from the microcosm to outer space—human reason is penetrating into the deepest recesses of nature, which only recently seemed to be unattainable. Full use of the results of cognition would qualitatively enrich man's material and spiritual life."²

The growing might and cohesion of the socialist community countries serve to ensure peace and social progress. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government have been doing all that is necessary to go on strengthening the fraternal alliance of socialist countries, to develop and deepen their political and economic cooperation. True to the principles of socialist internationalism, our Party will continue doing its utmost to extend the cooperation between the fraternal states and strengthen their positions in international affairs.

In the 1986-1990 five-year period, the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries are to accelerate their advance along all the vanguard lines of science and technology. The main task of the 12th five-year plan period in developing the national economy of the USSR is to speed up the pace and raise the efficiency of economic development on the basis of a radical acceleration of scientific and technical progress, technical re-equip-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, p. 177.

² *Pravda*, Nov. 14, 1985.

ment and remodelling of production, intensive use of the existing production potential, and a perfection of the administrative system and the economic mechanism in order to attain a further improvement of the Soviet people's wellbeing.

That task is specified both in general economic indicators, which show a distinct tendency to faster socio-economic development, and in qualitative indicators, which orient towards a breakthrough in the endeavour to intensify production.

Thus, under the 12th five-year plan, the national income going into consumption and accumulation is to increase by 19-22 per cent, and industrial production by 21-24 per cent. The whole increase in the output of industrial goods and farm produce, and also in the building industry and transport is to be attained through higher labour productivity. Challenging targets have been set for the economic use of all types of resources, for reducing fuel and raw-material inputs and the cost-value of goods. Thus, the material intensity of the country's national income will be lowered by 4-5 per cent, energy—by 7-9 per cent and metal—by 13-15 per cent. There is to be a sharp increase in the renewal of the production apparatus. The rate of replacement of obsolete production assets is to be at least doubled as compared with the preceding five-year period. The level of production automatization will rise two-fold, and the application of basic progressive technologies will increase by 1.5-2 times.

Attainment of the five-year plan targets will entail a further strengthening of the USSR's economic, scientific and technical potential and will create prerequisites for a successful fulfilment of the strategic tasks projected for the period up to the year 2000. That is why the international significance of the new five-year period should also be assessed in the context of the CPSU's long-term strategy, the strategy of accelerating socio-economic development.

The strategy of accelerating development now determines the concerted common line of the socialist community countries. The Communist and Workers' Parties of the fraternal states regard an acceleration of scientific and technological progress, the development and introduction of essentially new types of machinery and technology as the main element of the socialist community's present economic strategy. Joint efforts in this field can help to accelerate progress in the crucial areas of production, science and technology, to restructure the national economy, ensure a fuller solution of social problems, and give more efficient assistance to Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam in evening out their economic development levels.

In order to resolve these tasks and in accordance with the decisions of their Economic Summit, the CMEA countries jointly elaborated and adopted at the 41st (extraordinary) Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance a Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress in the CMEA countries up to the year 2000.

The 1986-1990 five-year period is crucial to the fulfilment of the decisions taken by the 41st Session of the CMEA. The thing to do now, so to speak, is to start the well-adjusted mechanism for the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress and to attain tangible scientific, technical and economic results in the nearest future.

Obviously, the Soviet Union, which has the largest economic, scientific and technical potential, will objectively make the biggest contribution to the acceleration of scientific and technological progress on the scale of the socialist community as a whole. That enhances the international importance of the 12th five-year plan. Not only the general (total) results of the community's development in the period up to 1990 and over the

longer term, but also the concrete fulfilment of the key scientific, technical and economic tasks in each CMEA country will *directly* depend on the successful fulfilment of the tasks projected for the five-year period.

As Comrade Gustáv Husák said at the 15th Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee, the Czechoslovak Communists should derive benefit from the fact that the CPC forum is being prepared simultaneously with the preparation of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, which "sets an inspiring example in formulating bolder goals and tasks".

The Hungarian economist M. Simai wrote in an article entitled "Long-Term Programme" that "changes in economic policy and the administrative system in the course of the Soviet Union's development have never been its purely internal matter. That was due not only and not even primarily to the world economic importance of the Soviet Union or its role in the system of international economic ties. In the past, international interest was primarily due to socio-political causes. In the 1980s, the international impact of the Soviet Union's development has become even more important from the economic standpoint."

In entering its new five-year period, the Soviet Union has markedly enriched its economic cooperation with the other members of the socialist community. The results of the CMEA's 41st Session, which considered the major issues of cooperation, have been discussed in every participant country. Report published in these countries emphasised that a major practical step has been taken to concert their economic, scientific and technical policies and project a strategy for their further development.

The heads of the various industries, scientific and technical agencies, enterprises and science-production associations that are involved in the collective implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress are unanimous in that it will not only help the community to accelerate the development of new technologies, but it will allow to take a qualitative technological stride forward in the major fields of scientific and technical progress.

Solving this task will assist in increasing labour productivity by at least two times and will help save materials and energy, decreasing the amounts used by 1.5-2 times in the CMEA countries as a whole by the year 2000.

The decisions of the CMEA's 41st Session have been welcomed by the working people of the fraternal countries: their implementation will help quicker to translate into life the main ideals of socialism connected with the creative character of labour and its attractiveness, with the ever more diverse use of spare time for meaningful rest, education, the raising of children, sports, gardening, technical creativity, and so on.

Existing socialism has proved its fundamental advantages in practice. These are connected, in particular, with the humanism of the new social system, which has rooted out unemployment (an inherent feature of the developed capitalist countries) and has eliminated the threat of hunger (characteristic of the less-developed states). That is precisely why present-day capitalism fears existing socialism. The priority task of international imperialism is to do its utmost in order to prevent the new social system from revealing its advantages in full measure. In the nuclear age, however, an attempt to resolve that task by military means amounts to suicide.

The rough military-strategic parity attained between the USSR and the USA, and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO has now become a reliable shield holding back the adventurist Western cir-

cles. If necessary, socialism is able to build up its defence capability in order to retain the parity. But it is not in the least interested in such a turn of events. On the contrary, its vital interests lie in the sphere of detente and disarmament, for once the burden of military spending is thrown off, our development will be even faster and more comprehensive. And that cuts across the interests of the corporations which determine the policy of the imperialist powers. In a bid to maintain and multiply their profits, they are trying to prove that the arms race can retard the development of socialism and inhibit its potential advantages.

Attempts of another kind are also being made. Back in the years of detente, US anti-communist "theorist" Zbigniew Brzezinski and his followers first alleged that the socialist countries were dependent on Western technology. If the more credulous of these, the argument went, were enticed into the "deep waters" of such dependence and left without any supplies of the necessary materials and spare parts, they would immediately go down under the weight of their debts.

Reactionary Western circles are still trying to follow such a policy in our day, drawing up ever new prohibitive lists in their trade with the socialist countries. In late 1985, US Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle called for a two to three-fold increase in the range of goods banned for export to the CMEA countries. That often meets with protest on the part of Western businessmen, who come to realise in the course of business contacts that such measures with regard to their partners are futile and that they themselves have something to learn from the latter. Such a conclusion was published in specialised journals by US engineers after their visit to an international exhibition of machine-tools held in the USSR not long ago. In the present five-year period, the quality and competitiveness of Soviet manufactures are to go up sharply, which will create material prerequisites for an extension of mutually advantageous international cooperation, including cooperation in mastering the latest machinery and technology.

Let us recall that by signing the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress the leaders of the fraternal countries reaffirmed the pledge contained in it that the Programme is not directed against the interests of any people or any state. On the contrary, it expresses an all-out readiness to help the developing countries overcome their technical and economic backwardness as soon as possible, and to expand economic, scientific and technical ties. At this juncture, some Western leaders would do well to think of whether the line for technological invulnerability taken by the socialist countries will not lead to a loss of major contracts from these countries, and so to a further worsening of the problems of employment, the loading of production capacities, and so on.

In order to reduce the constructive influence exerted on international public by the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress in the CMEA countries, the Western mass media are trying to foist a simple thesis upon the public. Its essence is that by drawing its CMEA partners into the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme, the Soviet Union is allegedly trying to impose upon them its own backward technology and push them onto the road of autarky.

There is no need to say much about the primitive cliché on backward technology. The working people of the USSR and the other fraternal countries are self-critical in assessing the technical level of some of our lines of production and the aesthetic qualities of a number of consumer goods. And such self-criticism is the sign of a determination to eliminate the shortcomings. But who can seriously charge a country with technological backwardness if that country was the first to start exploring outer

space and is a leader in many lines of fundamental and applied research?

As for autarky, the socialist community countries' line of strengthening their technico-economic security and technological invulnerability has nothing in common with autarky. It is not we who have invented COCOM, an international agency set up by the capitalist countries under NATO's auspices to place bans on trade with the socialist countries. Its prohibitive lists are drawn up to include the most conventional equipment or chemical agents labelled as "dual-purpose" goods. The technical futility of such methods has been proved repeatedly over the past decades, while on the economic plane the greatest losses from narrowing markets are suffered by the producer himself.

The Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries stand for technological competition and constructive cooperation in the conditions of a just and lasting peace. As the Warsaw Treaty member-states noted in their Statement of October 23, 1985, "At present, thanks to the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and the development of the process of the internationalisation of mankind's economic life, it has become possible to carry out international research and development and experimental design programmes and produce technical means and technologies capable of increasing the productivity of socialised labour many times over. But the aim of such programmes is important... In the present conditions, international scientific and technical cooperation must pursue exclusively peaceful aims and must be given a global nature. That will be the most reliable guarantee that the new achievements of human genius will not become a source of strife between nations but will be collectively used by them in their common interests. An integrated global programme in this field could serve such aims as the use of electronics, robotics, biotechnology, nuclear physics and other key areas of modern science and technology in solving problems concerning mankind as a whole. The states participating in the meeting declare that they are prepared to make a considerable contribution to drafting and implementing such a programme."³

Attainment of the targets set for the 12th five-year plan period will amount to a major practical contribution by the Soviet Union to the development of international cooperation, to strengthening the material fabric of international detente.

³ *Pravda*, Oct. 24, 1985.

NEWLY FREE COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Ye. T A R A B R I N

As is noted in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, the embarking of the formerly enslaved peoples on the road of independence, the rise of dozens of new states and their increasing role in world politics and in the world economy are one of the distinctive features of the present epoch. These states—former objects and present-day subjects of history—are taking an active part in international affairs, are taking an increasingly independent stand on the vital problems of our time, while their anti-imperialist struggle for strengthening their independence and social progress has become an integral part of the world revolutionary process.

According to the laws of materialistic dialectics, there, of course, exist certain distinctions between the collective positions held by the newly free countries within the framework of the UN, the non-aligned movement, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the League of Arab States (LAS), and other amalgamations, and the policy pursued by individual countries. The erratic nature of their foreign policy is due to many circumstances, the main ones being the exacerbation of the international situation caused by imperialism, its counteroffensive against former colonies and semicolonies, which remain dependent and exploited in the world capitalist economy, as well as the deterioration of the economic situation, the burden of foreign debt, still unresolved national liberation problems.

Let us examine in this connection how the general and the particular are combined in the growing influence of the newly free countries on the world scene with their opposition to the policy of social revenge.

THE BALANCE OF THE COMMON AND THE PARTICULAR

The countries generally described as “newly free” comprise quite a heterogeneous entity. They include Latin American countries which appeared on the political map of the world almost 200 years ago; many Asian states that gained independence in the 1930s-1940s; African countries attaining their liberation in the last third of the 20th century. However, neither the geographic position nor the date of the country's founding determine the differences between the developing countries. The dividing factor is their choice of national formation. Some countries have opted for socialist orientation; in others capitalist relations are being established.

The newly free countries also differ in the size of their territories, the populace, the availability of natural resources, the level and specific features of economic, political and social development. In some of them one can see a natural economy, transitional pre-bourgeois social groups each with a complex socio-class structure, while in others modern industrial complexes have sprung up and the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie are being formed.

The author, D. Sc. (Hist.), is department head at the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He has written a number of works on the problems of international relations and the national liberation movement.

Neither can one discount the fact that individual developing countries depend to a varying degree on the former metropolies, other imperialist powers, first of all the US. In their turn, the main centres of inter-imperialist rivalry have different "interests" in one or another newly free country depending on their economic, political, military-strategic plans and designs. It is not by chance, for instance, that US imperialism declares some regions of the developing world as zones of its "vital interests".

All these circumstances, combined with the differences in local social, economic and political conditions, affect the differentiation of the newly free countries, engender inconsistency in their foreign policy and provoke conflicts. At the same time, as is stressed in the CPSU Programme, new edition, "however different the newly free countries may be from one another and whatever road they follow, their peoples share a common desire to develop independently and to run their affairs without foreign interference". Therefore, one can clearly see a dialectic contradiction between the common objective basis for unity obtaining in the newly free countries and the centrifugal forces affecting their policy.

However, it is the differentiation observed in the newly free world, the inconsistency of the foreign policy of individual countries, the ongoing acute struggle between various social and political forces in most of them that help international imperialism to invigorate in recent years its attempts to achieve the main strategic goal—to incorporate the newly free countries in its political system, thereby keeping them within the bounds of the capitalist world economy. As was noted by Mikhail Gorbachev, the imperialist states are striving to bind the newly free countries to the capitalist system, and in doing so they are resorting to any means—economic, military, threats and intimidation, handouts and bribes. On many of them there is already a debt noose which is getting tighter by the day. They are prescribed what policy they have to pursue at home. Those who disagree or disobey are overthrown and killed.

In following this course the neocolonialists are making use of some negative phenomena in the policy of individual newly free countries: pragmatism in the approach to relations with the socialist and the industrially developed capitalist states; verbal criticism of the West yet restraint in their legitimate demands to it; the sliding of a number of the non-aligned movement members to the positions of "equidistance"; the desire to "balance" anti-imperialist statements with those tinged with hostility towards the socialist community, the overt readiness to cooperate with the USA and other NATO countries in the military field.

All these phenomena should not in any way be interpreted to mean that the positive role played by the newly free countries in international life is declining. However, certain quarters in the imperialist states, in their stubborn attempts to undermine the historic unity of former colonies and semicolonies, to split the entity of the newly free states in direct or indirect ways, by various means, ranging from official statements to commentaries in the mass media, are pushing the idea that these countries are losing influence in world affairs, while the West, the USA first of all, is called upon to arrest this process.

For instance, the report by the Heritage Foundation, an ultra-right American research organisation, contains a call to the US Administration to "enhance the diplomatic role" of ASEAN by finding a basis for cooperation with the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand and Brunei.¹ As regards Africa, a similar idea was advanced by George Shultz, US Secretary of State. He believes that first of all only those countries which fix their eyes on the United States and the West should be put in the forefront. And General Vernon Walters, US Ambas-

¹ See *Heritage Foundation Report*, Mandate 11, 1985, p. 335.

sador to the United Nations and former Deputy Director of the CIA, stated bluntly that he intended to spend more time than did his predecessor, Jeane Kirkpatrick, "in cultivating Third World opinion..."²

These and many other similar statements as regards the newly free countries clearly indicate Washington's desire to manipulate the foreign policy course of these countries, to set the limits of their political independence. However, reality does not accord with the plans of Washington and those of its allies and destroys the illusions of those who, failing to comprehend, or ignoring, the essence of historically irreversible processes, place their stakes on those representatives of the newly free countries, who, for various reasons, undermine actions against imperialism. However, even such statesmen, contrary to the pressure and promises of neocolonialists, cannot agree to capitulation, particularly in the resolution of global problems, first of all the problems of war and peace. In the final count, it runs counter to their own interests to support, for instance, the course of the White House to restore US military might in Asia, or "to use the economic crisis in Africa as an opportunity to recommend the kinds of fundamental changes in African government policies".³

The question of the balance of the common and the particular in the foreign policy course of the newly free countries and, consequently, their place in world politics has an unequivocal answer. The coincidence of the interests of these countries is becoming supreme. Of course, it is possible that some of them may abandon the common strategy for establishing genuine sovereignty in the fields of the internal problems and in external relations. However, these are the dialectics of the processes taking place in this zone. As for the main goal of humanity—to strengthen international security and to preserve peace on the planet—we are witnessing a growing collective role of the newly free states.

AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN WORLD POLITICS

The non-aligned movement is a particular form of the collective participation of the overwhelming majority of the newly free countries in world affairs. Although it is not an international organisation (it does not have a charter, standing ruling bodies, a budget, etc.) it comprises today about 100 states, the PLO and SWAPO. It should be stressed from the very beginning that the non-aligned movement has been and remains an important positive factor in world politics, and retains its anti-imperialist, antiwar and anticolonial thrust. This was vividly confirmed, in particular, by the conference of the non-aligned countries at the summit level (Delhi, March 1983), as well as its subsequent forums—conferences of the foreign ministers and heads of the delegations of the non-aligned countries at the recent sessions of the UN General Assembly, an extraordinary meeting of the Coordination Bureau on Namibia (Delhi, April 1985), the Conference of Foreign Ministers (Luanda, September 1985).

The decisions of all these forums held against the background of a deteriorating international situation and the serious worsening of economic conditions in the developing countries stressed the need to step up the anti-imperialist, antiwar struggle and to restructure international economic relations on the basis of equality and fairness. In the final analysis, it is to this common denominator that the basic present tasks are reduced, the tasks as they are formulated by its participants.

The protection of national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the non-aligned countries, the averting of external interference in their internal affairs, the rebuff to the power politics of the

² *U.S. News & World Report*, Sept. 23, 1985.

³ *Heritage Foundation Report*, Mandate 11, 1985, p. 355.

neocolonialists are logically connected with the struggle against the imperialist policy, all forms of colonialism and neocolonialism, against apartheid, racism and Zionism. As a requisite condition for the speediest possible establishment of a new international economic order the participants of the non-aligned movement are demanding an immediate halt to the predatory activities of the TNCs, the main weapon of neocolonialism.

The participants in the non-aligned movement pay particular attention to one of the most acute economic problems, facing the developing countries, that of a huge and steadily mounting indebtedness to the West. More than once the non-alignment documents emphasised the need to step up the struggle against the imperialist debt diktat.

However, the main task of the non-aligned movement is to contribute to establishing international peace and security, to end the arms race, nuclear arms in particular, to liquidate the foreign military bases on the territories of the newly free countries, and to achieve complete disarmament. Meanwhile, it is stressed that this problem's solution hinges on consolidating the unity of the participants of the non-aligned movement. As was stated in the political part of the Final Declaration of the Luanda Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement, in conditions of the present international crisis the unity and solidarity of the non-aligned countries are becoming ever more imperative.

The growing role of the non-aligned movement as an anti-imperialist, antiwar force on the world scene, in world politics is confirmed by the fact that it is constantly criticised in the West, particularly by the present US Administration. Let us recall that after the Delhi Conference the USA burst into hostile tirades directed against that forum. Initially the Department of State declared its decisions "unbalanced and polemic", "not reflecting the non-alignment principles", "suffused with unfair attacks on the USA" and lacking "criticism directed against the Soviet Union". Later on, at the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly the head of the White House himself, commenting on the "ungenuine non-alignment" of many participants of the movement, accused it of "political demagoguery".

Naturally, these statements have not gone unanswered. The Indian newspaper, *National Herald*, wrote that the totally tactless, immoral, illogical attack on the non-aligned movement had stunned the heads of state and government gathered at the UN.⁴ And Indira Gandhi, who was the Chairman of the movement at that time, stressed in this connection at a press conference in New York that one should not use one yardstick for himself and another one for others.

By juggling with the term "ungenuine non-alignment", which has long occupied a prominent place in the political parlance of Washington and NATO as a whole, it is intended to split the movement or at least to emasculate its anti-imperialist thrust. Indeed, they declare "genuinely non-aligned" exclusively those countries that follow the pro-Western course, and do not criticise the US policy, do not cast "yes" votes at the UN when the USA and its allies vote "no", those who shun cooperation with the Soviet Union and do not regard peace and disarmament as issues of paramount importance.

Recently, as if in mockery of the goals and tasks facing the movement, the NATO circles began to relegate to the number of the "non-aligned" states those few newly free countries whose leaders are presently, for one reason or another, regarded as "friends of the West" and share the concept of the "strategy of a united front", that is, are in favour of setting up alliances with imperialist powers, first of all the USA. Such alliances are in actual fact a system incorporating a "range of economic, political and strategic policies and understanding [which] may... be extended to the

demand for military or communications bases..."⁵ It is exactly along this road that imperialism attempts to guide the non-aligned movement, realising the futility of the attempts to achieve its total liquidation.

The imperialists, of course, cannot fail to see and understand that the non-aligned movement, inspite the incongruity of some of its participants, has become an inalienable part of the present structure of modern international relations and for this reason alone its role and prestige are on the rise. Also obvious is for them the fact that about one hundred countries, hundreds of millions of people pin their hopes on the policy of non-alignment for preserving peace, creating a new international economic order based on the respect for independence, the equality of all states and peoples, the replacement of confrontation by cooperation. However, imperialism is staking on the heterogeneity and social diversity of the movement's participants, that is, on the internal contradictions typical, as has been already mentioned above, of the entire group of the newly free countries.

For example, Washington representatives of different ranks unremittingly work on state leaders of individual non-aligned countries to win them over to the positions of "equidistance", selling the ideas that "satellites of the Soviet Union have penetrated" the movement. Indicative in this respect is the imperial attitude of the White House to the acute problems of the newly free countries, in particular to the conflicts in their zone. George Shultz, US Secretary of State, speaking in London last December, declared in no uncertain terms that it is the policy of the Soviet Union that engenders tensions in individual regions. According to Shultz, in this connection the West has to provide military aid to individual countries, and render support to "resistance forces", as well as to carry out "covert operations". Thereby, he advertised the course steered by Washington in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Kampuchea, El Salvador, Angola and Lebanon, that is, everywhere imperialism does not want to take into consideration the political realities of the modern world, ignores the will of the sovereign peoples, threatens their security. As is indicated in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "herein lies the main cause of conflicts in various parts of the world".

As for the non-aligned countries, they have forestalled Shultz' expatiations. In the above-mentioned Final Declaration of the Conference of Foreign Ministers, held in Luanda, the participants stigmatised the US policy towards the non-aligned countries. In particular, they condemned the repeal of the Clark Amendment (the repeal gives the go-ahead for direct interference into the internal affairs of Angola), the holding, under US auspices of a "conference" of counter-revolutionaries and hirelings on the territory of this country in July, 1985; the "constructive engagement" between the USA and South African racists; the "strategic alliance" of the USA and Israel; the interventionist designs of Washington as regards Cuba, Nicaragua, etc. On the whole, the USA was mentioned negatively in this document more than 20 times.

Naturally, the heterogeneity of the participants in the movement determines the differences in their approach to individual international problems, the lack of concord in their foreign-policy lines and even leads to conflicts between some non-aligned countries. However, all these phenomena recede into the background giving way to the recognised necessity to collectively protect their political and economic rights in conditions of the intensified pressure of the imperialist forces headed by the USA. That is why, as is noted in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "The USSR will continue to be on the side of the non-aligned states in their struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism and for settling

⁵ *National Herald*, May 17, 1985.

disputes and conflicts that arise through negotiations, and will be opposed to the involvement of those states in military and political groupings."

FREE AFRICA CONTRIBUTES TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE

The idea of the growing weight of the newly free countries in the world politics would be, apparently, incomplete if we fail to examine the significance of the "African factor" for this process. Indeed, the newly free countries of Africa comprise almost half of the developing states and the participants of the non-aligned movement, a third of the UN members. In addition they are united in the Organisation of African Unity called upon to determine the common foreign policy course for the participating countries.

It is no secret that that was the reason why the OAU was recently up against serious difficulties: the convocation of the 19th session of the Assembly of the Heads of Government and State was disrupted twice in 1982 mainly due to the intrigues of the imperialist forces. However, the common interests of the newly free countries have prevailed over the discord. In the 1983-1985 period three regular sessions have been held. Thereby, as was noted by the African leaders, the "spirit of cohesion" had been reborn. Simultaneously, the illusions of the Western opponents of the African unity, prognosticating a "split" of the organisation, have been shattered.

The recent OAU forums (the 19th, the 20th and the 21st sessions) are a vivid testimony to the fact that the young states of the continent not only maintain but also consolidate their international prestige. Their joint positions on urgent African and international problems are imbued with a clear-cut anti-imperialist thrust. For example, on the question of completely decolonising the continent, practically all African leaders point out the direct link between the racial and colonialist policy of the South African regime and its growing aggressiveness and the support rendered to Pretoria by the imperialist states, the USA first and foremost.

The appraisal by the African states of the causes of their economic dislocations has acquired an anti-imperialist tinge. The OAU documents and the statements made by many African leaders plainly indicate that these difficulties are the immediate consequence of colonialism, the policy of neocolonialism, the unfair international economic order, the pernicious impact on Africa of the crisis and inflationary processes in the world capitalist system, the plundering of the natural wealth of the continent carried out by the TNCs, and the catastrophically snow-balling foreign indebtedness. The OAU documents also note that the difficult economic situation in the African states, as in many other developing countries, is simply ignored by the imperialist powers who are pursuing a militaristic policy in their drive for world domination.

Tying in their economic problems with the issues of international security, halting the arms race, and averting a nuclear war, the Africans say that besides all the measures planned by the OAU and the UN Economic Commission for Africa (the ECA) or contained in the programmes of the economic associations of the African countries, or individual states, it is imperative that the struggle for peace be stepped up.

It has been estimated that in order to raise the volume of their industrial production and improve the technical level in agriculture to combat droughts and to develop transport and communications, the newly free African countries will require at least \$150,000 million in the period till the year 2000. These means will be available only if the senseless squandering of material and intellectual resources in the world, Africa included, is stopped. Most Africans are becoming increasingly aware that when their countries are facing the pressing problems of economic backward-

ness, hunger and medical care, one cannot justify the expenditures on the development and production of the most sophisticated mass destruction weapons on a global scale and arms race in Africa itself.

For this reason the struggle for peace and the antiwar movement on the continent are growing and assuming more diversified forms. Public organisations, which regard the protection of peace and international security as their main task, have been set up in a number of countries. Pan-African forums are held. A recent example is the Pan-African Conference on Security, Disarmament and Development, the first such conference to be held in the history of the continent, which was organised at the ministerial level under the auspices of the UN and the OAU, and convened in Lomé (Togo) in August, 1985.

There is no doubt that the results of this conference on matters of security, disarmament and development and subsequent similar undertakings contribute to raising the role of the developing countries in world affairs.

A GUARANTEE OF A BETTER FUTURE FOR MANKIND

The time has passed when the newly free countries were not particularly involved in the global military-political problems and declared that they had urgent problems of their own, while the cessation of the arms race, the limitation and prohibition of nuclear weapons and the non-militarisation of space should concern only the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, the Soviet Union and the USA. Now the situation has changed. Having realised that the threat of annihilation, posed by the policies of the more aggressive forces of imperialism, is hanging over the entire planet, the leaders of the overwhelming majority of the newly free countries and the public at large are displaying growing concern over the destiny of peace and actively working to protect it.

Such changes in attitude naturally contribute to strengthening the solidarity of all peaceloving forces. In this connection quite understandable is the growing rapprochement and accord of the positions of the USSR and other socialist countries, and the positions of the newly free states on the basic present-day international problems. The Soviet Union consistently pursues the policy of expanding friendly ties with the former colonial and semicolonial countries. As is stated in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, the interaction between the newly free countries and the socialist states "is vastly important for strengthening the independence of the peoples, improving international relations and preserving peace".

Interaction implying mutual understanding, cooperation, support of each other and joint actions is carried out in many forms, first of all, on the basis of bilateral relations and within the framework of international organisations, particularly the UN. For example, in the joint Soviet-Zimbabwean communique signed during the visit to the USSR by Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, in December 1985, the two sides stressed the great importance of strengthening the interaction of all progressive and peaceloving forces in the struggle for consolidating peace and international security, ensuring the rights of the peoples for independence and social progress. This and many other similar documents vividly confirm the fact that the foreign policy of the socialist community is extensively recognised by the countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke and creates a solid foundation for their joint actions on the world scene.

Naturally, all these countries are making every effort to prevent a "nuclear winter" from enveloping their territories, thus destroying every living creature there. The declaration on the condemnation of nuclear war, the resolution on freezing nuclear weapons, on averting the arms race in outer space and its peaceful exploration, adopted at the USSR's initiative

in cooperation with the newly free countries at the recent three sessions of the UN General Assembly, serve to avert this quite real menace. The pledge by the USSR not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is in full accord with the interests of the newly free countries.

In their turn, the representatives of the newly free countries have made a tangible, positive contribution to the work of the recent sessions. India, Ethiopia, Algeria, Argentina, the Congo, Nigeria, Madagascar and a number of other countries coauthored several resolutions on banning nuclear weapons and averting a nuclear war. These resolutions are close to the initiatives of the socialist states and contain specific requests to the Conference on Disarmament to urgently begin negotiations so as to achieve corresponding international accords.

The establishment of nuclear-free zones, particularly in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America is a vital issue for the newly free countries. The representatives of these regions have been and continue to advance corresponding initiatives at the UN. The Soviet Union, on its part, more than once has noted that the creation of such zones was a decisive step towards strengthening international security and consolidating the nuclear weapons non-proliferation regime. At the UN the USSR actively supported the resolutions on a nuclear-free zone in Africa, on the creation of a similar zone in the Middle East, on the signing and ratification of an additional protocol to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. It should be noted that the USA, Great Britain, France, Belgium and Israel have abstained when the resolution on the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Africa was put to the vote.

The socialist community states are invariably on the side of the African peoples in their struggle for the liberation of southern Africa from colonialism and racism. The representatives of the socialist states in the UN consistently disclose and condemn the policy of apartheid in South Africa, the aggressive actions of the racists against the "front-line states", the colonial war in Namibia, the support rendered by the USA and some other Western countries to the regime of Pretoria. This stand is a serious defence of the genuine interests of the peoples not only of southern Africa but of the entire continent since it is the racist regime and its benefactors that are posing a growing threat to the newly free countries.

By consistently coming out in favour of the aversion of a nuclear catastrophe, for disarmament, peace and security, for the equality of all states and peoples, large or small, the socialist community is also waging the struggle against the attempts of imperialism to take social revenge on a global scale. Therefore, nowadays the foreign policy course of the Soviet Union is the most important factor contributing to the strengthening of the sovereignty of the newly free countries and raising their importance in the world politics and economy.

The interaction of the USSR with the newly free countries is not spear-headed against any other states and peoples. It pursues absolutely specific vital goals—to strengthen peace, to remove the threat of a world war, to eliminate colonialism in all its manifestations, to establish equitable international economic relations, to accelerate the rates of surmounting by the newly free countries of their economic backwardness. That is why the new edition of the CPSU Programme draws a profoundly substantiated conclusion: "The alliance of the forces of social progress and national liberation is a guarantee of a better future for mankind."

(Continued on page 46)

THE ECONOMY OF CAPITALISM AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF ITS GENERAL CRISIS

A. S H A P I R O,

D. Sc. (Econ.)

Having emerged from its deepest postwar world crisis of 1980-1982 and gone through the phases of depression and recovery, the capitalist economy has entered the phase of cyclical upswing. The period of the forced balancing-out of the sharp disproportions in reproduction—the longest period in the past five decades—has come to an end. After a noticeable decline in 1982, the overall domestic product of the developed capitalist countries increased by 2.2 per cent in 1983 and by 4.5 per cent in 1984, and their industrial production went up by 3.2 per cent and 7.1 per cent, respectively. The despondency and anxiety on the decks of the capitalist ship have given way to optimistic expectations of lasting "prosperity".

But such a change of mood has proved to be premature, to say the least, for the change in cycle phases does not bring about any essential changes in the development uniformities of capitalist production. That is why for more than 150 years now the phase of upswing has always been followed by a new economic crisis. The latent destructive forces of the capitalist economy continue operating, and it cannot avoid fresh upheavals. The question is when these forces will erupt into the open. Many bourgeois economists believe that such an eruption could occur in a not too distant future. According to preliminary estimates, in 1985 the increase in the real gross product of the developed capitalist countries has on the whole gone down to 2.6 per cent, and the increase in their industrial production, to 2.1 per cent.

Nor does the switch from one phase of the reproduction cycle to another do away with the growing internal instability of the capitalist economy, which, as it is emphasised in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "is seen in the slowing down of the overall rates of its growth, in the intertwining and deepening of cyclical and structural crises". That tendency took shape in the 1970s and is an essential feature of the present stage in the general crisis of capitalism.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme analyses the character and main content of the present epoch, reflects the leading tendencies of world development, and exposes the pivotal features of the deepening general crisis of capitalism. The Marxist-Leninist thesis that the last antagonistic-class formation has no historical future and that its doom is sealed meets with an ever wider international response. Even some of the more respectable bourgeois mass media have been asking: Is it still possible to save capitalism? Has the capitalist machine stopped working? Can the system be repaired or is it beyond repair?

The whole of world capitalism, from top to bottom—its basis and superstructure, its economy and social relations, its politics and state system, its ideology and culture, its morality and way of life, all aspects of inter-

state relations—is in the grip of a profound and all-embracing crisis. “The general crisis of capitalism is not only an aggravation of its economic, social and political contradictions,” Mikhail Gorbachev said. “It is also a spiritual crisis, an ideological and moral crisis.”¹ The crisis has struck at the very root of that mode of production—at capital as a system of social relations. It is neither an accidental zigzag in history, nor a result of miscalculations by bourgeois statesmen, and it has certainly not been engineered by “the hand of Moscow” or “world communism” in general.

The crisis of world capitalism has unfolded as an objective, permanent and irreversible process that erodes the economic and socio-political foundations of the bourgeoisie, narrows down its sphere of domination, limits and undermines its monopoly in international affairs and its influence on the course of world events. Having started in the years of the First World War and the Great October Socialist Revolution, it is a logical result of the aggravation of the irreconcilable contradictions immanent in that system in the epoch of mankind's worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism and communism.

The prime cause of the disintegration of capitalism lies within that system itself, rather than beyond it, and the objective and subjective prerequisites for its revolutionary replacement with a higher form of social organisation mature within its entrails. The gigantic progress of technology, tremendous growth of capital and banks, Lenin wrote, “have resulted in capitalism becoming mature and overmature”, “its foundations are cracking”. It has become the most reactionary hindrance to human progress and has, therefore, “outlived itself”.² Its “overmaturity” and the fact that bourgeois production relations have turned into unbreakable fetters on socio-economic development are now more evident than ever before.

Late 20th-century capitalism differs in many ways from what it was at the beginning and in the mid-20th century. However, the present-day state monopoly capitalism remains, although its domain has shrunk. The deep-lying foundation of the capitalist mode of production, distribution, exchange and consumption remains the same, and its exploitative, aggressive and inhuman character is ever more pronounced. The new phenomena in its economy and politics, its essentially new features and peculiarities are usually engendered by a further development of the uniformities of imperialism discovered by Lenin, its major characteristic features. However, since 1917 capitalism has ceased to be a closed system. It is now developing under the impact of an external factor, as well as its own internal laws. The society ruled by the financial oligarchy is being subjected to the strongest pressure virtually in every field, caused by the deepening of the basic contradiction of our epoch—that between socialism and imperialism, by the steady growth and interaction of the chief motive forces of social development—world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, the peoples of the newly free countries, and mass democratic movements, by their struggle against imperialism, against its policy of aggression and oppression.

The final outcome of the struggle and contest between the two systems is predetermined by history: the general crisis of capitalism is the process of its collapse. Nevertheless, history is no highway. Lenin warned as early as 1916 that “it is undialectical, unscientific and theoretically wrong to regard the course of world history as smooth and always in a forward direction, without occasional gigantic leaps back”.³

The development of the general crisis is far from smooth or straightforward, but is uneven and spasmodic, moving along in zigzags, by fits

¹ M. S. Gorbachev, *The People's Living Creativity*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1985, p. 35 (in Russian).

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 517.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, 1964, p. 310.

and starts or, as Lenin put it, through "prolonged and arduous... stages" with revolutionary ebbs and flows, temporary failures and retreats, with "a number of separate revolutions... defeated".⁴ That is only natural, for in view of the unevenness of capitalist development the gravity of the contradictions in various countries and groups of countries in the non-socialist world differs widely from one period to another.

Even in the epoch of its decline, the bourgeois society is not a system of stagnating productive forces whose development has come to a standstill and whose economic potentialities, the internal sources of economic growth have been exhausted. The general crisis of capitalism has been deepening with an all-round decline of that socio-economic formation, but with continued economic growth. It is not a stasis but, on the contrary, the progressive growth of the productive forces—the most mobile revolutionary and definitive element of the mode of production—that exacerbates the conflict which is crucial to the future of capitalism: the conflict between the gigantically grown productive forces and the integument fettering their development—the capitalist relations of production.

In our day, Lenin's proposition on the two tendencies in the development of the capitalist mode of production in the imperialist epoch—towards growth and towards decay—remains perfectly valid. At different stretches of the historical way, now one and now the other tendency gains the upper hand, but on the whole the first one prevails. In general, capitalism in our day is obviously growing faster than before, and its decay does not rule out some periods of accelerated development in certain industries and countries. But the faster the economic growth, the deeper and graver are the contradictions.

The economic competition between socialism and capitalism is a protracted historical process. As it was emphasised at the 25th and 26th Congresses of the CPSU, the society that is leaving the historical scene and has no future ahead of it still commands considerable reserves.

The main reserve of imperialism is that while it has lost its erstwhile economic and political hegemony in the world, it continues to predominate in a sizeable group of highly developed countries, which produce up to one-half of the world's industrial output, and primarily in the Big Seven (the USA, the FRG, France, Britain, Italy, Japan and Canada), which account for roughly 44 per cent of the world's industrial production. The world capitalist system has on the whole matured for a social revolution by the proletariat, with the objective, material prerequisites for a transition to socialism first taking shape precisely in the industrialised states. But in most of these the imperialist bourgeoisie has managed to retain its power. While remaining a strong and dangerous adversary of the young future-oriented socialism, says the CPSU Programme, imperialism keeps manoeuvring in order to adjust itself to the essentially new historical situation that has taken shape in the world—that of a confrontation between the two systems and a global class struggle—and to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution.

Another major reserve of present-day capitalism is its accumulated material wealth, its powerful industrial, scientific and technical potential, its smoothly running and organised production apparatus, and its highly skilled labour. On the strength of these, capitalism is still able, though to a much smaller extent than in the early postwar decades, to mobilise its material, manpower and financial reserves. Although its strength and momentum are not as significant as they were 20 or 30 years ago, these are still sufficient for attaining fairly rapid growth of production over this or that period of time.

As for the specific features of the economy and policy of imperialism

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, 1964, p. 191; Vol. 28, 1965, p. 75.

that came to light towards the end of the 1960s and its other newly acquired features, one should bear in mind that far from being due to a "fundamental transformation" of capitalism involving a loss of its exploitative nature, as bourgeois ideologues claim, these have resulted from a further profound state-monopoly degeneration of the bourgeois society, which provides a background for the unfolding scientific and technological revolution. Present-day development had thus reaffirmed the proposition formulated by the founders of scientific communism that "the bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of societies".⁵

The CPSU Programme retains Lenin's definition of state-monopoly capitalism as a combination of the strength of the monopolies and the state in a single mechanism. Another reserve of imperialism lies in the possibility of using state-monopoly regulation, however limited it may be, in order to usurp in its own interests the results of the latest scientific and technological achievements and so to go on developing the productive forces, in spite of the deepening economic, social and political contradictions.

Capitalism is known to retain a lead over socialism in the overall production of goods and services, and also in some concrete spheres and fields of economic life. It still possesses in the most developed countries advantages due to its high level of labour productivity. That should also be listed among the reserves of capitalism.

Clearly, these and other, non-material reserves of imperialism are far from boundless. Problems which remain unsolved and are insoluble under capitalism tend to multiply, further deepening its general crisis.

In other words, the resources at the disposal of present-day capitalism can temporarily, and at a high cost to mankind, postpone the inevitable outcome in this or that part of the capitalist world, deform the social process in one capitalist country or another, and distort the way of its development from the standpoint of the historical perspective.⁶ None of these resources, however, can save capitalism as a system from its historical doom either on a national or an international scale.

It is not so much the resources of the capitalist economy as its weak points and, even more importantly, its development tendencies that are of crucial importance for its immediate and long-term perspective. Since present-day state-monopoly capitalism remains in its fundamental features capitalism as such, the "softest spots" in its economy are primarily due to the serious aggravation of the traditional contradictions in that mode of production, which now operate on a broader basis. This primarily applies to such inherent capitalist phenomena as the sway of the market mechanism and anarchy of production, which still persist in spite of the spread of state-monopoly forms in the economy; reproduction, sectoral and other disproportions, intensified by the cyclical nature of economic development, and the inability to make full and rational use of the society's productive forces.

Chronic mass unemployment, underloading of fixed capital and a general waste of labour and production resources, which were characteristic of capitalism at earlier stages of its general crisis, have now reached a vast scale far surpassing anything that was known in the past. During the cyclical upheavals of 1974-1975 and 1980-1982, idle capacities in the USA re-

⁵ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol One, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p 111

⁶ See A. A. Gromyko, *External Expansion of Capital Past and Present*, Moscow, 1982, pp 16 17

ached from one-quarter to one-third of the total, as compared with 8 per cent in 1966. Even in 1984, in the phase of expansion, their loading did not exceed 80 per cent. Total unemployment in the capitalist countries remains at the level of 30 million, not counting the partially employed. In the EEC, the rate of unemployment is almost 11 per cent, and in the USA, where the sphere of the services has continued to grow, it is 7.3 per cent.

The weakest points of the present-day capitalist economy are also connected with the fact that the aggravation of its traditional contradictions has gone hand in hand with the emergence and development of a wide spectrum of negative processes, which have markedly worsened its basic parameters and which are bound to have an even more painful effect in the future. They were triggered off by the world economic crisis of 1974-1975. What are these processes?

First of all, numerous highly critical situations, both short-term and chronic, domestic and international, have tangled together into a single knot. In the crisis of the mid-1970s and then of the early 1980s, the general overproduction of goods and overaccumulation of capital were for the first time closely intertwined with structural crises of diverse origin, character and magnitude. Among these were the fuel, energy and raw-material crises, the food crisis, and the ecological crisis in the broad sense of the word; the sectoral crises in ferrous metallurgy, the mining, ship-building, automobile and textile industries, which have lasted for years or even decades; in the sphere of circulation—monetary and financial crises, a foreign-trade and payments crisis, and a crisis of world economic ties as a whole. All of these involved conflict situations in the system of interstate relations, and were paralleled by grave socio-political conflicts in many capitalist countries.

Another recent development is that inflation, once an episodic and mostly national phenomenon, has turned into a chronic and virtually incurable global disease of capitalism. It is not only that the inflation curve is steeper than ever before ("double-digit inflation"), but, more importantly, that it has become something of an *alter ego* of the capitalist economy, accompanying it both at a time of relatively rapid growth and at a time of stagnant or even steeply declining production.

By pushing up prices, inflation nullifies the material gains wrested by the working people from capital as a result of persevering struggle, leads to sharp increases in the cost of living, slows down the growth of and sometimes actually reduces the real wages and salaries of workers and employees and the real incomes of other strata of the population, especially where these incomes are fixed. During the crisis of 1974-1975, real wages shrank only in the USA and Britain, whereas in the crisis of 1980-1982, they shrank in most capitalist countries.

Taking advantage of the economic troubles and the situation on the labour market unfavourable for the proletariat, the ruling class has gone over since the late 1970s to a policy of "social revenge", seeking to more than compensate in its domestic policy the partial wage concessions which it was obliged to make earlier on, in the course of social manoeuvring, in order to retain the main thing: its power. Simultaneously, steps are being taken to worsen the terms of social assistance extended by the state, gradually to eliminate the working people's gains in the field of public health, education, and so on. The right-conservative forces which have come to power in the USA and other major capitalist countries have launched a furious offensive against the trade unions, using "tough" methods to run the society and resorting to political blackmail, repression, and punitive measures.

The working class has come up with a proletarian response to the fresh round of monopoly attacks upon its economic and political rights. The class battles against big capital, which is chiefly to blame for the social ills, are intensifying. The strike struggle, which involves the most diverse strata of the working population and which has in a number of countries embraced

entire industries, is being carried on with unprecedented perseverance and often culminates in victory for the strikers.

Finally, another new process in capitalist reproduction is stagnation, a close blend of economic stagnation and even periodic declines in production, on the one hand, and inflation, on the other, a blend of inflation and multi-million unemployment.

So, capitalism has entered a stage when all the major conditions of the reproduction process tend to worsen. Shortly before his death, the well-known US political scientist Herman Kahn declared that the days of radiant hope sank into oblivion. We have completely lost our bearings, echoes the finance director of a major TNC. The world capitalist economy "has entered the final quarter of the 20th century with such a burden of problems, obscurities, and sources of disquiet and pessimism as it has virtually never had to face before," said the West German magazine *Interconomics*. "The recent unshakeable confidence in continuous growth has given way to a sense of doom and scepticism." In a book entitled *The Ecospasm*, the US sociologist Alvin Toffler sums up the present situation: the spasmodic economy is on the brink of disaster.

One can safely say that in spite of two years of production growth, capitalism is now going through a bad bout of its general crisis. The 1970s marked the dividing line between the 25-year period of relatively rapid economic development in the industrialised capitalist countries and the new and also fairly protracted period of much slower production growth. In the 1970s, as compared with the 1960s, the average annual growth rate of the gross domestic product in the developed capitalist countries on the whole declined by 30 per cent, that of industrial production by 40 per cent, gross capital investments by 63 per cent, commodity exports by 15 per cent, and imports by almost 40 per cent.

It was towards the mid-1970s that the factors whose favourable combination had given a temporary impulse to the development of the productive forces, such as the restructuring of the capitalist economy which had lasted nearly two and a half decades, had largely been spent. A worsening of global problems—energy, raw-material and ecological—entailed immense difficulties in the matter of providing resources for reproduction and called for a new—this time far less profitable and more capital-intensive—reorientation of the economic structure, whereas changes in production connected with the development of high-technology industries at the new stage of the scientific and technological revolution were still a thing of the future. There was a decline in the economic efficiency of scientific and technical progress along the established lines, in returns on fixed assets, and in the growth rates of labour productivity. By that time, the external economic incentives to production had also waned considerably: the growth rate of the physical volume of international capitalist trade was almost halved as compared with the preceding period.

One should emphasise that there are ever more "weak points" in the capitalist economy owing to the unprecedented waste of the society's resources by the militarist machine. Under the present sharp slowdown in economic growth, the militarist burden is particularly tangible, and even the USA, to say nothing of the other NATO states, is less and less able to carry it. The swelling military budgets and parasitic military consumption as a whole, the colossal unproductive outlays that go to manufacture mass destruction weapons, to maintain the armed forces and the world-wide network of military bases, to militarise outer space and prepare "star wars"—all of this is a graphic expression of imperialist decay.

No matter what the advocates of the military-industrial complex may say, militarism, while enriching certain groups of the monopoly bourgeoisie, ultimately leads to a depletion of national wealth and ruins the peoples by

increasing the tax burden and pushing up prices. The channels of militarisation, just as overproduction crises, serve to destroy a sizeable part of the social wealth. In the 1946-1979 period the losses inflicted on the US economy by its militarisation and expressed in terms of the underproduced final product amounted to \$3.4-\$5.3 trillion (in 1972 prices), which is 2.4-3.7 times the size of the country's GNP in 1979.⁷ The war machine keeps devouring the fruits of scientific and technological thought, wasting not only the present, but also the future potential of the society.

The capitalist countries are carrying on a ceaseless, but on the whole unsuccessful quest for ways out of the blind alley in which the whole system of state-monopoly regulation of the economy has found itself, for ways of its cardinal reconstruction. In the phase of cyclical expansion in the 1960s, that system yielded a definite effect by stimulating economic growth and helped to smooth out the fluctuations in production and to restructure the economy, whereas at the new stage of development it has proved to be totally unworkable. And that is only natural, for the combination of a high rate of inflation and massive unemployment, of cyclical and structural crises has created not only an unusual, but also a highly complicated situation in the capitalist economy, which makes state-monopoly regulation of the economic process much less effectual. Indeed, it is practically impossible to combine an anticyclical policy of stimulating production growth in order to combat crises, stagnation and unemployment with a deflationary policy of restrictions and a slowdown in economic development in order to hold back inflation or, if possible, to dampen it altogether.

In these conditions, the trivial Keynesian doctrines of anticrisis and anticyclical strategy have been invalidated. But the refurbished neoclassical, especially monetarist, theories that have come to replace them, the concepts of "supply-side economics", "rational expectations", and the like have already proved to be worthless.

First of all, neither the US, the British nor West German monetarists have carried out any "revolution in the economy", just as the governments which tried to put their recipes into effect. All of that was a big bluff. In spite of the rhetoric on "freedom of private enterprise", the reprivatisation of a part of Britain's industry or the lifting of federal pollution control regulations in the USA did not signify even a partial dismantling of state-monopoly capitalism. These and other similar measures have been more than offset by greater state intervention in other spheres of economic life.

State regulation of the economic process is not the result of individual will, but an irreversible uniformity engendered by the objective requirements of the development of the modern productive forces. A return from monopoly to a free market economy, and from monopoly competition to "free" and "honest" competition is nothing but a reactionary-utopian dream of bourgeois neo-romantics or, as Lenin put it, "reactionary, petty-bourgeois critics of capitalist imperialism".⁸

Second, right-conservative economic concepts are purely eclectic. These usually do not go beyond the use of instruments for monetary and fiscal regulation, and contain both elements of neo-classicism and neo-Keynesianism. In their practical use in the economy, these were often mutually incompatible and had a diametrically opposite effect on production, simultaneously stimulating and slowing down its development.

Thus, the various measures of economic regulation used by the US Administration neutralised each other, cancelled each other out and, one could

⁷ USA: *Arms Production and the Economy*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, p. 48 (in Russian).

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, 1964, p. 207.

say, virtually came to the "zero result" giving free scope to the usual cyclical forces of the reproduction process. Production growth, a decline in the rate of inflation to about 5 per cent, and a certain reduction in unemployment are known to have played an important role in Ronald Reagan's re-election for his second term as President. Meanwhile, an examination of the causes behind the improvement of the economic outlook in the USA after the decline of 1980-1982 shows that the most important of these was the operation of cyclical forces, rather than the complex of economic-policy measures labelled by Western journalists as "Reaganomics". And the fact that the turn for the better in the economy coincided with the election campaign was largely accidental. It is precisely owing to the operation of the same cyclical forces of reproduction that the phase of expansion is gradually "fizzling out" in the USA, remains sluggish in Western Europe, and is losing its intensity in Japan.

It is common knowledge that economic growth in the USA was promoted by foreign capital, which flowed into the country in view of high lending rates and the "strong" dollar. In the 1980-1984 period, the influx of foreign financial resources to the USA exceeded \$450,000 million. It made it easier for the US economy to emerge from the crisis, helped to accelerate the restructuring of the economy and the modernisation of its production and technical base, and made it possible to patch up the most yawning gaps in the balance of payments and the federal budget. At the same time, the artificially overvalued dollar helped to cheapen US imports of foreign goods.

The situation has now changed. The very same factors create ever more unfavourable conditions for US industry, engendering, in spite of growing protectionism, fierce competition between foreign and US companies on the USA's domestic market. The outcome is far from always in favour of the latter, and that is one of the major reasons for the slack-off in US industry. Moreover, US exports have become much more expensive and, consequently, less competitive. Roger Brinner, an economist on the staff of the Data Resources Company, believes that "the US is far less competitive today than at any time in the postwar period". According to a US magazine, "unless something is done to make the U.S. more competitive, many Americans' worst fears could be realised in the death of their nation as a salesman."⁹ An even more categorical conclusion was drawn in a special statement by the US Committee for Economic Development: it is perfectly obvious that "the era of unquestioned U.S. dominance in the world economy is clearly over".¹⁰

A new twist could be given to the inflation spiral in the USA by the huge federal budget deficit, which the President had promised to balance by 1984. In actual fact, the gigantic military outlays (roughly \$252,000 million in fiscal 1985) led to its growth from \$58,000 million in 1981 to \$185,000 million in 1984 and about \$203,000 million in fiscal 1985, so that in the four years of Republican rule the total came to \$733,000 million. The US Administration's policy in the sphere of foreign trade has also been a flop. The US balance-of-trade deficit has reached a record level (over \$140,000 million in 1985). The USA has even run up a deficit in its trade with Western Europe. For the first time since the First World War, the USA has turned into a debtor-nation.

The new situation has highlighted the inability of state-monopoly capitalism, to resolve the comprehensive tasks of harmonising production and exchange, ensuring their proportional development, and overcoming their uneven and haphazard character.

⁹ *U.S. News & World Report*, Apr. 8, 1985, pp. 64, 66.

¹⁰ *Strategy for U.S. Industrial Competitiveness. A Statement by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development*, April 1984, p. 1.

The contradictions within the national economies are augmented by the deep and chronic crisis of the world capitalist economy. There is an ever graver problem of debt settlement facing the developing countries, most of which have in effect fallen into debt bondage to the imperialist powers. The foundations of the old structure of the international capitalist division of labour have been undermined, and the crisis processes have been deepening and spreading ever wider to scientific, technical and production ties, to world capitalist trade, to the monetary-financial, patents-and-licences spheres of the world capitalist market, and to foreign-trade and payments balances. Hence the growing instability of bourgeois governments and the feverish lurchings of the advocates of capitalism from one bankrupt concept to another in search of a foothold

So, the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s have seen a serious change for the worse in the development of the world economic and political system of capitalism. National and global, economic and socio-political upheavals follow upon one another in quick succession. Imperialism has entered a period when the methods which helped it maintain relative stability in its development in the early postwar decades are less and less effective. It is ever more clear that imperialism cannot cope with the socio-economic and political consequences of the scientific and technological revolution and the decolonisation process. All of that warrants the conclusion on a profound disruption of the economic base of state-monopoly capitalism and on a failure of its economic policy, its strategy of adaptation to the changing situation in the world.

As the course of history undermines and erodes the positions of imperialism, its policy is ever more in collision with the interests of the peoples. The imperialists put up fierce resistance to social progress, harbouring plans of socio-political revenge on a global scale. With that aim in view, attempts are being made to suppress liberation movements by force and to attain the chimerical goal of military superiority over the socialist world.

Imperialism tramples on the inalienable right of sovereign peoples to freedom and independence, to an independent choice of development way, interferes in their internal affairs and poses a threat to their security. Its urge to stockpile lethal weapons, whip up militarist hysteria, and prepare for a first nuclear strike amounts to an admission that capitalism has exhausted its historical potential. That is what determines the main feature of the global confrontation between the two world social systems.

Imperialism hopes to resolve the historical dispute between them by force of arms. The imperial claims of US monopoly capital to world domination stem from notions about the present-day world which have nothing to do with reality. It regards the whole world as its own private domain, and whole continents as spheres of its "vital interests". But in our day, when qualitative changes have occurred in international relations, the dreams of world domination are more futile than ever before, for they cut across the political realities of our epoch. Socialism has developed into a powerful force whose advance cannot be halted by the whole capitalist system, to say nothing of US imperialism. The intractable contradiction between the USA's great-power ambitions and its sharply curtailed real possibilities for attaining its hegemonistic goals in the world arena has now become particularly glaring.

The past 10 to 15 years have in many respects been a critical period for the capitalist world. The worsening of the general crisis of capitalism in the 1970s and early 1980s has rocked its postwar system of economic and political relations. The USA has lost the full control of the world capitalist economy that it enjoyed after the Second World War. Its overall positions have

eroded as compared with the other "power centres" of imperialism, primarily Western Europe and Japan. The USA's rivals have managed to gain upon it, openly voicing their claims to an independent role in the world economy and politics, and stepping up their attempts to extend their influence. The USA is no longer able to impose its will on other countries without restraint, and its leadership in the capitalist world is ever more precarious.

Remaining the strongest imperialist power, the USA puts growing pressure on its partners in the course of its ceaseless economic, political and ideological offensive. There is renewed talk of US hegemonism, both political and especially economic. US imperialism has been trying to resolve its deepening contradictions by any means, notably at the expense of its capitalist partners. US monopolies seek to put international trade and economic, monetary-financial, scientific, technological and other ties at the service of their own selfish interests. The overvalued dollar and the persistently high bank rates lead to sharp monetary and general economic upheavals in the capitalist world, undermine and bleed the economies of the USA's West European and other allies.

The rivalry between the three main centres of imperialism, which emerged and developed against the background of traditional interstate rivalries, has now turned into the main interimperialist contradiction. The relations in the USA-Western Europe-Japan triangle are highly complicated. On the one hand, they are united by common class goals, by their solidarity in the US-led struggle against socialism. On the other hand, however, their different political interests and ineradicable economic strife push them towards constant rivalry, which engenders new hotbeds of sharp friction and conflict situations. Interimperialist contradictions remain one of the major uniformities of present-day capitalism, disuniting, disintegrating and weakening it, while the attempts to coordinate the strategy of the imperialist states yield minimum results.

The general crisis of capitalism in our day is not simply deepening, but is undergoing a fundamental change in its evolution. The capitalist system still has considerable reserves, but it has entered a stage of profound destabilisation which clearly shows its lack of historical perspective.

NEWLY FREE COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

(Continued from page 36)

In summing up it is necessary to note that despite contradictoriness and inconsistency of the policy of some newly free countries, on the whole, their role on the international scene, in world relations and world politics is steadily growing, and this is an irreversible process. These countries are and will be united by the struggle for the establishment of an equitable and just international economic order, opposition to the imperialist diktat and, what is most important—the vital need to contribute to the cause of peace and social progress.

MILITARISATION AND INTERIMPERIALIST RIVALRY

A. K N Y A Z Y A N

The present stage of interimperialist rivalry is characterised by the fact that competition is involving not only individual capitalist states but the power centres of imperialism. It is remarkable that cut-throat rivalry exists between allies in the aggressive military bloc who come out with a relatively united front in their class struggle against world socialism. This naturally makes an imprint on the strategy and tactics, forms and methods of competition.

Of late Washington has been engaged in a wide-scale and planned campaign to induce other imperialist powers to militarise their economies in order to weaken them from within, to gain ground on them in world markets and to some extent solve its domestic economic problems at their expense.

The objective prerequisite of interimperialist rivalry is, today as in the past, the uneven and leaplike development of capitalism. The Second World War and its outcome brought a drastic change in the correlation of forces among capitalist states. On one pole there was US imperialism with its overwhelming financial, economic and military might and, on the other, West European and Japanese imperialism which had suffered great economic and political damage during the war. In economic terms, the consequences of the war for West European countries and Japan included devaluation of their currencies, huge trade and balance-of-payments deficits, almost complete loss of overseas investment by Germany and Japan, a drop in overseas investments (Britain by one-third and France, by one half), catastrophic depletion of the gold reserves of these countries, and huge indebtedness to the USA on credits and loans. Meanwhile American monopolies had raked in fabulous profits during the war from military supplies to their own government and other states.

The United States had a huge army and enjoyed a monopoly on the atomic weapon, a weapon many times more powerful than any means in the military arsenals of the West European countries. The British scholar H. Thomas wrote that after 1945 the USA was so powerful that the West European powers seldom acted alone or collectively against its will.¹

This was the basis for the postwar economic, political and military hegemony of the United States in the capitalist world. In his book *Price of Power* American military observer Henson Baldwin wrote that nowadays the USA is a banker-country, a creditor country, an exporter country, a great naval and air power, the epicentre of world communications. And if Rome in its time was the centre of the then existing world, Washington, to a still greater degree, is the centre of the Western world in the 20th century.² Pre-

¹ See H. Thomas, *Europe: The Radical Challenge*, London, 1973, p. 49.

² See H. B. Baldwin, *Price of Power*, New York, 1945, p. 26.

sident Harry Truman declared in 1947 that the world was regarding the United States as a leader, while events prompted it to assume that role.³

Life, however, introduced its corrections and deprived US imperialism's claim to world domination of credibility. The West European countries were restoring their economies and simultaneously overhauling them. The process was accompanied by considerable technological advances with which the USA could not always keep up. That is why reconstruction in West European countries, backed by impressive increments of gross national products (GNPs), proceeded more intensively ensuring a higher economic growth rate. For example, the average annual growth of production in the 1950s and 1960s was as follows: 4.5 per cent in the USA, 7 per cent in West Germany, 7 per cent in Italy, and even 14 per cent in Japan.

Regional economic integration also contributed towards rapid economic development of Western Europe. The formation and development of the European Economic Community favoured the expansion of the market within that grouping and were a factor behind the temporary speeding up of the rate of economic, scientific and technological progress and comparatively more rapid growth of labour productivity. A certain dynamism in the economic development of the EEC countries was ensured by the huge reserves for industrial and agricultural development (due to the restructuring of relatively backward structures), the use of a more flexible system of national state monopoly regulation, and so on.

Another important factor that changed the correlation of forces between the USA on the one hand, and Western Europe and Japan, on the other, was *the influence of militarisation on their economic development*. The United States throughout the postwar period was building up the arms race which consumed far greater resources (in absolute and percentage terms) than in any other capitalist country or a group of countries. Suffice it to say that the USA accounts for two-thirds of the \$3 trillion spent by NATO countries on military purposes between 1949 and 1983. In the West European countries and Japan the relatively small military expenditure before the 1960s made it possible to channel more budgetary resources into civilian production, into creating a modern industrial potential and infrastructure and making goods more competitive, etc.

These and other factors predetermined the relatively rapid shift in the correlation of economic power of the EEC, Japan and the USA, as will be seen from the table below. While in 1948 the USA accounted for 64.5 per cent of the total industrial output of the three centres, its share dropped by almost 15 per cent to 49.6 per cent by 1970. The same period saw Western Europe's share grow from 34.1 to 39.3 per cent, including that of the Common Market—from 27.5 to 32.3 per cent. Japan's share increased even more dramatically—from 1.4 to 11.1 per cent.

The correlation of forces between the main capitalist rivals also changed in the field of export. The West European trade offensive led to spectacular results: between 1948 and 1970 its share rose from 45.6 to 68.6 per cent (of which the EEC from 31.6 to 56.8 per cent), while the share of the United States dropped by more than 2.4 times from 52.0 to 21.6 per cent. The share of Japan increased fourfold from 2.4 to 9.8 per cent.

The distribution of gold reserves reveals an even more striking contrast. While after the war (1948) the largest share was in the USA (71.1 per cent), with Western Europe accounting for a mere 18.4 per cent, by 1967 Western Europe's gold reserves (59.6 per cent) were almost twice as large as those of the USA (32.6 per cent).⁴

Subsequently their more rapid economic development enabled the leading West European countries and Japan not only to catch up with the USA

Share of Three Centres in Aggregate Industrial Production (I) and Export (II)

	1948		1960		1970		1980		1984	
	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I**	II***
USA	64.5	52.0	54.3	27.2	49.6	21.6	38.2	19.2	35.9	19.3
Western Europe including EEC	34.1	45.6	40.4	67.4	39.3	68.6	46.2	69.4	46.5	66.5
Japan	27.5	31.6	33.4	56.4	32.3	56.8	37.6	57.2	37.7	54.5
	1.4	2.4*	5.2	5.4	11.1	9.8	15.6	11.4	17.6	14.2

* 1947

** Preliminary data

*** 1983

Calculated from *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* for corresponding years; "Economic Situation in Capitalist and Developing Countries". Supplement to *World Economics and International Relations Review* for 1983 and early 1984, p. 9; Review for 1984 and early 1985, p. 9 (in Russian).

economically on a number of indices, but to surpass it. Thus, in 1984 the share of the USA in the aggregate industrial output of the three main centres dropped to 35.9 per cent while that of the EEC grew to 37.7 per cent, and Japan, to 17.6 per cent. The shares of total exports in 1983 were 19.3, 54.5, and 14.2 per cent, respectively (the share of the USA is 2.8 times less than that of the EEC)

Americans found themselves under growing pressure from their rivals not only on external markets, but on the domestic market, in the USA. While initially it was mainly trade expansion, subsequently West European and Japanese monopolies began to buy industrial and other enterprises in the USA itself. These changes in the economic potential of the West European countries and Japan brought changes in the character of relations between the members of the military political alliances linking those countries with the USA. Gone is the time when Washington held sway in these alliances and had no difficulty imposing its will on the partners, when its dominance was not doubted or challenged.

Faced with the new correlation of forces in the imperialist triangle, the USA had to come up with a strategy to weaken the economic positions of its rivals. One aspect in the strategy was to draw them into the arms race and stimulate militarisation of their economies. Between 1973 and 1982 the share of the GNP spent for military purposes grew from 4.8 per cent to 5.1 per cent in Britain, 4.0 to 6.9 in Greece, 3.8 to 4.2 in France, 2.8 to 3.4 in Belgium, and 2.0 to 2.6 in Denmark respectively.⁵

There is no doubt that the US ruling elite wants the allies to contribute more to the pursuit of Washington's global military strategy. But there is more to it than that. In the 1970s and early 1980s a succession of US Administrations bullied and coaxed Western Europe, Canada, Australia and Japan into new spirals of the arms race, which put an artificial brake on their economic potential and competitiveness. Every new cycle of reproduction, given other equal conditions, begins with a sum less the size of military expenditure. Marx wrote that war and the expenditure it involves seems in economic terms to be "the direct equivalent of a nation throwing a part of its capital into the water".⁶ And vice versa, the lower the military spending the higher the economic growth rate, given other equal conditions. In the 1970s the share of military expenditure in the GNP of the USA was 5-8 per cent, in the FRG, 3-4 per cent, in Japan under one per cent, while the share

of investment in civilian industries was 16.9-19 per cent; 20.6-26.7; 31-36.6 respectively.⁷ The arms race will thus be seen to restrict the possibilities for investment in civilian industries. Yet it is mainly the monopolies in the civilian industries that clash in world markets.

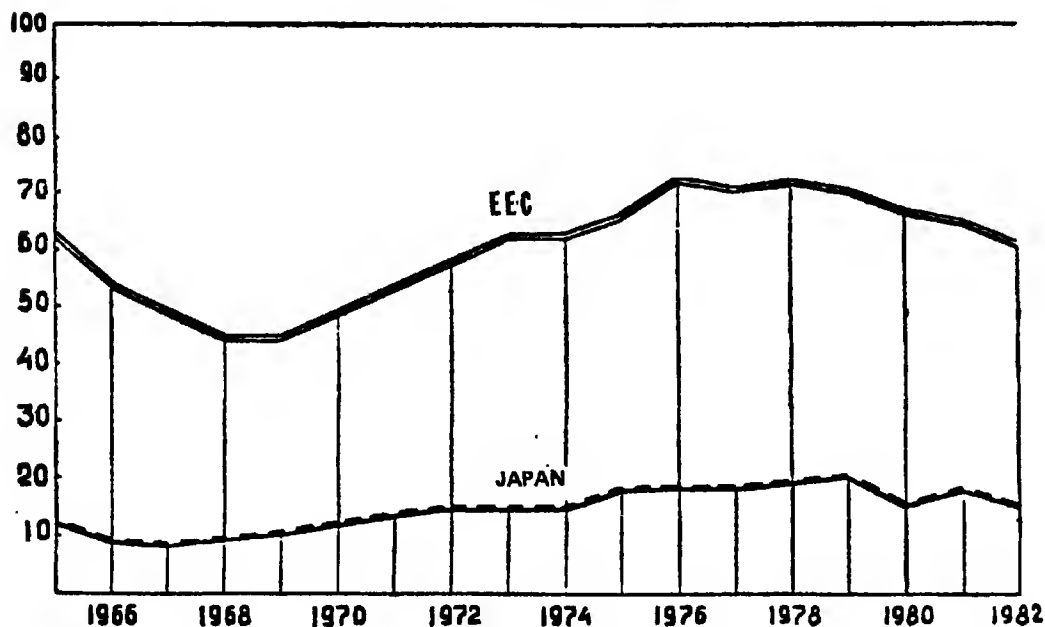
The withdrawal of considerable funds from the state budget for military, non-productive purposes, the diversion of ever-increasing material, financial and labour resources from the sphere of material production to militarisation cannot but halt the normal development of the capitalist states' economy.

To dampen discontent with the consequences of militarisation of the economy the USA circulates inventions about a "military threat" on the part of the USSR and the socialist countries to Western Europe or to Japan. This is an old timeworn trick of which Lenin wrote as early as 1919: "Some foolish people are shouting about red militarism. These are political crooks who pretend that they believe this absurdity and throw charges of this kind right and left, exercising their lawyers' skill in concocting plausible arguments and in throwing dust in the eyes of the masses."⁸

By thus intimidating its rivals, the United States is trying to shore up the shaken Atlantic solidarity and to induce its rivals to spend an ever greater part of their gross national product on the arms race. One must say that this method has met with some success. The USA managed to get its rivals to spend more to increase their military expenditures (see Charts 1 and 2).

Chart 1

Share of Military Expenditure in GNP in the EEC and Japan
(per cent, US level-100)



As seen from the chart, in the mid-1960s the level of military expenditure incurred by the EEC and Japan was by several orders lower than in the USA. However, as the NATO circles fan international tensions, the gap between these levels began to narrow (not without US pressure) although it still remains considerable. From the early 1980s when the present US Administration launched a new and unprecedented spiral of the arms race, the gap between the EEC and the USA began to widen somewhat which cannot but worry the US ruling quarters.

⁷ See *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, June-July, 1981.

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 66.

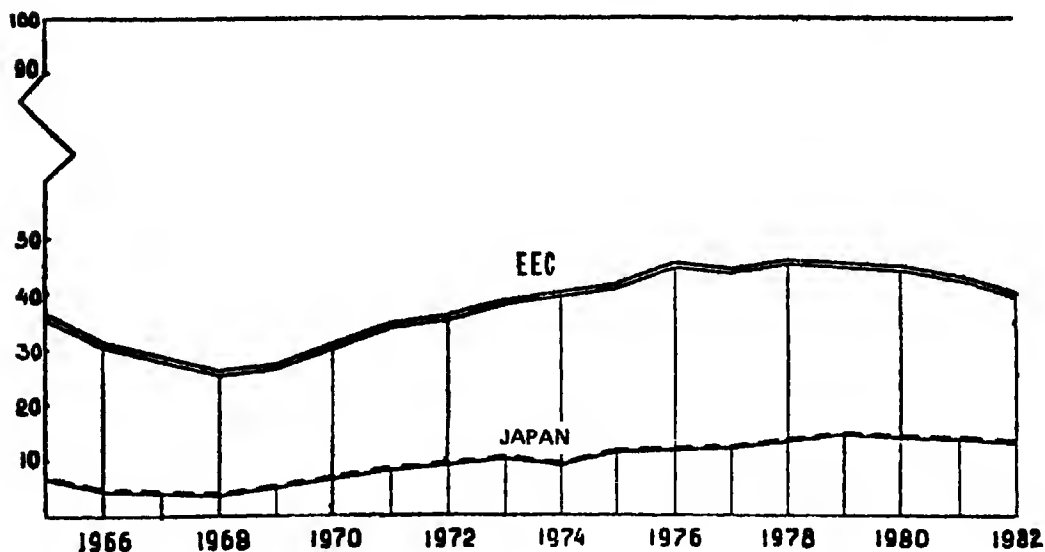
An almost analogous trend is revealed by the comparison of military expenditure per capita (see Chart 2).

NATO countries today have the highest military expenditure per capita. For example, in 1982 this expenditure amounted to \$797 in the USA, \$461 in Britain, \$444 in France, \$419 in Norway, \$373 in the FRG, \$334 in Belgium, and a mere \$97 in Japan.⁹

High military expenditure was bound to tell on the general state of the West European economies. While between 1970 and 1973 the EEC countries

Chart 2

Per Capita Military Expenditure Level in the EEC and Japan
(per cent, US level-100)



outstripped the USA in terms of average annual rate of growth of industrial output and the GDP (4.9 and 4.5 per cent respectively in the EEC as against 4.0 and 3.6 per cent in the USA and 10.9 and 8.0 per cent in Japan) from 1974 to 1979 they already lagged behind on both counts. The average annual growth of industrial output in these countries was 2 per cent and of the GDP—2.4 per cent compared to 2.7 and 2.8 per cent in the USA and 2.3 and 3.6 in Japan respectively. In 1983 the average annual growth of industrial output reached 6.5 per cent and that of the GDP—3.4 per cent in the USA, the figures being 3.6 and 3.0 for Japan and a mere 0.4 and 0.8 per cent in the EEC respectively. All this, needless to say, plays into the hands of US monopoly capital which seeks to strengthen its position vis-à-vis its rivals.

By the same token US imperialism is exerting no small effort to create a Washington-led military alliance in the Pacific region where it pursues not only military-political, but also economic goals. The region offers a large market, has vast raw materials and energy resources and is the home of almost half the world's population. Washington sees all this as offering a tempting perspective for further expansion of its transnational corporations. The United States also seeks to challenge Japan's leading role and influence in the region.

Washington is mindful of the rapid buildup of the Japanese scientific and technological potential, the dynamic restructuring of the Japanese economy to give high priority to science-intensive areas. All this indicates that Japan is becoming a major focus of scientific and technological progress and thus

⁹ Calculated from *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers. 1972-1982*, pp. 18, 26, 27, 32, 39, 49.

a still more dangerous economic rival of the USA. To neutralise or at least weaken Japan in these fields, Washington strategists are trying to induce Japan to militarise rapidly. In 1984 Japan occupied sixth place in the capitalist world as far as military spending (\$12,500 million) is concerned. And its rate of growth of military expenditure (6.5-8 per cent a year) is more than double that of the European NATO countries and second only to that of the USA.

High priority attention to the Pacific region and calls for a still more dramatic reorientation of US interests from Western Europe to that region go hand in hand with plans for further militarisation of the political consciousness of the ruling elites in these countries. Manoeuvring between Western Europe and Japan, the United States seeks to involve its rivals deeper in the arms race to deny them advantages in the development of civilian industries.

This is highlighted by Washington's efforts to harness the West Europeans and Japanese to the "star wars" programme. The main motive behind it is to make the allies shoulder part of the financial burden involved in developing space weapons which is crippling even for the United States (approximately \$50,000 million spent on R&D and one trillion dollars to make the system operational). Besides, the USA would like to tap the scientific and technological potentials of its rivals. The US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger makes no bones about it when he says that the USA wants to receive not only aid, but to benefit by their scientific expertise. Washington's "strategic defense initiative" is at the same time a powerful impetus to the militarisation of the economic programmes of the leading capitalist powers.

Thus, the growth of military expenditures in all the three centres of imperialism is universal but uneven. The USA has shifted onto its rivals a considerable and ever growing share of the burden of military spending and this cannot but have an adverse effect on the economies of the EEC countries and Japan.

In order to offset a part of the losses suffered by the national economy due to the arms race, the major imperialist powers are trying to expand their export of weapons. In economic terms export of arms is no different from export of other goods as the cost of exported arms is not subtracted from social reproduction and returns to the exporter country where it can be used productively to contribute to the next cycle of social reproduction. However, for the importing country the purchase of arms represents unproductive spending in terms of social reproduction. This happens because purchased arms cannot be used in the process of reproduction and the money spent to buy them is subtracted from the value at the start of the next cycle of social reproduction. Thus, arms export, in addition to political and strategic goals, also has a purely economic goal, that of shifting unproductive expenditure on arms-importing countries. That is why there is a scramble among imperialist powers to increase commercial exports of arms.

The increase of military expenditure in Western Europe and Japan leads, directly or indirectly, to bigger American arms sales to these countries. The USA derives huge profits from the export of arms and military hardware. The USA accounts for 75 per cent of arms trade in the capitalist world. The annual US arms sales abroad (to almost 70 states) increased from \$1,400 million in 1971 to \$15,300 million in 1980. Between 1971 and 1980 the USA sold 97,600 million dollars worth of arms and military hardware to foreign countries.¹⁰

Competition among imperialist powers for arms markets is likely to

¹⁰ *Foreign Military Sales and Military Assistance Facts*, December 1980, pp. 1-2.

grow sharper. This will be seen from the fact that while in 1970 the share of arms exports in the GDP of the USA was 0.31 per cent, and 0.07 per cent in Western Europe (22.6 per cent of the US level), ten years later the West European countries increased the share of their arms exports in the GDP to 0.27 per cent, reaching two-fourths of the US level.

In the context of interimperialist rivalry arms trade is a means whereby the United States shifts onto West European countries and Japan a sizeable part of the arms race burden with all the negative consequences for their economic development. That is why Washington has for many years not only sought persistently to make its allies increase their military budgets, but has been equally persistent in encouraging US partners-rivals to buy more American arms and to sell fewer arms to the USA. This is the aim of protectionist US legislation that allows the Pentagon to buy arms overseas only if they are of higher quality and at least twice as cheap. And because a unit of arms in most cases costs less in the USA than in Western Europe the latter has managed to capture only about 5 per cent of the US arms market. This policy resulted in European NATO countries buying five times more arms from the USA than the latter buys from Western Europe.

Americans are quite candid about the fact that increased arms exports help them to expand and develop the military industry in the USA.¹¹ Thus, the United States covers part of its military expenditure with financial resources of its allies-rivals. The Europeans are subsidising US efforts to strengthen its influence on Western Europe.

Arms exports are a source of financing the maintenance of US troops overseas. While in the 1960s 65 per cent of this expenditure was covered by proceeds from arms sales, beginning from the early 1970s the maintenance of US troops in Western Europe has been fully financed by the proceeds from US arms sales to West European NATO countries.¹²

The aims of US arms exports, of course, are not only economic. Arms sales are an effective means of acquiring influence, wrote *Time* in October 1981.¹³ There is no doubt what influence is referred to. Americans themselves admit that arms sales will secure the realisation of US political and economic goals. One could not be more candid.

Another way in which the arms race influences the economy of Western countries is by complicating the climate in the East-West relations which worsens the conditions for mutually beneficial cooperation between West European countries and Japan, on the one hand, and the socialist countries, on the other.

The arms race initiated by the US military tends to exacerbate military confrontation which, in turn, makes it much more difficult to reach international agreements on arms limitation and reduction. By pushing Western Europe and Japan towards militarism Washington is increasing its military-political hegemony and gets additional levers for imposing restrictions on East-West trade on its allies which inevitably damages these countries themselves.

In trying to impede the trade of West European countries and Japan with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the United States hopes to cause certain economic damage not only to the socialist countries, but also to its European and Japanese rivals. One should not forget that the USSR and other socialist countries are major exporters of industrial equipment, raw materials, fuel, food, etc. to Western markets and could meet much of

¹¹ See *Department of State Bulletin*, September 1981, p. 61.

¹² R. A. Faramazyan, *Military Economy of American Imperialism*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1983, p. 172.

¹³ See *Time*, Oct. 26, 1981, p. 25.

their demand for these goods and commodities. However, US transnational companies too have a vast interest in cornering these markets. That is why Washington is setting obstacles in the way of trade and economic cooperation between East and West.

The United States bears the main responsibility for destroying much of what has been created in East-West relations over the preceding years by considerable effort.

The militaristic preparations of imperialists cause considerable damage to the economic interests of states because they impede the maximum use of the advantages of the international division of labour, disrupt normal economic ties among states, erect artificial barriers to trade, scientific and technological cooperation between them, and divert huge material, financial and labour resources from productive consumption. Irrespective of the economic level of countries, vast military spending is becoming an ever heavier burden for all nations, slowing down their economic and social progress.

The arms race which consumes the lion's share of the NATO countries' budgets is, in terms of social class policy, spearheaded not against the socialist world but also against the poor and middle classes in capitalist society. The arms race forces them to adopt a social strategy that has been aptly described by Western political scientists as poverty in the midst of plenty. This constitutes an admission that the NATO military doctrines are reckless and antihuman. It is also a warning that militarism carries the threat of higher unemployment, inflation and budget deficits and impoverishment of the masses.

Along with aggravating social and economic problems of present-day capitalism militarism emanating from Washington tends to exacerbate interimperialist contradictions. The USA is trying to bleed its allies white in order to weaken them as rivals who are gaining ground on them on the world markets. Old antagonisms are aggravated and new ones are created by the Washington Administration's attempts to rescue its own economy from serious financial and structural difficulties at the expense of Western Europe and Japan. The Big Seven summit meetings of the capitalist leaders held in recent years have tried to paper over these cracks. However, the situation today is that the more reactionary quarters in the USA play the role of the "locomotive of militarism", and pursue their narrow selfish aims that are increasingly at odds with the interests of the rest of the world.

BONN: PEACEABLE RHETORIC AND MILITARISTIC PRACTICES

G. KIRILLOV

Ever since it replaced the Social-Liberal Cabinet of Helmut Schmidt, the coalition government of CDU/CSU-FDP has repeatedly declared that it would seek better relations with socialist countries, and contribute to disarmament and European security. Reporting on the two years of the Kohl Cabinet in October 1984, Peter Boenisch (then head of the press and information department) stressed: "Disarmament and arms control remain our high priority goals. The Chancellor's statement 'we want to make peace with the least amount of weapons' remains in force... We seek mutual understanding and reconciliation with all our neighbours."¹

Such statements can only be welcomed. It would be still better, however, if they were followed by concrete deeds. Unfortunately, Bonn's policy has been short on practical moves aimed at curbing the arms race. It does not come up with any initiatives of its own. On the contrary, official Bonn uses every opportunity to increase West Germany's military potential (which in recent years has noticeably exceeded its reasonable defence needs) and has been unsparing of effort to support large-scale American military programmes.

Presenting a government statement to the Bundestag on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Bundeswehr on November 14, 1985, Chancellor Helmut Kohl said that the Bundeswehr was "the decisive contribution of the Federal Republic of Germany to the policy of security". Without that contribution, he elaborated, West Germany "would have been unable to influence the policy-making and strategy of the North Atlantic Alliance. In that case we would have been left out of the development of East-West relations and talks on arms control and disarmament."² As this statement shows, the Bonn government openly links the role and international weight of West Germany with the strength of its armed forces, with the growth of the country's military potential.

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On the occasion of the publication of the White Book on the position and development of the Bundeswehr by the FRG Ministry of Defence in the summer of 1985 Minister of Defence Manfred Wörner described the Bundeswehr as "one of the best armies in the West". And indeed the Bundeswehr is the main strike force of the North Atlantic bloc in Central Europe in terms of the quantity and quality of military hardware and conventional fire power. The FRG accounts for half of the ground force, over 60 per cent of tanks, 55 per cent of artillery, half of the ground-based anti-aircraft defence, and 30 per cent of combat aircraft of the NATO armed forces in the region. The West German navy accounts for 30 per

¹ *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung* (Henceforth referred to as *Bulletin...*), No. 110, Oct. 2, 1984, p. 969.

² *Bulletin...*, No. 127, Nov. 15, 1985, p. 1119.

cent of NATO's naval forces in the North and Baltic seas and for 70 per cent of the Navy and all of marine aviation in the Baltic.

As of June 1985 the strength of the FRG armed forces stood at 495,000 of which 345,000 were land forces, 111,000—the air force, and 39,000—the navy.³ The FRG was the third biggest military spender in 1985 after the USA and Britain (military spending is calculated in accordance with official NATO criteria including allocations through the defence ministry and other departments). The total military spending exceeded DM60,000 million.

The FRG, along with the USA, is rendering military aid to its NATO allies (Greece and Turkey from 1964 and Portugal beginning from 1978). The FRG shoulders the main burden of expenditure (after the USA) to finance programmes to develop NATO's infrastructure in Europe. It has earmarked DM5,820,000 million for this purpose for 1985-1990, which accounts for 26.8 per cent of the bloc's total spending, the US share being 27.8 per cent, and that of Great Britain, Italy and Canada combined, 26.7 per cent.⁴

The position of the FRG in NATO is unique also in that large foreign contingents are deployed on its territory—(over 400,000 servicemen, including two army corps from the USA, one from Great Britain, one from France (three tank divisions), a motorised infantry division from Canada, a tank brigade from Holland, several units from Belgium. These troops are armed with more than 560 combat aircraft (half of which are nuclear-capable) and more than 250 missile launchers of different kind.

All the 108 launchers of new American Pershing-2 medium-range nuclear missiles have already been deployed here and from the beginning of 1986 West Germany has been receiving—a year ahead of schedule—cruise missiles which are also first-strike weapons. The FRG has the largest stockpile of American nuclear warheads in Western Europe (as many as 5,000 nuclear warheads) and chemical weapons (about 10 per cent of the US chemical ammunition).

In intergovernmental agreement signed by the FRG and the USA on April 15, 1982 on war-time-nation-support was described by the West German Defence Ministry as being without analogue in NATO in quality and volume.⁵ Washington, among other things, has the right "in the event of aggravated tensions" to beef up its troops in West Germany by 150 per cent and to send another 1,000 warplanes. The FRG is to provide military cover for American ground force and airforce facilities, and back the US Air Force by ensuring the safety of airfields and providing ground transport. Furthermore, the FRG is to provide 93,000 auxiliary military personnel.

The FRG has 4,000 sq km of its territory occupied by military installations of which 2,500 are used by the Bundeswehr and 1,500 by NATO allies to which the Bonn authorities offered 40,000 military facilities and proving ranges. In 1985 alone the annual NATO manoeuvres in Western Europe (Autumn Forge) comprised 22 exercises of which 9 took place in West Germany. The FRG annually holds more than 5,000 exercises involving thousands of troops, tanks and other military hardware.

Over the past 30 years the West German authorities have increased the Bundeswehr's power under the pretext of the need to strengthen NATO and its alliance with the USA as the "foundation of the security of the Federal Republic" in the face of a mythical "Eastern threat". Yet even a lay observer is struck by the fact that the Bundeswehr is not a

³ Weissbuch 1985. *Zur Lage und Entwicklung der Bundeswehr* (Henceforth referred to as *Weissbuch 1985*)... Im Auftrage der Bundesregierung herausgegeben vom Bundesminister der Verteidigung, p. 238.

⁴ *Weissbuch 1985*..., p. 104.

⁵ *Weissbuch 1985*..., p. 116.

defensive army either in its structure or its equipment. Its strike force (6 of the 12 divisions) is comprised of mobile armoured units with heavy air cover. West German armour is one of the most powerful in NATO, every third NATO tank in Europe belonging to the Bundeswehr.

It is also worth noting that in the early years of its existence the Bundeswehr was largely equipped with American-made weapons because its own military industry was relatively small. Now West German military monopolies do not only provide for 85 per cent of the Bundeswehr's need for materiel but export their products to more than 70 countries. The FRG is the fourth biggest arms supplier in the West (after the USA, Britain and France) and West Germany arms manufacturers are selling more than DM2,000 million-worth of their lethal wares every year.

According to the Bonn Defence Ministry 250,000 people are employed in various branches of the military industry (some sources put the figure at about 400,000). That number should be at least doubled if one takes into account the numerous subcontractors. Since the beginning of the 1980s, and especially after the CDU/CSU-led coalition came to office, the FRG has been rapidly expanding research and development infrastructure of its military industry, with a corresponding rise in spending for these purposes. West German military concerns, most of whose enterprises are concentrated in the South, in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, exert ever more tangible influence on the shaping of the country's internal and external policies, especially its military policy. By having its own military industry, stresses the White Book for 1985, West Germany can take part "in policy and decision-making within the [Atlantic] Alliance."⁶

As the Bundeswehr increased its military power and Bonn increased its financial contribution to NATO and the West German military-industrial complex was playing an ever more important role in the country's political life, West Germany has increasingly claimed the role of one of the European NATO leaders and the main US ally in Europe. The former Minister of State at the West German Foreign Ministry Alois Mertes, formulated this line: "The USA is well aware of the fact that the Western alliance cannot exist without a foundation of solid cooperation between Washington and Bonn based on confidence... The Atlantic Alliance and partnership with the Federal Republic of Germany on security matters are central for the USA."⁷

Under the Paris agreements of 1954 the FRG is not allowed to manufacture nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. It is a signatory to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the convention banning the biological weapons. However, some quarters in Bonn, according to the well-informed *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, continue to react painfully to West Germany's non-participation in the "nuclear club" which allegedly impinges upon West Germany's interests and puts it in an unequal position compared to Great Britain and France.⁸

The country's ruling circles have, especially in recent years, persistently sought to make up for this "shortcoming". Twenty-five West German generals and admirals already occupy command posts in the headquarters and military committees of the North Atlantic bloc. In 1978 an additional post of NATO Deputy Supreme Allied Commander, Europe was created specially for a Bundeswehr representative. At present it is Gene-

⁶ Weissbuch 1985..., p. 368.

⁷ Bulletin..., June 5, 1985, p. 523

⁸ See *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Feb 19, 1985

ral Hans Joachim Mack. In September 1984 Bernard Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, put him in charge of NATO's nuclear weapons problems—the whole spectrum of them from planning to drawing up the annual reports on NATO's nuclear needs. And he declared that because the FRG was a non-nuclear power, for Germans, whose ground and air forces had nuclear weapons carriers, it was important to have a say at all levels of nuclear planning.⁹

West German rulers are doing everything to speed up the growth of conventional "classic" armaments in order to compensate for the absence of nuclear mass destruction weapons. In his speech before the Bundeswehr top command on February 15, 1984 Chancellor Kohl pointed out that West Germany stands to gain a lot from the increase of NATO's conventional potential because that would increase the military and political clout of the Bundeswehr. "This should be the priority area for the coming period," he said.¹⁰ Bonn hopes to benefit from the wide use of the new achievements offered by the new stage in the scientific and technological revolution.

Bonn's plans on this score were set out by Bundeswehr's Inspector-General W. Altenburg in an interview to the DPA agency on December 25, 1985. "In the past," he said, "priority in [Bundeswehr] arms was given to weapons carriers—tanks, guns, aircraft and ships. Now, with adequate amounts of weapons and carriers, we should develop the necessary systems of guidance and reconnaissance, 'thinking (intelligent) war-heads' which seek the target themselves, as well as remote control weapons."

The new spiral in the conventional arms race in NATO was triggered by the agreement on "strengthening conventional defence" reached in November 1984 during Kohl's visit to the USA. In December of that year the NATO defence ministers decided to develop a unified concept of strengthening conventional defence, and to increase cooperation in conventional arms manufacture both among European NATO partners and between Western Europe and the USA by allocating the necessary financial resources.¹¹

Simultaneously NATO adopted the concept of Follow On-Forces Attack (FOFA) on the troops and installations of the Warsaw Treaty states, known as the Rogers Plan. According to the Western press, the West German Minister of Defence Manfred Wörner who took part in the drafting of the plan had set out its essence back in November 1982 in an interview with a *Frankfurter Allgemeine* military observer A. Weinstein.¹² It boils down to the creation of new types of highly accurate conventional weapons approximating low nuclear yields in their performance. According to the plan, NATO armed forces are provided with unilateral advantages in delivering surprise strikes and conducting hostilities against the socialist countries.

Official Bonn, in actively promoting the Rogers Plan, claims that this NATO concept lowers the likelihood of a nuclear conflict in Europe because it "raises the threshold of nuclear war". Such arguments are hardly convincing, however. The Rogers Plan undoubtedly provokes a new spiral in the conventional arms race.

No wonder realistically-minded leaders in the West, including the FRG, have immediately realised the inherent dangers of the plan. As G. Scheer, SDP deputy to the Bundestag, declared, "it undermines trust between East and West" by reinforcing the impression that "NATO seeks to acquire a wide range of offensive weapons". This plan "brings the chan-

⁹ *Archiv der Gegenwart*, File 1/1985, p. 28344

¹⁰ *Bulletin*., No 21, Feb 23, 1984, pp. 182, 185.

¹¹ *Europäische Wehrkunde*, No 3, 1985, p. 138

¹² *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nov 14, 1982.

ces of arms control and disarmament to zero," says R. Vogt, expert of the Green Party in the Bundestag.

However, the FRG government, ignoring the mounting criticism inside the country, has backed NATO's military concept. The programme of Bundeswehr development in 1985-1997, which it adopted in late 1984 is aimed at providing the West German armed forces with a new generation of weapons and technology which, according to Weinstein, is "equivalent in its strategic significance to the remilitarisation carried out during the times of Chancellor Adenauer". The purchase of new arms in the next 13 years will cost the West German taxpayer DM240,000 million and, adjusted for inflation and extra spending on new weapons systems, that sum may amount to DM300,000 to DM370,000 million. Overall, West Germany's military spending will approach the DM1 trillion.¹³

More of these weapons are intended for a preemptive strike, they are offensive, and not defensive. One finds it hard to challenge the opinion of A. Zumach, a spokesman for the Coordinating Committee of the West German peace movement who said that "the implementation of the development programme for 1985-1997 will turn the Bundeswehr into an army intended for the conduct of war, an army fully corresponding to the concept of the US armed forces. This armament amounts to renouncing dialogue with the East." It is not by chance that the Federal government approved the programme shortly after the Western European Union lifted its ban on the production of strategic bombers and long-range missiles in the FRG on Bonn's insistence on June 27, 1984. That removed the remaining restrictions on the FRG in the manufacture of conventional weapons imposed after the end of the Second World War.

The Soviet memorandum to the FRG government of July 10, 1984 pointed out that these actions "were in direct contradiction to its declared adherence to the cause of military detente, promoting confidence and goodneighbourly cooperation", and are at odds with the "repeated assurances of the exclusively defensive character of the military doctrine of FRG and its army."

Seeking to further strengthen the FRG's position within NATO, Bonn attaches great significance to activating the European bodies of the bloc, the Eurogroup, the Independent European Programming Group (IEPG), and the Western European Union (WEU). The main emphasis is laid on close cooperation among the European NATO members in the manufacture of weapons, on making the military industries of the FRG and other NATO partners more competitive vis-a-vis the United States. However, the FRG government has invariably stressed that improvement of West European cooperation in the military field does not mean a departure from orientation on the USA and that its prime aim is to strengthen the European base of NATO.

The report of the Bonn cabinet on its two years in office issued in the autumn of 1984 stressed that Western Europe should evolve "towards greater capability" on matters of military policy "with a view to strengthening the European base of the North Atlantic Alliance". Six months later, in May 1985, addressing the North Atlantic Assembly in Stuttgart, Chancellor Kohl elaborated: "The issue here is strengthening the European base of the alliance [NATO] and thus raising its defence capability as a whole."

In November 1984 the IEPG defence ministers, with active Bonn cooperation, for the first time, discussed 30 possible projects of cooperation in planning and arms manufacture. The Western press reported that an agreement had been reached in principle to work on questions involving the development of a new type of antitank rockets for antitank heli-

¹³ *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, No. 4, 1985, p. 464.

copters and a self-homing air-to-ground medium-range missile for aircraft.¹⁴

In addition to financial benefits (due to the pooling of resources) Bonn rulers hope that intensified cooperation within Western Europe would be essentially useful in providing a cover for their own commitment to continued build-up of the FRG's military potential by dissolving it in the "all-European responsibility" and "all-European tasks." The FRG is already a partner in a number of bilateral and multilateral projects to develop new types of weaponry.

The unseemly role of the FRG government in the deployment of new American medium-range missiles in some West European countries is well known. By agreeing to accept the lion's share of these weapons on West German soil—all the 108 Pershing-2 and 96 cruise missiles (i. e. 204 out of 572 missiles) and doing everything to expedite the operation, the Bonn ruling circles, contrary to the will of the majority of the country's population, are creating a situation when a new war could be launched from the territory of the FRG even without the knowledge of its authorities. As a result, as the Soviet government has repeatedly warned, the FRG has objectively come under greater military danger and the interests of European security as a whole have been damaged.

Although Bonn today is suggesting that its "firmness" on the missile question has led to the reactivation of nuclear arms negotiations and has created conditions for the Soviet-American summit in Geneva such "arguments" do not hold water. If Bonn's much-vaunted "firmness" has had any result it was to raise the level of nuclear confrontation and seriously worsen the political situation in Europe.

The Bonn Cabinet's attitude to the American plans of militarising outer space reveals the true intent of its policy on international security. Chancellor Kohl was the first of West European leaders to speak in favour of the American "strategic defense initiative" at an international meeting of military experts in Munich on February 9, 1985. The special government statement in the Bundestag on April 18, 1985 was even more forthright on this question "We in the Federal government," said Kohl, "support the American strategic defence programme... In our view it is justified, politically necessary, and meets the interests of Western security... [The SDI] may offer the NATO alliance and Europe a real chance and contribute greatly to the strengthening and integration of both."¹⁵

Bonn has to all intents and purposes adopted Washington's arguments justifying the SDI. Trying to allay the fears among West Germans who are seriously worried by the American "star wars" plans, the FRG government claims that it is a purely "defensive" programme. The Chancellor has stressed that "we should counter the Eastern arguments of the need for non-militarisation of outer space' by pointing out that the SDI shifts the centre of gravity from offensive nuclear weapons to conventional defensive weapons."

It is known, however, that the notorious SDI is by no means the innocuous offence system it purports to be. Its meaning is to add another element to the US defence potential. The Pentagon strategists are trying, under the cover of a space "shield" to get a first nuclear strike opportunity. The emergence of space strike weapons can merely destabilise the strategic situation in the world, whip up the arms race in every field,

¹⁴ *Archiv der Gegenwart*, File 1/1985, p. 28345

¹⁵ *Bulletin...*, No. 40, Apr. 19, 1985, pp. 342-343

and dramatically bring down the level of security of all, including the USA and its allies.

Similarly, there is little basis in the Bonn argument that by renouncing participation in the SDI the FRG would doom itself to lagging behind in technology as the US "strategic defense initiative" is a "technological challenge" to Western Europe which West Europeans are obliged to take up. As *Frankfurter Allgemeine* stressed, technical novelties emanating from civilian industries would cost ten times less than novelties generated by "military research and development".

There is little cause to doubt that those circles on the Rhine who are unhappy that the FRG has no nuclear weapons hope that by being involved in SDI West Germany could gain access to a new generation of strategic weapons, the space weapons. The realisation of American space plans, writes *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, could shift the centre of gravity to new types of weapons—laser weapons, particle-beam weapons, etc., i. e. the types of weapons whose manufacture is not banned in the FRG. Bonn would thereby get a chance to achieve parity with France and Great Britain.¹⁶

It is not by chance that among the active supporters of the SDI are Defence Minister Wörner and that vocal advocate of the interests of the West German military-industrial complex, Franz Josef Strauss. These two leaders have actively joined the Bundeswehr top brass in promoting the idea of complementing the American programme of militarising outer space with their own programme of a ABM system for Europe. Journalists have already dubbed it the "European defence initiative" (EDI).

In July last year the Paris *La Tribune de l'economie* reported that Manfred Wörner, judging from his statements after talks with the then French Defence Minister Charles Hernu, was inclined to pursue a West European military space programme parallel to the American SDI. At the same time, the West German *Bild Zeitung* carried an interview with Franz Josef Strauss who said bluntly that West Germany's involvement in the SDI should be supplemented by a "European defence initiative".

In early December 1985 Wörner submitted the question on a "European defence initiative" to NATO's Eurogroup. In an interview to the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* newspaper, he gave a clear enough outline of his plan, whereby the EDI should complement the SDI. While the SDI, he said, "is aimed mainly at taking out medium-range and short-range missiles during take-off or in space, the proposed EDI is concerned with systems that would destroy missiles or cruise missiles in the final stage of their approach to the target". Research and development under that programme, Wörner believes, must be pursued in cooperation with the US as there is a partial overlap in technology with that used in the SDI.

According to *Der Spiegel* and the *Vorwärts* weekly the West German arms industry is already conducting research, commissioned by the Defence Ministry, which could be used in the EDI. This includes work to develop laser and the so-called electromagnetic guns to strike air targets (guided and targeted from the air).

Just how accurate this information is and what the concrete outcome of these plans will be is hard to say. It is significant, however, that this dangerous idea is already being publicly discussed by high-ranking West German officials.

On December 18, 1985 the West German government decided to start negotiations with the US Administration on the participation of West German firms in SDI research. The Soviet Embassy in Bonn, in its statement to the West German Foreign Ministry, pointed out that "thereby a practical step has been made to draw the FRG into the American plans

¹⁶ *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Feb. 19, 1985.

to create space strike weapons, a large-scale system of antiballistic missile defence with space-based elements." ¹⁷

It is surprising that the move came soon after the Geneva summit meeting during which the two sides agreed to accelerate Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons referring to the task set in the Soviet-American statement of January 8, 1985. The FRG government has repeatedly voiced its support and approval of this goal, namely, the goal of preventing the arms race in space and halting it on earth. Bonn has constantly stressed the significance of the Soviet-American ABM treaty. It was none other than Chancellor Kohl who on November 26, 1985 made a call in the Bundestag to use the Geneva meeting to develop the dialogue and strengthen West-East strategic stability through cooperation.

Against this background what is one to make of the West German government's decision to take part in the SDI? If Bonn is really interested in the success of the Soviet-American talks why act contrary to the spirit of Geneva and set up additional obstacles in the way of compromise solutions and damage the ABM Treaty? Things do not quite add up there.

As for West German business interests they are already becoming involved in the SDI and enjoying official support. In October 1985 the press in the USA and West Germany reported that the Dornier aircraft company will join the American Sperry Rand corporation in bidding for a Pentagon contract for secret experiments into stabilisation and precise targeting of a powerful laser beam, systems of target identification and targeting of the so-called electromagnetic guns to be done in 1987-1988.

It is to be hoped, however, that the FRG has yet to make its final decision on the SDI question, that it will heed the voice of reason, and the voice of its own population the majority of whom reject "star wars", as opinion polls have shown. In December 1985, during the hearings in Bundestag's foreign affairs and defence committees, 8 out of 11 scientific experts on the SDI problems resolutely opposed it. H.-G. Brauch, a political scientist, declared: "The implementation of the SDI would threaten the security situation of the FRG. The FRG's participation in the SDI programme and the creation of an antimissile system in Europe would turn Chancellor Kohl's political slogan of ensuring peace with less weapons' into its opposite - 'creating instability with more weapons'."

In September 1985 Andreas von Bülow, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Commission on Security Policy, published a document in Bonn entitled, "Strategy of Confidence-Building Security Structures in Europe. Ways Towards Security Partnership," in which he sets out his views and proposals for a future military-political strategy of the FRG. The document caused an outcry in the political circles, notably, in the ruling parties which accused von Bülow of all but forgetting the security interests of West Germany and the West as a whole.

Andreas von Bülow is by no means an "anti-NATO" politician, nor can he be suspected of sympathy for the USSR. He has presented a pro-Western document containing a good many incorrect, biased appraisals of the policy of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries. What Christian Democratic politicians disliked was von Bülow's recognition of the equilibrium of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, and his dismissal of the myth about a "threat from the East", his call for reappraising the world strategic situation and replacing the present military political concept of NATO based on deterring the potential enemy by a concept of security partnership between East and West.

"We must find a way," stresses von Bülow, "to move from the four-decade-old situation resembling an armistice to reliable peace for both si-

des. East and West must learn to exist in the conditions of peaceful competition, to restrain tensions engendered by the existence of different socio-political systems. Responsibility for joint maintenance of peace can be ensured only together and not in opposition to each other. The idea that security can be ensured unilaterally must give way to awareness of the need for partnership on security matters. The SDPG wants to put an end to confrontation and the policy of 'unilateral deterrence' and arrive at security on the basis of East-West cooperation."

Apparently it was the idea of East-West partnership on security matters that caused particular anger in the SDU/CSU camp. CSU deputy A. Biele, Chairman of the Bundestag Defence Committee, warned: "Those who deny a Soviet threat to the Federal Republic want to disband NATO". Speaking in the same vein, A. Dregger, Chairman of the SDU/CSU faction in the Bundestag, said that "he who proposes security cooperation with the Soviet Union thereby comes out for an end of partnership with the USA".

There is a certain logic to this reaction of the ruling coalition in West Germany. Viewing the socialist countries as the "potential enemy", "enemy in the future war" seems to be ingrained in the minds of West German political and military leaders who think in categories of military confrontation and want to build up West Germany's military muscle.

From time to time one can hear from Bonn tirades about a mythical "Soviet concept of unequal security" intended to turn Western Europe into a "second rate security" zone. The Soviet Union has never concocted any evil against the FRG, or any other NATO country, for that matter. It threatens no one and does not infringe upon the interests of anybody.

Moscow has always stood for such a development of European affairs that would strengthen security of both the NATO and Warsaw Treaty states, the FRG and the USSR. Mutual respect and the consolidation of the security of each other—this is the way offered by the Soviet Union.

A considerable part of the proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986 is relevant to Western Europe. It is quite understandable that the FRG, as one of the leading West European countries, can make a positive contribution to their realisation. This, in turn, would open new prospects for the improvement of political relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union, and the other socialist countries.

Historical experience shows that whenever the FRG took due account of the security interests of its socialist neighbours both sides gained. This was how the Moscow Treaty and other treaties and agreements were signed between the FRG and the socialist countries. Questions of a security are central for further development of relations between the FRG on the one hand and the USSR and its allies on the other. The Soviet Union has unequivocally said that it wants our countries to be partners and not enemies on these as well as economic and cultural issues.

Addressing the Bundestag in October 1985 the West German Minister for Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher said: "Experience attests that neither the quest for military superiority nor commitment to gaining a technological lead can be suitable means for winning the competition between the two systems. Only mutual understanding on the basis of equality and respect for legitimate interests of each other can guarantee a lasting peace".

It would be very useful both for East-West relations and for international security as a whole if these and similar statements of the FRG government were translated more frequently into concrete political actions, including in the military field.

THE IMPERIALIST ESSENCE OF COLLECTIVE NEOCOLONIALISM

M. V O L K O V,

D. Sc. (Econ.)

Of late imperialism's global attack on the vital interests of the young sovereign states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is assuming ever more dangerous forms. As noted in the Programme of the CPSU, "taking advantage of the economic and technological dependence of the newly free countries and their unequal status in the world capitalist economy, imperialism mercilessly exploits them. It is exacting tributes that run into billions of dollars, and which are exhausting the economies of those states".

In its attempts to take social revenge on countries that have cast off the colonial yoke imperialism resorts to traditional, time-tested methods, as well as to new means which are in tune with the changing world situation. Some of the new means employed by imperialism in its relations with the young sovereign states are part of the system of *collective neocolonialism* whose imperialist essence is quite obvious.

Despite their acute struggle and competition neocolonial forces come to an agreement with each other, work out temporary compromises, form alliances and come out in a single front to foist inequitable economic international relations on the developing countries which undermine their national sovereignty and give world monopoly capital additional opportunities for their exploitation. Decisions are taken within the framework of collective neocolonialism as to what stand should be taken with regard to the developing countries, common principles of enterprise in these countries and rules limiting competition between the participants in the imperialist plunder are worked out.

The development and broad expansion of collective neocolonialism were promoted by the new trends in the organisational pattern of world monopoly capital that were brought to life by the scientific and technological revolution: drastic internationalisation of production and all the aspects of economic life, word-wide expansion of transnational corporations (TNCs), economic integration of West European capitalist states, and emergence of new forms of centralisation of capital free from national framework. No little role in creating the system of collective neocolonialism belongs to international financial organisations, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

It is common knowledge that TNCs are the shock force of neocolonialism. And although most of the international monopolies now in force have a striking national "identity", the new trends in their activities are turning these corporations into the driving and organising force of collective neocolonialism.

The capital of many corporations is made up of investments by the bourgeoisie from different countries. The number of mixed corporations with participants from among national monopolies is steadily growing.

An ever greater number of TNCs has an unspecified or fictitious nationality. Ever more TNCs find it convenient to "fly the flag" of another country, where they register and set up headquarters (there are corporations registered in the Principality of Liechtenstein, the Bahamas, etc.), and which as a rule has nothing to do with the invested capital.

It should be noted that even in the case of TNCs with a definite national status the character of their activities is acquiring every semblance of collective neocolonialism. Evidence of this is the strengthening of financial ties between such corporations, representing different countries, and the practice of coordinated action in different spheres (dividing spheres of activities, pursuing a unified policy, participation in international cartels organised along formal or informal lines). It is indicative that TNCs of different developed capitalist countries set up joint ventures in the territories of Asian, African and Latin American states. Such joint ventures, registered in the developing countries, are formally included in their economic structures while in effect serve as national signboards to conceal multinational capital.

Multinational investment consortiums uniting private investment companies in various countries serve the aims of extending neocolonialist exploitation and providing it with capital that lacks independent channels for penetrating the developing countries. Over 120 private companies and financial institutions in various capitalist countries have formed the Atlantic Development Group for Latin America (ADELA) for the joint export of capital to Latin American countries. A similar consortium for Asian countries—Overseas Private Investment Corporation (PICA)—was set up with an imposing initial capital of \$7,500 million. In 1972 their counterpart was formed—an International Financial Society for Investment and Development in Africa (SIFIDA). International investment consortiums serve as mediators between the owners of capital in developed capitalist countries, regardless of their national status, and the developing countries where this capital is invested. From their inception they operate as forms of collective neocolonialism.

Economic development "aid" serves as a major means of cementing the entire system of neocolonialist exploitation. It not only paves the way for private capital (in the form of investments and credit) to the newly free states but also brings in no small profits to the donor countries.

Nearly all the developed capitalist countries are members of the *Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development* (OECD). Seventeen of its members make up the *Development Assistance Committee* (DAC), a joint organ for the coordination of its members' policy and activities in matters of rendering economic "aid" to the developing countries.

The November 1983 summit meeting of DAC member states held in Paris produced an agreement on a wide range of practical measures aimed at improving the existing system of consultations concerning the policy of granting "aid" to the developing countries and achieving the effective coordination of the programmes implemented in these countries. In keeping with this agreement DAC coordinating groups are set up in the newly free states with the object of regulating, on a timely and permanent basis, the activities pertaining to the "aid" programmes along the lines coordinated in Paris.

In 1983 the Development Assistance Committee elaborated Guiding Principles for the Use and Aid in Association with Export Credits and Other Market Funds which each donor state is obliged to observe in its practical economic relations with the developing countries. On May 18, 1984 the OECD Ministerial Council decreed that the DAC Guiding Principles should be fully applied to the implementation of the program-

mes for economic "aid" and to other forms of economic ties with Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The bulk of economic development "aid" is transferred to the recipient countries along bilateral channels. Of late, however, an ever growing share of this "aid" has been reaching the developing countries through multilateral channels representing various international and regional organisations which make up the organisational pattern of collective neocolonialism. In the early 1980s nothing less than 27.9 per cent of all "aid" from the DAC countries reached the developing countries through multilateral channels, i. e. the organisational network of collective neocolonialism. A particularly high share of multilateral "aid"—36.1 per cent of the sum total—falls to US allocations.

Multilateral (collective) and bilateral (national) neocolonialism are not rivals: each performs its own functions within the common neocolonialist system and supplements the other, the collective forms being used chiefly to promote and extend the enterprising activities of private capital from various imperialist states. That is why neocolonialism is especially aggressive towards the national sovereignty of the developing countries in the economic sphere, interfering in every way in their internal affairs and arrogating those functions that are the prerogative of their national governmental bodies.

In this role the OECD interacts closely with leading organisations of collective neocolonialism such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), whose chief aim is to serve as mediators between the owners of money capital who seek profitable investments abroad, and countries that are pressed for loans.

Having at its disposal as of the early 1980s a subscribed capital of nearly \$40,000 million, the *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development* issues bonds on the money market for the sum and term of the loans earmarked for various countries. The money from their sale is granted to the developing countries at high interest rates (11.6 per cent annually in the early 1980s).

The IBRD invests the capital at its disposal in its own name, regardless, of who is its actual owner. In this way it ensures the profitability and guarantees the safety of the capital, irrespective of its origin, invested through its mediation in the developing countries. In its choice of the projects for financing the IBRD is guided not by their economic significance for the developing countries but by the interests of private corporations in the capitalist world.

Inasmuch as the IBRD does not grant loans to the developing countries on easy terms this function has been allotted to the *International Development Association* (IDA) operating under its aegis. The IDA's task is to create the illusion of benefaction in the relations of capitalist states with the least developed newly free countries. Its activities in these countries strengthen the position of social forces that adhere to the capitalist way of development, are interested in maintaining comprehensive ties with Western states and are essentially the bulwark of neocolonialism.

It is indicative, however, that the right-wing circles responsible for the present economic policy of the leading imperialist powers seek to reduce the volume of easy-term credits to the developing countries. Since the early 1980s the US has cut sharply its allocations to I.D.A. In this connection its 1982 budget was brought down from the envisaged \$4,100 million to \$2,600 million.

The *International Monetary Fund* grants its members, mostly developing countries, short-term credits (up to one year) and medium-term loans (from 3 to 5 years) at high interest rates which are used to cover the balance-of-payments deficit. Without IMF credits world monopoly capital

would not be able to use the channels of world trade for neocolonialist plunder of these countries.

It must be underlined that international financial organisations shamelessly interfere in the internal affairs of the developing countries, undermining their national sovereignty and influencing their foreign and domestic economic policies and their legislation to make more room for neocolonialist exploitation. True, these aspects of IMF and IBRD activities are not made public and are hushed up in every way possible. The 1984 Review Development Cooperation OECD makes a carefully worded diplomatic statement to the effect that "donors see IMF and the World Bank as playing an increasingly important role in policy discussions with developing countries, especially in relation to short-term and medium-term macroeconomic adjustments to the international economic environment".¹

It is indicative that up till now the IMF was notorious for its exceedingly gross interference in the internal affairs of developing countries. The same reputation has now been earned by the IBRD. "The concept of structural adjustment loans explicitly linked with specified policy changes. And has increasingly been complemented by a broader and more continuous concern with major policy issues across the whole range of the Bank's operations."² In practice the realisation of this idea boils down to politically-motivated discrimination of the developing countries and support by international financial institutions for the more reactionary and proimperialist regimes seeking to foist on the developing countries economic policies that are drastically worsening the life of their working people.

In organisations of collective neocolonialism, and such are international financial institutions, the decisive role belongs to US monopoly capital. It is precisely US capital which accounts for the biggest share of their subscribed and loanable funds. The USA is the only country in the IMF and IBRD that has the right of "veto" (it holds over 20 per cent of the vote and decisions are taken by a majority of 80 per cent). It is indicative that by tradition the President of the IBRD is a representative of US finance capital (for many years this post was held by Robert McNamara, US Secretary of Defense between 1961 and 1968, and before that President of the Ford Motor automobile corporation; he was followed by Alden Clausen, then president of the Bank of America, one of the biggest US private banks).

In the autumn of 1985 the USA launched a new attack of collective neocolonialism on the developing countries. At the IMF and IBRD session in Seoul US Treasury Secretary James Baker advanced his idea of foisting the principles of "Reaganomics" on these countries. According to the Baker Plan in the next three years IBRD loans to the developing countries should be increased by 50 per cent, from the envisaged \$18,000 million to \$27,000 million. This capital must be employed by the IBRD in joint credit operations with the participation of private bank associations, the aim of which is to force the recipient countries to accept credits on more stringent terms and make concessions in the sphere of their national sovereignty and home and foreign economic policies.

It would be a mistake to believe that collective neocolonialism delivers the capitalist system from the aggravation of interimperialist contradictions. Quite the contrary, each centre of power, each monopoly group is

¹ 1984 Review Development Co-operation OECD, Paris, 1984, p. 77.

² *Ibidem*.

out to use the capitalist system in its own interests. An eloquent example to this effect are the neocolonialist activities of the European Economic Community (EEC) which seeks to gain the upper hand in its competitive struggle with the two other leading centres of interimperialist rivalry for markets, capital investment spheres and raw-material sources.

The Third Lomé Convention between the EEC and 65 developing countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP) was signed at the end of 1984 in the capital of Togo. It extends for another five years (until 1990) the special regime of economic ties between the West European Common Market countries and those of the ACP, which essentially increases the latter's economic dependence on West European countries. The Lomé Conventions have done the EEC members a good service by providing them with special privileges for the neocolonialist exploitation of the ACP countries which account for more than a half of all the developing countries.

The importance of the Lomé Conventions for West European monopoly capital is determined by the following two factors. Firstly, these Conventions make it possible to use the ACP countries' natural resources (mineral deposits and agricultural raw materials) on favourable terms, and to exploit their manpower resources on a wider scale (chiefly by increasing capital investments in these countries). Secondly, they increase the actual economic dependence of the ACP countries on Western Europe, which provides monopoly capital with long-term prospects for obtaining additional benefits.

The question arises naturally: what compels the developing countries to take part in the system of Lomé Conventions? To begin with, the orientation of their economies on the markets of former metropolitan countries, which is a vestige of colonial times. Secondly, participation in this system is an indispensable condition for receiving economic, scientific and technological and food "aid" from the EEC countries, which is necessary to many ACP countries. Lastly, refusal to participate in this system turns the young sovereign state into a kind of outcast which is especially painful to countries having traditional intensive economic ties with Western Europe.

The Lomé Conventions have formed the mechanism of collective neocolonialism which includes 4 basic instruments: institutions that render financial "aid" to the ACP countries (European Development Fund—EDF, European Investment Bank—EIB), the System of Stabilisation of Export Earnings (STABEX), the mining industries assistance fund (SISMIN), and trade preferences.

According to the Lomé Conventions the EDF and EIB adopt five-year programmes for subsidies and loans to ACP countries that are designated for the fulfilment of concrete projects. The size of such financial "aid" is shown in the following table (in European monetary units—ECU):

Financial Development "Aid" Along the Lines of Lomé Conventions		
Type of aid	1975-1980	1981-1985
EDF	3,076	4,627
EIB	3,083	4,473
of which:		
Subsidies	2,155	2,986
Special Loans	444	518
Ordinary Loans	390	685
Venture Capital	94	284

Thus nearly 15,000 million ECU (in the form of "aid") are allocated to all the ACP countries for a ten-year period, which is an average of 1,500 million ECU yearly, or less than 25 million ECU per ACP country. It should be said that the developing countries, parties to the Lomé Conventions, regard this sum as a drop in the bucket and demand its increase.

By their "aid" to ACP countries the EEC states have gained hold of an additional lever for

bringing pressure to bear on them in all spheres, including the political and military spheres. Indicatively, ACP countries having NATO bases in their territories receive more sizable allocations from the EDF and EIB. Moreover, the greater part of the "aid" is channelled into projects which afford the best possible conditions for private capital, and above all, foreign capital investments, while strictly observing the principle of rejecting the financing of any activity that would compete with private capitalist enterprise.

The EDF and EIB have become the focus of fierce struggle. The young states insist on more sizable sums for their economic development and on the right to dispose independently of these means, justly regarding the terms set by the EEC as interference in their internal affairs and violation of their economic sovereignty. The neocolonialist forces, on the other hand, place their hopes with the EDF and EIB which they regard as effective instruments of influencing developing countries and subordinating them to the aims and interests of neocolonialist exploitation.

The ten years of experience of the STABEX system show that it also serves as an instrument for strengthening the entire system of collective neocolonialism. It has instilled futile hopes and created a false illusion that it is possible to achieve by means of agreement between the developing countries and the imperialist states a way to protect the producers and exporters of raw materials from economic losses due to the falling exports of raw materials and the reduction of their prices. In this way it has diverted the developing countries from other, more effective forms of struggle for their rights and interests, for the restructuring of the entire system of international economic relations, forcing them to make certain concessions to the imperialist states and capitalist monopolies and orient their long-term economic plans on closer ties with the West European economy.

Expenses on maintaining the STABEX system constitute but a small share of the additional profits received by the EEC countries from bringing down the prices for raw materials. Incidentally, they do not cover even one-fourth of the losses suffered by the ACP countries due to the drop in their export earnings. STABEX loans were able to compensate for only 24.7 per cent of their losses, which had been considerably understated. The developing countries are demanding the increase of STABEX resources and changes in the terms foisted on them by this system in their favour. However, even the Third Lomé Convention made no changes in the practice of ensuring to the West European countries guaranteed deliveries of raw materials on easy terms, thereby shifting the hardships caused by the economic crisis onto the shoulders of raw-material exporters.

Quite naturally the developing countries are interested in preserving their mining industry which is affected by uncontrolled market forces and the aggressive policy of world monopoly capital and therefore comes up against the difficulties of marketing mineral raw materials, falling prices for them, decreasing profitability and in some cases the threat of bankruptcy. However, the capitalist monopolies in Western countries are also interested in preserving the production potential of the mining industry in these countries: they are seeking to maintain a reserve that would be always ready to provide West European economy with mineral raw materials at bargain prices. The SYSMIN system is a reliable instrument of West European monopoly capital for achieving this end at minimum costs. SYSMIN is the newest instrument in the arsenal of the EEC collective neocolonialism. This system was introduced in tune with terms set by the Second Lomé Convention (1980-1984). Allocations for its activities amounted to the sum of 282 million ECU.

Trade preferences hold an important place in the EEC system of collective neocolonialism. They bind the ACP countries to West European markets, and consolidate their inequitable status in the international capitalist division of labour. While enhancing the economic dependence of the ACP countries on West European markets, the system of preferences enables the EEC states to make active manoeuvres in their foreign trade, thereby subjecting the ACP countries to different discriminatory measures and restrictions. Trade preferences are also turning into a means of blunt economic blackmail, calculated to force the ACP countries to make concessions to the EEC states in different aspects of economic and political relations within the system of collective neocolonialism. The entry of Spain and Portugal into the Common Market has considerably affected the position of ACP countries: most of their exports to EEC countries are certain to compete with their identical counterparts exported by the new EEC members (olives and olive oil, citrus fruits, wine, textiles and other manufactured goods).

Conscious of their growing role in world economy and politics the developing countries do not wish to remain the defenceless victims of neocolonialist plunder. A decisive role in counteracting neocolonialist exploitation belongs to the anti-imperialist unity of these countries. All their achievements in defending their interests in the world capitalist economy are the result of their joint action. This was the case when the firm common policy of the OPEC countries enabled them to inflict in the early 1970s a heavy blow to the International Oil Cartel.

Unity of developing countries and their support by the socialist countries ensured the adoption on May 1, 1974 by the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, which proclaimed among its principles the sovereign equality of states, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs, the right of each country to choose the social-economic system it considers to be the most suitable for its own development and in this connection to be free of any discrimination, full permanent sovereignty of each state over its natural resources and all economic activities including the right to nationalisation, and so on. In December 1974, the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly adopted, in extension of this Declaration, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. The observance of its provisions would virtually do away with international exploitation.

Unity of the developing countries' policy-making demands in the sphere of international economic relations is supported by the Group of 77, which includes practically all the developing countries that are UN members. This has led to a dual effect, however. On the one hand, it increases the role of the Group as the universal representative of more than 120 states, on the other, it weakens its effectivity owing to the distinctions in social-economic structures, political orientations and national interests of its members.

Problems concerning the economic position of developing countries in the world and the task of their liberation from neocolonialist exploitation receive ever more attention in the non-aligned movement. Speaking at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Delhi (1983) Fidel Castro called upon its participants "to fight consistently for close and purposeful cooperation among the developing countries, that would not serve to subordinate economically weaker countries to their stronger counterparts, but would serve as an effective instrument of struggle for collective self-defence in the face

of economic aggression, for coordination of positions at international talks and the best joint use of all our resources and experience".³

The developing countries reacted to the policy of collective neocolonialism by advancing the programme of "joint self-reliance". Its implementation is intended to reduce their economic dependence on the imperialist states, reorient their economic ties on mutual exchange, create their own infrastructure, and ensure independent reproduction by pooling natural, manpower, production and financial resources. To concretely translate this programme into life it was decided that a joint scientific and technological centre be set up in Delhi, and a centre of information on the work of TNCs in Havana.

Struggle against neocolonialist exploitation also calls for joint action to curb the arms race, eliminate the threat of war and frustrate aggressive imperialist schemes. "Development, independence, disarmament and peace are inseparable"—this principle proclaimed by the non-aligned movement reflects the objective reality of our time.

In 1985 the developing countries held a number of important meetings to work out effective programmes for joint action against collective neocolonialism. In July a highly representative Conference of Ministers of Trade from more than 70 developing countries gathered in Delhi. It showed the strong resolve of these states to fight for genuine equality in trade relations with capitalist countries, the reform of the international credit system, and a new international economic order. In August 1985 Havana played host to nearly 1,200 statesmen, political and public leaders from Latin America who assembled to discuss the problem of their countries' foreign debt, which had reached the sum of \$360,000 million. This "continental dialogue" showed the community of basic economic interests of Latin American countries and the need for unity on the part of victims of neocolonialist exploitation. As stated at the conference the struggle of Latin America should become the struggle of the entire Third World. The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned states held in Luanda in September 1985 stated their resolve to work jointly for the observance of their countries' economic interests.

The stand of the developing countries to counteract neocolonialism is also enhanced by their growing economic cooperation with the socialist community. The young states are waging with active support from the socialist countries a persistent struggle for a new and more just international economic order. In the struggle for peoples' security, as in the fight to put an end to neocolonialist exploitation world socialism is the natural ally of the young states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

³ F. Castro, *Economic and Social World Crisis. Report at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries*, Havana, 1983, pp. 243-244.

WASHINGTON AND PRETORIA: A PLOT AGAINST ANGOLA

A. U R N O V

Encouragement of reaction and support for it have always been an integral part of the US foreign-policy line. With the advent to the White House of the current Administration, such support has been extended on a much larger scale across the world. What makes this line of US policy even more blatant and provocative is the doctrine of "neoglobalism", or "regional conflicts", which is perhaps the major "discovery" of the architects of the US Administration's present foreign-policy line. The names of the doctrine seem to be quite innocuous but, unfortunately, that can hardly be said of the political line they are used to designate.

In the context of world politics, the purpose of "neoglobalism" is to put undue emphasis on regional problems in order to distract the attention of the states and peoples from the task of preventing an arms race in outer space and ending it on the Earth, to help the USA evade responsibility for the solution of mankind's crucial and most imperative problem.

On the regional plane, "neoglobalism" means a new and serious toughening of US policy with regard to young independent states and national liberation movements, and mounting tensions in many regions of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Such a toughening can be explained by Washington's failure in the preceding four years to halt the progressive changes there, to take social revenge and regain the positions it had lost. Refusing to give up their imperial ambitions and recognise the people's right to free and independent development, the US ruling circles have resorted to a fresh escalation of aggression and interference. Examples of this can be seen in every area of the planet: the tragedy of Grenada, still fresh in peoples' minds, the unceasing provocations against Libya, the support and encouragement of subversive activities in other countries carried out by Washington's mercenaries.

The new doctrine can be traced to the US President's State of the Union Message in February 1985, in which he openly declared the USA's intention to support "fighters against communism" all over the world, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua. The doctrine was eventually spelled out in the US President's speech at the Jubilee Session of the UN General Assembly on October 24, 1985. Having entered the states most hated by Washington on a kind of "black list" (which includes Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Nicaragua), the President alleged that a settlement of the "armed conflicts" in these countries was the main condition for an normalisation of Soviet-US relations and the international situation as a whole. He left no doubt that by "settlement" Washington means a removal of the legitimate governments in the listed countries and that the USA would do its utmost to attain that goal.

Such a policy is incompatible with the norms of international law, which are discarded as unnecessary. The aggressor is presented as the victim of aggression, legitimate governments are put on an equal footing with counter-revolutionary bands, these bands are advertised as

"freedom fighters", and acknowledged national liberation movements are branded as "terrorist".

Washington is obviously trying to "legitimise" its links with subversive anti-popular groupings in progressive African, Asian and Latin American states, to assume the "right" to give these groupings military aid in the struggle against the existing governments, and to do this openly, rather than secretly, as it did in the past. In other words, it is a matter of adopting export of counter-revolution as an official principle and norm of US policy. The policy followed by Washington and Pretoria with regard to the People's Republic of Angola is a graphic example in this respect.

When in 1975 and 1976 the South African racists backed by the USA launched an aggression against the People's Republic of Angola in order to deprive its people of the possibility of enjoying the fruits of their victory over the Portuguese colonialists, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which had given diverse assistance to the MPLA in the years of the liberation struggle, took a resolute stand in favour of people's Angola. At the request of the Angolan government and in accordance with the UN Charter, Cuban internationalist troops arrived in Angola.

With the assistance of their friends, the Angolan armed forces crushed the aggressors. South Africa's troops and the remnants of the bands belonging to the puppet splinter group UNITA withdrew to Namibia. The government formed by the MPLA was recognised by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity. The US Congress, still under the impression of the US failure in Vietnam and fearing involvement in yet another foreign adventure, adopted the Clark Amendment, which put a ban on military and financial aid by the Administration to Angolan anti-government groupings.

But there was still no peace in Angola. By choosing the course of progressive development and taking the road of fraternal cooperation with the ANC and SWAPO, the country was doubly "guilty" before the racists and imperialists. Subversive activities against it did not cease for a single day, with constant incursions by South African troops into Angola's southern regions and violations of its air space by the South African air force.

Together with Pretoria, the USA's special services started working to revive UNITA. A network of camps and bases was set up in Namibia, where the surviving bands of that grouping were reorganised and trained, and where new members were recruited from among Angolans who were duped or driven away by force.

Official Washington also continued to take a hostile stand with regard to the PRA. The former US Administration did not recognise the people's government or establish diplomatic relations with it, encouraged Pretoria in its anti-Angolan activities and was itself ever more involved in these activities. All of that, however, was being done as covertly as possible.

Under the present Administration, Washington and Pretoria in effect launched a new undeclared war against Angola. Their final goal, as in the past, was to install their own puppet regime in that country. They put their stake on UNITA. Realising that the progressive regime could not be overthrown at one blow, the USA and South Africa resorted to a policy of destabilisation in the hope of eroding it and first obliging it to enter into negotiations with the UNITA traitors and then to set up a "coalition government" with them.

The pressure being put on the PRA was stepped up along every line. There was a sharp increase in the scale of South Africa's armed aggression against Angola. In August and September 1981, a large grouping of South Africa's regular army invaded and occupied roughly 50,000 square kilometres of Angolan territory in the Cunene Province, which lies in the south of the country. Large-scale acts of aggression were staged in November 1981, in January, March and July-August 1982, in August 1983, and in December 1983-January 1984. The zone of these plunderous attacks was not confined to Cunene but included other Angolan provinces.

In February 1984, within the framework of a series of deceptive "peace" moves undertaken together with the USA, South Africa pledged to withdraw its troops from the occupied Angolan territories by March 31, 1984. The pledge was flagrantly broken. It was only more than a year later, in April 1985, that the troops left Cunene, but that was no more than a propaganda gesture. General Constand Viljoen, commander of the South African Defence Forces (SADF), declared in that context: "We have determination to reopen the military effort."¹

The general knew what he was talking about. In May 1985, a group of South African commandoes was apprehended and disarmed in Cabinda, where it was sent to stage a major act of sabotage at the Malongo oil complex, which yields most of the country's foreign-exchange earnings.

In June, September-October and December 1985, new acts of aggression were added to the list of racist crimes against the Angolan people. As Chairman of the MPLA-Workers' Party and President of the PRA José Eduardo dos Santos told the Party's Second Congress in December 1985, in 1981-1985 South Africa had violated Angolan air space on about 4,000 occasions, carried out 168 bombing raids and 234 landing operations against Angola, and staged 74 major incursions upon it by land. The invasion continues in 1986 too. A point to emphasise is that the United States has always supported the aggressor, justifying its moves as "forced and retaliatory". Whenever the issue of South African attacks against the PRA was debated in the UN Security Council, the USA used its right of veto to prevent the adoption of resolutions on sanctions against the racists.

As it was stated at the Second Congress of the MPLA-WP, the UNITA bands had become an "integral part of South Africa's armed forces". In the 1980s, their use as a destabilising force was considerably extended. According to the world press, with an increase in foreign aid the numerical strength of these bands exceeded 30,000 men. In many of these, South African officers served as advisers or even commanders. From and via South Africa, the bandits were supplied with arms, ammunition and food. UNITA extended its activities to the eastern, central and northern regions of Angola.

In his speeches, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi tried to assert, echoing South African propaganda, that there was no South African aggression against Angola at all and that it was no more than "disinformation by the Russians". Squandering the country's wealth, the traitors paid their patrons in looted diamonds, ivory and fine wood.

As the Angolan army (FAPLA) grew stronger and gained combat experience, it gradually began to wrest the initiative from UNITA and go over to the offensive, but the more successful it was in its operations against the bandits, the greater was the South African support for UNITA. In particular, the volume of military supplies was increased.

Nevertheless, the position of the bandits kept worsening. In mid-September 1985, there was a possibility of fundamentally changing in the struggle being waged by the Angolan people against UNITA for

many years. FAPLA's summer offensive against the main UNITA bases in the country's eastern and southeastern regions was successfully developing. In Moxico Province, the bandits had to leave the town of Cazombo, and in Cuando-Cubango the Angolan troops came close to the town of Mavinga, UNITA's last stronghold on the way to its headquarters in the village of Jamba.

To save the puppet forces, South African troops took a direct part in the hostilities. In the period from September 17 to October 15, the South African Air Force delivered several missile and bombing strikes at the advancing Angolan troops. South Africa's 32nd army battalion "Buffalo" was shifted to the Mavinga area (about 250 kilometres north of the Namibian border), joining battle with the FAPLA forces to cover the retreat of the UNITA units. After that, South African troops began taking joint action with the UNITA bands in Cuando-Cubango on a permanent basis.

For a long time, the South African authorities denied the obvious fact of their connection with UNITA. In recent years, that stand has been altered. In March 1984, Pretoria officially proposed that UNITA should take part in a conference of "all the parties" involved in the "conflict in Namibia and Angola", which it had conceived in circumvention of UN and OAU decisions. That was yet another act of interference in Angola's affairs, while a Namibian settlement was additionally "linked" to a legalisation of UNITA. The PRA Foreign Ministry rejected that proposal, declaring that there could be no dialogue with the "band of Angolan criminals and traitors sponsored by Pretoria".

In September 1984, Jonas Savimbi openly attended the ceremony of Pieter Botha's inauguration as President of South Africa. At a subsequent press conference, held together with Pretoria's Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, the UNITA leader said that he intended to make the MPLA share its power.² Roelof Botha, for his part, reaffirmed that South Africa was trying to induce the PRA government to negotiate with UNITA.³ In June 1985, Savimbi was once again received by Roelof Botha. Later that month, he was an official guest at the show staged at Windhoek to mark the formation of a puppet "interim government" in Namibia.

In connection with the aggression in September-October 1985, the racists for the first time admitted in public that they were giving UNITA "material, humanitarian and moral" support. The racists went so far as to declare that "South Africa's interests in southern Angola were of the greatest importance" and that they were threatened by Angola's offensive against UNITA.⁴ Moreover, a lie was spread that Soviet military personnel took part in the offensive.

South Africa's Minister of Defence M. Malan declared that the links between South Africa and UNITA served the "interests of the free world", that Savimbi "is a great man", who "stands for the same norms and values in which we believe".⁵ As a condition for the cessation of South African support for UNITA, the Botha regime has demanded that the PRA government should stop suppressing the bandits and agree to a withdrawal from Angola of "all foreign troops", including the Cuban contingent and all military experts from other socialist countries.

² See *The Times*, Sept. 15, 1984

³ See *ANC News Briefing*, Vol. 8, No. 36, 1984, p. 12.

⁴ See *The Guardian*, Sept. 24, 1985

⁵ *The Guardian*, Sept. 21, 1985

The evolution of South Africa's position from its attempts to cover up its links with UNITA to brazen claims to the "right" to fight on its side against the PRA's legitimate government was naturally a far from isolated phenomenon, but reflected the changes that took place in the policy of the United States. The US Administration clearly demonstrated its intentions with regard to Angola back in March 1981, by introducing a bill in Congress calling for a repeal of the Clark Amendment. And although at that time the bill was not passed, the White House markedly increased its support for UNITA and extended its links with it. In order to put that on a "legal basis", the US Administration arbitrarily declared UNITA to be "a legitimate factor in Angolan politics".⁶

In 1981 Savimbi was received in the USA by senior officials of the US foreign-policy department. UNITA has its own "representative" in Washington, who admitted that his organisation "had contacts with U. S. officials at all levels on a regular basis".⁷ Savimbi himself has repeatedly reaffirmed that in spite of the Clark Amendment UNITA continues to receive diverse assistance from the USA. According to data published in Angola in November 1985, in eight years the USA had supplied UNITA through CIA channels with \$100 million worth of arms and other military equipment.

To illustrate the real meaning of such contacts and assistance, let us refer to a secret memorandum on the meeting that took place in Zaire in November 1985 between UNITA spokesmen, a US special envoy, South African army and intelligence officers, and an Israeli adviser. According to the newspaper *The Observer*, which got hold of that document, the US special envoy called on UNITA and the other opposition groups "to speed up social and political measures to deepen the population's discontent against the regime of dos Santos, the Cuban and Soviet presence and other Communist countries in Angola; destabilise the situation in the capital; organise acts of sabotage against principal (economic) installations and seize strategic points as well as important roads". He also urged the South Africans to put greater military pressure on Luanda and said that the USA for its part "would increase military and financial assistance to the rebels and apply pressure to stem the flow of foreign investment in Angola".⁸

The presence in Angola of Cuban internationalist troops prevented the reactionaries from carrying out their plans. In order to clear the way for a South African aggression, the US Administration in agreement with the racists put forward the demand for a withdrawal of the Cuban military contingent from the PRA as a binding condition for a solution of the Namibian problem and a withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia.

Such "linkage" was totally unjustified and unlawful. In putting it forward, Washington deliberately confused two fundamentally different issues: the problem of Namibia's decolonisation and the problem of ensuring Angola's security and territorial integrity. It encroached upon the PRA's sovereign right to use the assistance of friendly states in the interests of self-defence. The Cuban contingent, which arrived and is stationed in the PRA in full accordance with international law, was equated with the troops of the racists, which had unlawfully occupied Namibia and turned it into a bridgehead for aggression against Angola.

The demand for such "linkage" met with universal condemnation: it was not supported by any state of the world except the USA and South Africa themselves. While rejecting the "linkage", Angola and Cuba at the same time emphasised that the presence of Cuban internationalists in the

⁶ *The New York Times*, Aug. 30, 1981.

⁷ *The Observer*, Jan. 22, 1984.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

PRA was only temporary and that their withdrawal would be possible when the threat to Angola's security and territorial integrity was eliminated. The main condition for that, Angola and Cuba justly believed, was a cessation of all forms of aggression against Angola, including assistance to UNITA. That question was repeatedly raised by Angola in the course of talks, but the USA and South Africa pointedly refused to discuss it, showing that they had no intention to stop helping the bandits.

UNITA took a prominent place among the mercenary counter-revolutionary forces hailed as "freedom fighters" and openly sponsored by the USA under its doctrine of "neoglobalism". The UNITA headquarters at Jamba were chosen as the venue for a provocative meeting in June 1985 between the representatives of UNITA itself, the Afghan dushmans, the Nicaraguan contras and other bandit outfits.

The meeting was prepared by the CIA and South Africa's special services. Its participants announced the formation of yet another international alliance of the "opponents of communism". The US President sent a personal message to the terrorists, saying that their goals were the goals of the USA as well. "I wish you success and God bless you," said the message. In September 1985, UNITA spokesmen were invited to the USA to take part in the annual conference of the "World Anti-Communist League".

The decision to repeal the Clark Amendment taken by the US Congress in July 1985 on the Administration's initiative bid defiance to Angola. With their usual hypocrisy, US spokesmen tried to convince the Angolan government that it was not in view of any hostile intentions that the White House had sought a repeal of the Clark Amendment, but solely as a matter of principle, in view of legal considerations, for that amendment had allegedly restricted the constitutional prerogatives of the Administration. The US spokesmen themselves, however, could hardly expect Luanda to take their "explanations" seriously.

That decision showed the true worth of the USA's false claims to the role of "honest broker" in the talks with Angola. A statement by the PRA Foreign Ministry said in that context: "Even a superficial analysis of the recent history of Southern African countries, particularly since the advent of the Reagan Administration, shows that there is a perfect coincidence and synchronisation between the attitudes and destabilising actions of the Pretoria regime and those of the American government."⁹

Apart from general considerations, the White House was in a hurry to lift the Clark Amendment in view of two additional circumstances: the weakening of UNITA under the strikes of the Angolan army and the unprecedented upsurge of the liberation struggle in South Africa which had started in the autumn of 1984 and which was beginning to paralyse the military machine of the racists, making it harder for them to assist the bandits. In that situation, the White House decided to take UNITA under its direct protection, whereas the Clark Amendment was a legal obstacle to that.

Upon the repeal of the amendment, a proposal was introduced in Congress to allocate \$27 million to UNITA. A series of interdepartmental conferences were held under the auspices of the National Security Council to study the questions of extending military aid to the Savimbi bandits on a par with the Afghan dushmans, that is, at a level of \$200 to \$300 million. The possibility of economic sanctions against the PRA, including an embargo on the supply of Angolan oil to the USA, was also considered.

Dropping their diplomatic quibbles, spokesmen of the US Administration began emphasising their pro-UNITA leanings in every way. The USA

⁹ *ANC News Briefing*, Vol. 9, No. 29, 1985, p. 19.

is on the side of Savimbi, said US Secretary of State George Shultz.

They made the point, however, that the US Congress should not take any concrete decisions on open assistance to UNITA before the results of the new round of US-Angolan talks started in the autumn of 1985 became known. In that connection, US ultra-rightists even accused the White House of departing from its own doctrine. In actual fact, it was only a matter of tactics. The US Administration simply was not sure whether the best way to achieve its purposes in Angola was to blackmail the PRA government with the prospect of US assistance to UNITA or to provide such assistance. The talks with Angola are to show whether such blackmail could have an effect.

The Washington Administration, which is inclined to distort generally recognised concepts, described its intention to get Angola to surrender at the negotiations under the threat of an even broader aggression and intervention as a quest for a "diplomatic solution" in contrast to a "military solution".

The list of demands presented to Angola by the USA differed little from the South African list. The USA wanted to pivot the "diplomatic solution" on its own proposals, handed over to the parties involved in March 1985. These were drawn up to counter the Angolan platform (November 1984), which contained a set of constructive proposals for normalising the situation in the Western part of southern Africa by granting independence to Namibia in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolution 435 and by ending the direct and indirect (via UNITA) aggression against the PRA. By way of a reciprocal move, Angola expressed its readiness to have most of the Cuban contingent withdrawn from the country in the course of three years.

The US proposals were formulated as a "compromise" after Pretoria's rude rejection of the PRA platform. In actual fact, however, these proposals took a fairly full account of South Africa's claims, whereas Angola's position was for the most part ignored. The Angolan government turned down the US proposals as non-constructive, but the White House continued to insist on them.

First of all, the USA echoed South Africa's demand that Angola should stop its armed struggle against UNITA. Let us note that Washington did not question UNITA's "right" to carry on antigovernment military operations, just as to receive assistance from the USA and South Africa. As the Reagan strategists assert, wrote *The New York Times*, the complex diplomatic campaign can hardly succeed unless Savimbi together with his South African allies continues to put sufficiently strong pressure on the Marxist government of the Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos. The US President himself has openly declared that so long as the negotiations do not lead to considerable progress, "America's support for struggling democratic resistance forces must not and shall not cease".¹⁰

In January 1986 the UNITA chief was again invited to the USA where he arrived with a long list of requests for the most modern types of American weapons to be delivered to Savimbi's bandits. His visit was accompanied by a noisy propaganda campaign. The leader of the bandits was received by US Secretary of State George Shultz, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, Vice-President George Bush, and, finally, by the US President. At the opening of the talks the head of the White House directly announced to journalists that he wanted to be "very useful" to Savimbi. He said that the USA wanted very much to support what Savimbi's people were trying to achieve.

¹⁰ *International Herald Tribune*, Oct. 25, 1985.

In his turn, after the negotiations, Savimbi admitted that he was very "satisfied" with the results of the meeting. How could he not be content when White House representatives and Congress are now discussing the possibility of allocating millions of dollars in military aid to the UNITA bandits.

This is a characteristic sample of US "neo-globalistic" way of thinking: welcoming and honouring a traitor of the Angolan people while denying the legitimate government of the PRA the right to call the bandits to account. When UNITA was committing its crimes, Washington showed no sign of concern, but once it was threatened with defeat, Washington raised a hue and cry over the "flare-up of hostilities" in Angola and the inadmissibility of a "military solution". Angola's right to receive military assistance from friendly countries—a right recorded in the UN Charter—was still being denied. When the question of South Africa's aggression against the PRA was considered by the UN Security Council in September and then in October 1985, the provision of the draft resolution that called on UN member states to assist Angola in strengthening its defence capability was rejected by the US delegate.

Official Washington has taken up the racists' lie about "Soviet involvement" in the battles against UNITA, plugging it as the main argument to justify the measures being taken. The State Department has even published two statements voicing its discontent over the USSR's allegedly stepped up military involvement in Angola.¹¹

As for the real South African aggression, it was being hushed up in every way. In his speech at the 40th jubilee session of the UN General Assembly, the US President said that talks between the "belligerents" and a withdrawal of foreign troops were a condition for a settlement of "regional conflicts".¹² With regard to Angola, that coincided with South Africa's proposal virtually word for word. South African President Pieter Botha welcomed the US President's speech saying that as regards Angola they also believed in the necessity for negotiations and the withdrawal of the foreign troops.¹³

It is interesting to observe how the USA's position on this question changed. We shall recall that in 1978 the USA voted in favour of resolution 435 stipulating withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia regardless of the situation in Angola. After its advent to power the current Administration linked this question with the presence of Cuban internationalists in the PRA. And now Washington, in essence, has demanded that Angola completely break military cooperation with all the socialist countries, if South African troops withdraw, not from Namibia, but already from those Angolan territories where they penetrated providing the cover for UNITA.

The urge to disarm Angola in the face of South African aggression is yet another aspect of the "diplomatic solution" advocated by the USA. At their talks with the USA in Lusaka (November 1985) and Luanda (January 1986), the Angolans gave a firm rebuff to the USA's attempts to dictate its terms to the PRA.

PRA President José Eduardo dos Santos, receiving the US representative, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker, underlined that Savimbi's visit to Washington and the aid which it was planning to grant him could only be regarded as outright pressure on Angola, and as a declaration of open war against it. The PRA, a sovereign state, would never relinquish its rights and would stand by its principles, the President announced.

¹¹ See *The Observer*, Sept. 29, 1985.

¹² See *International Herald Tribune*, Oct. 25, 1985.

¹³ *South African Digest*, Nov. 1, 1985, p. 996.

At the Soviet-Angolan-Cuban consultations which took place in January of this year, it was noted that in the final count the South African racists with the help of the US are attempting to eliminate the progressive system in Angola, make it subject to vassalage by South Africa, and world capital, by means of unceasing acts of aggression against sovereign Angola, by direct involvement on the side of in the puppet UNITA groups. Keeping to the stipulated obligations and in accordance with well-known resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council in September-October 1985, the Soviet Union and Cuba come out for a decisive end to aggressive encroachments on the PRA's sovereignty and territorial integrity. They confirmed their solidarity with the Angolan people's continuing selfless struggle in defence of its independent political choice.

At the consultations it was underscored that a realistic improvement in the situation and the attainment of peace in the south of Africa can only be obtained when South Africa, and the states which support it, in the first place the USA, take the Angolan and Namibian peoples' interests into consideration, when they take SWAPO into account, the only legitimate representative of Namibia.

Angola and the other "frontline" states, all the peace forces are convinced that the problems of the South African region can be settled in a political way. This way, however, is fundamentally different from that which is advocated by Washington.

A true political solution in southern Africa implies an end to the aggression, to the subversive acts and interference by the racists and imperialists in the affairs of sovereign African states. UN decisions on granting independence to Namibia, including the Security Council's Resolution 435, should be implemented without any preconditions or "linkage" and talks should be started between the present South African rulers and the true representatives of the South African people led by the ANC in order to work out practical steps to eliminate the system of apartheid.

EUROPE—OUR COMMON HOME

A. GRIGORYANTS

The centuries-old history of Europe has left a fabulous legacy to the peoples of the continent. This is not a mere accumulation of riches as in the tale of Aladdin and His Magic Lamp, but wealth that fills our life with deep and meaningful content and continues to add to the common treasure of the peoples of Europe. These are the paintings by Rublev and Rembrandt, the music of Beethoven and Tchaikovsky, the scientific laws of Newton and Lomonosov; these are the industrial giants covering our continent from the Urals to Lorraine, unique cities, and the people of the continent with their culture, skills, and goodwill.

Europe was the stage of the epoch-making event of world history—the Great October Socialist Revolution which mapped out the general directions and main trends for world development. Socialism, which first became a reality in our country, has turned into a world system whose actions on the international scene support the endeavours of the peoples seeking to achieve independence and social progress, and are aimed at securing the principal goal of preserving and strengthening peace. As stated in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union attaches much importance to the further development of peaceful, good-neighbourly relations and cooperation between European states. An indispensable condition for accomplishing this task is respect for the territorial and political realities which emerged as a result of the Second World War and relentless struggle against all manifestations of revanchism.

The European peoples' close ages-old cooperation has always borne rich fruit. It grew more plentiful when the guns were kept silent, and was reduced to ashes when they fired. Attila's hordes had come as far as the Marne, laying waste huge territories. Baty's horsemen had reached Silesia, leaving behind a razed and scorched Rus. For centuries internecine and dynastic feudal wars drowned the continent in blood. Napoleon's far-reaching ambitions cost Europe millions of human lives. The arrogant and mindless Kaiser, with the connivance of a handful of shameless money-makers and arms industrialists, launched the First World War. The tortured edifice of the Cologne Cathedral, Pushkin's grave desecrated by the Nazis, fires fed by books and the burning down of unique monuments of culture, and above all—the irreplaceable loss of the most valuable thing on Earth—human life—these horrendous results of the Second World War are still fresh in our minds, serving as a reminder and a warning to future generations.

Europeans never submitted to their fate. The idea of lasting peace has always lived in their hearts, finding expression in philosophic concepts and artistic images, and in quest of the solution to international legal problems.

This task, however, could not be accomplished in a society rent by social antagonisms. History knows quite a few attempts that were made to set up a universal system of European security. The walls of the old City Hall in Münster, West Germany, are decorated with the portraits of the ambassadors who conducted lengthy debates on the terms of the Treaty of Westphalia which was to put an end to the devastating Thirty Years War. The Treaty was signed, but Germany remained dismembered and its feudal aristocracy continued to settle scores with the use of arms and with support from its high and mighty foreign patrons.

At the Vienna Congress held in 1815 in the Hofburg Palace the European monarchs made an attempt to establish a new order on the ruins of Napoleon's empire to guarantee stability in Europe. It was to consolidate the social status quo, i. e. the stability of the feudal-absolutist regimes, and nip in the bud anything close to free thinking or love of freedom. That was the reason why the system created by the decisions of the Vienna Congress was short-lived. The revolutionary storms of the mid-19th century and the Crimean War toppled the edifice that had been set up by Metternich and Alexander the First.

The Versailles is another reminder of an attempt at establishing a universal structure of European security, as abortive as previous ones. It is common knowledge that Versailles Conference boiled down to a trial of the victor over the vanquished, and simultaneously to reactionary collusion against revolutionary movements and Soviet Russia. The Versailles Treaty not only failed to give security to Europe but sowed the seeds of a new war that was unleashed by the Nazi aggressors.

Could it have been averted? It could, if the European countries had pooled their efforts and come out with concerted, vigorous, coordinated action in defence of peace. But this did not take place although as far back as the 1930s the Soviet Union had already been persistently fighting for collective security in Europe. The floodgates of the Second World War were opened by the four-power-deal in Führerbau, the Nazi party's headquarters in Munich. It is said that British Prime Minister Chamberlain had an abject fear of planes. Yet during the crisis of 1938, provoked by the Nazi clique, he made three flights to Germany where he met with Hitler: the Western reaction was that anxious to come to an agreement with the aggressor on a common anti-Soviet platform. At the Munich conference in September 1938 Britain and France sacrificed Czechoslovakia to the Nazis, prompting them by this act to unleash a new war.

This diverse and bitter experience is sufficient proof of the consequences inherent in the policy of confrontation when states have nuclear means of warfare in their arsenals, and when the main line of confrontation between the two social systems runs across European territory.

"The European home is a common home where geography and history have strongly bonded together the destinies of tens of countries and peoples", said Mikhail Gorbachev. "The peoples of Europe can save their home and make it better and more secure only on a collective basis, by adhering to sensible norms of international intercourse and cooperation". The foundations for that were laid in Helsinki. In the ultimate end positive changes in the European climate will benefit the whole world, including the United States.

The development of world events has reached a point when it is necessary to take crucial decisions, when any inactivity or delay is tantamount to a crime, for the question is one of preserving human civilisation and life as such. That is why the Soviet Union and other socialist countries continue to believe that it is necessary to spare no effort in order to break the vicious circle of the arms race, not to miss a single

chance to turn the course of events for the better. The question is quite acute and quite definite: to rise above one's narrow interests and realise the collective responsibility of all states before the danger that confronts the human community on the threshold of a new century.

There is an alternative to the nuclear Apocalypse. It is shown to us by the Communist Party and the forces of socialism. And this is quite natural. The founders of Marxism-Leninism substantiated the idea of peace as the major communist principle and advanced a realistic programme for the prevention of new wars. The achievements of world socialism, as well as the radical changes that are taking place in the peoples' minds today, create the prerequisites for the solution of this paramount task.

Man's reason, omnipotent and inexhaustible as it is, is one of his most powerful weapons. It rules that in the prevailing international situation it is necessary to make radical changes in the way of thinking and line of action that have remained unchangeable for ages. In our time it is futile to strive for security only by modernising one's shield and sword, even if they are space-based. Security cannot be ensured today along the lines of building up arms and achieving military superiority. What is needed is profound realism and political courage--the courage to take steps to curb the arms race and achieve arms reduction. This approach is expressed in the Statement by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev where he advanced a programme of eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

Most Europeans are aware of the need to apply maximum effort to create an atmosphere of trust and cooperation on the continent and find constructive solutions to the problem. They understand that further progress towards safeguarding security in Europe is inconceivable without a broad political dialogue conducted at different levels. Such a dialogue could give the key to normalising relations of genuine peace and security among the European peoples. It would provide an opportunity for exchange of opinion and should be aimed at rapprochement on the most urgent problems, developing coordinated concepts for a new system of interstate relations in Europe and their implementation on a joint basis.

Political dialogue is a major element of the practical implementation of peaceful coexistence, which, according to Lenin, gives the peoples "the only correct way out of the difficulties, chaos and danger of wars".¹ The attitude to this principle shows better than anything else the earnestness of any politician and the true aims of his work.

It is not by chance that so many conferences, symposiums and colloquiums are organised by public effort, showing that the people have no intention of accepting the routine development of events. Scientists, physicians, teachers, trade union members, women's, youth and religious organisations hold forums to find the answers to issues of war and peace. They try to work out an approach to problems whose solution may put an end to acute contradictions. Public hopes and confidence stimulate the spirit of the Helsinki forum which has outlined the ways of European development for years ahead.

The Soviet-American summit has stimulated this quest and strengthened the belief in its ultimate success. The new sentiments that have taken shape in Europe are reflected in statements by many prominent leaders advocating the continuation of the dialogue, and Europe's more weighty contribution to detente and the struggle against the dangerous plans for militarising outer space.

As emphasised by Horst Ehmke, Deputy Chairman of the SDPG faction in the Bundestag, in one of his speeches, "Although the talks in Geneva had failed to settle the major questions of ending the arms race,

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, p. 357.

their results and, above all, the joint statement on the agreement that nuclear war should never be unleashed instil us with hope. Now the task is to see that the Geneva talks are followed by concrete action, first and foremost in what concerns the curbing of the arms race". According to Volker R  he, Deputy Chairman of the CDU/CSU faction in the Bundestag, "Europe's historically conditioned endeavour for good-neighbourliness and cooperation should be used for improving East-West relations".

The reality of such an endeavour which is growing in scope and strength can be observed on the example of the third meeting between public representatives from the USSR and the FRG which was held in Bonn last December and which this author had the honour to attend. The previous two meetings were held in Bonn and Moscow. The Soviet public was represented by the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. SDPG leading figures took part in the meetings from the West German side.

The word "Geneva" was reiterated time and again in the hall of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation where the meetings were held. Willy Brandt called the Soviet-American dialogue in Geneva a good beginning and stressed the need to continue and to specify the agreements reached. As SDPG leader he said that his Party was interested in the "non-militarisation" of outer space. West German representatives dwelt on the idea that absolute security for one can mean absolute insecurity for another. This reaffirmed the well-grounded apprehension that the setting up of a US space "shield", i. e. the realisation of the SDI, can only destabilise the strategic situation in the world, being an attempt to safeguard US security at the expense of the security of the USSR. The West German participants in the meeting expressed concern that the arms race in outer space was liable to turn their country into a low-security zone.

On the other hand, some of them were worried by the possibility of a Soviet-American agreement, which in their opinion would leave, allegedly, Western Europe outside the sphere of world development. The Soviet participants in the meeting said that the USSR, being part of the continent, did not draw a line between its own and European security, and that it was sincerely interested in the contribution of the Europeans along equal lines to the solution of peace and disarmament problems. In this connection it was stated that Western Europe, and above all West Germany, has such a high prestige in world affairs that it can and must make a tangible contribution to solving disarmament and security problems. By backing up the "star wars" plans it would forfeit the possibility of conducting independent policy and vigorously contributing to European security.

To be sure there was a difference of opinion on several major points. Certain West German representatives tried to justify the SDI, alleging its stimulating effect on technical progress. The question arises: at what price? What is technical progress worth if its results promote the threat of war?

Others brought charges against the Soviet SS-20 missiles, refusing to understand that they were but a counterbalance to NATO's relevant nuclear arsenals, a counterbalance that the USSR was ready to discard on a mutual basis, of course. After all, the USSR and the other socialist countries stand for the ridding of Europe from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical ones, for all time.

Despite disagreement on other questions, the participants in the discussion were unanimous with regard to the most essential point: the Geneva meeting had established a new political and psychological climate in the world. What mattered now was to translate into life the agreements reached and thereby easing world tensions and give the people greater confidence in their future.

This is a noble, but difficult task, and the cause of this is rooted in the policy of the US Administration. US State Secretary George Shultz, speaking a short time ago before the Pilgrims' Society in London slipped into positively undiplomatic language when he said: "Sometimes you hear Soviet claims that the danger of war in Europe has been growing. That's nonsense." Nevertheless he regards the need to preserve NATO's military might and implement the US "rearmament programme" as the only possibility of ensuring stability in Europe.

In this connection one cannot help recalling Winston Churchill's notorious Fulton speech, in which 40 years ago for the first time after the Second World War the principle of confrontation was openly set off against the principle of peaceful coexistence.

It is well known that Churchill had spent several weeks working on the speech which he delivered in Westminster College in Fulton (USA) on March 5, 1946. In actual fact he had been preparing this speech for several decades, for it epitomised the credo of imperialist leaders. And it was not by chance that he had spent that winter in the United States where he coordinated with President Truman the general idea and the main trends of his speech. For it also expressed the political credo of the US imperialist circles. The US President undertook a thousand-mile-long journey to introduce the speaker to his listeners. Truman's presence showed that in his speech Churchill would make public the long-term programme of the forces that were eager to snatch up the banner of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism that had fallen from the hands of the frenzied Führer.

The speech contained almost a word for word reiteration of the theses vociferated by Hitler's propaganda minister Goebbels in his hysterical speeches at the Sport Palaz in Berlin, where he claimed that the world was being threatened directly by a war and tyranny that issued from none other than the Soviet Union and international communism.

Having painted the devil, Churchill offered an antidote to the evil in the form of a "fraternal association of English-speaking peoples". This would mean, he explained, special relationship between the British Commonwealth of Nations and the British empire, on the one hand, and the United States, on the other, a relationship which could lead one day to a common citizenship of these peoples.

The part of the speech where he proposed to Washington close military cooperation was distinguished by its highly concrete character. The contemplated alliance was spearheaded against the USSR and revolutionary movements. It was Churchill who coined the expression the "iron curtain", which, he claimed, had divided Europe along the line--Stettin on the Baltic and Trieste on the Adriatic, an expression which was eagerly snatched up by anti-Sovieters of every stripe.

Churchill also formulated a policy "from the position of strength", claiming that his meetings with Russians had convinced him of their particular esteem for strength. He called for an immediate use of force against the USSR while the USA had monopoly of the A-bomb. In his far-reaching plans the strength factor was to lay the groundwork for the Anglo-American world domination, whereas the Soviet Union would be faced with the choice of capitulating or falling victim to a preventive war.

The gist of Churchill's speech was his appeal to unite mankind under Anglo-American leadership for a "crusade" against the USSR, the country that had suffered the greatest losses in routing Nazism and liberating Europe and had frustrated Sea Lion operation under which the Nazis were to have invaded the British Islands.

It had been noted in the Soviet Union at the time that Churchill had taken the warmonger stand and by his Fulton speech resembled Hitler. In an interview with a *Pravda* correspondent the head of the Soviet go-

vernment, Stalin, said: "Churchill and his friends in Britain and the USA are actually offering the non-English speaking nations a kind of ultimatum: You'd better submit to our rule of your own free will and everything will be all right, otherwise war will be inevitable'."

Britain, however, was much too weak to challenge the USSR, and the leadership in the policy of confrontation went over to the USA. A retrospective view of the postwar period shows that the revival of militaristic trends in Western Europe had practically always been prompted from without, and first of all, by the USA. It continues to spare no effort to widen the gap between Western and Eastern Europe and to bind its allies still closer to its anti-Soviet course.

The leaders in Washington do not miss a single chance to foist upon their partners and the West European public views that are in tune with Churchill's Fulton speech. The author had the opportunity to be an eyewitness of their tactics at the International Conference on Security and Prospects for Disarmament in Europe that was held in the Geneva Palais des Nations in December 1985. The Conference held under the auspices of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research and the French Institute of International Relations attracted many leading scientists—experts on disarmament and security, military men, diplomats and statesmen from many countries.

Ex-Director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Eugene Rostow's behaviour at the Conference was more like that of the counsel for the prosecution, so strong was his desire to put the USSR in the dock! His report contained in concise form the general line of the US participants in the conference: to intimidate Europe by a "Soviet threat" and convince it that its safety lay in submissiveness to the USA.

As for the USSR, Rostow openly advised it to return to the policy of tsarist Russia which had "cooperated with the other Great Powers of Europe throughout most of the century after 1815". Of course, Rostow cannot possibly believe that the USSR will pursue the policy of the Holy Alliance that had been knocked together at the Vienna Congress for the suppression of revolutionary movements, the more so that it will willingly reject its socialist system. That is why he advocates a policy of ostracism towards the USSR, which he claims threatens "the entire Eurasian land mass".

The allegations that the USSR was out to establish control over the "entire continent" and make the territories of the insular Great Britain and Japan "vulnerable", presented as they were in pseudo-scientific garb, were in effect nothing less than the shopworn figments of vulgar anti-Soviet propaganda, charging the USSR with "militarism and expansionism" and "aggressive actions", and attempts to "achieve a plausible first-strike capacity in order to separate the United States from its allies both in the Atlantic and the Pacific".

The entire package of pseudo-scientific lies served quite a practical purpose. Rostow was out to prove the uselessness of holding talks with the USSR and therefore to call in question the forums that were being used for such talks within the framework of the European process. The grounds for this, in his opinion, were their participants' discussion of symptoms instead of the causes, and that these forums "have not achieved any significant improvements in security, either in Europe or elsewhere". Another of his conclusions boils down to the following: the USSR has not shown any signs of capitulation, the West must increase its military potential, implement its urgent programme of building up US nuclear arms, including MX, Midgetman, Pershing and cruise missiles, and develop "defensive weapons", or to be more precise, realise the "star wars" programme.

As we listened to the American participants in the conference: Eugene Rostow, Ambassador Richard Burt, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, we could not help wondering what had brought all these top-level figures to the Conference. The answer was quite obvious: Washington was worried by the impact of the Soviet-American summit on the European public which welcomed all positive changes in the international climate, and was anxious to dampen its vigour. The thaw that had set in after the summit meeting in Geneva was stimulating positive trends on the European continent and its peoples' urge for the revival of detente and the curbing of the arms race. The US hawks have ample cause for worry. The group of prominent US leaders was definitely out to bring down the impression from the Geneva meeting, contaminate the psychological climate with mistrust and fear, sow discord among the European peoples and widen the gaps between them. In the ultimate end they would prefer to perpetuate the split in Europe, put a brake on the European process, and whip up the arms race on the continent. The spectre of Fulton had made its appearance in the Palais des Nations decorated with the gilt frescos.

Rostow's speech was but a single example of how Washington ideologises its foreign policy, providing ideological reasons for its arms race and the policy of confrontation. In the dispute between the two opposite social systems and world outlooks the USA and several of its West European allies regard military superiority as the chief argument. For they set their hopes not on sensible arguments and convincing example but on the latest weapons as a means of getting the upper hand over existing socialism which they label an "empire of evil". The launching of an "anti-communist crusade" is an eloquent example of such an outdated view of things.

Outdated is the word, for anticommunism often reaches a stage bordering on religious fanaticism. It brings to mind the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Inquisition and auto-da-fes, the fury of the Calvinists, the brutalities committed by Thiers' cut-throats against the Communards, the anticommunist frenzy of Nazism... And it is outdated not only from the point of ideological motivation but also in terms of political reasoning.

For many centuries the enemies of Russia have been casting aspersions on the country and accusing it of aggressive ambitions. Suffice it to recall the forged "Testament of Peter the Great", secretly fabricated in the French Foreign Ministry to justify Napoleon's campaign against Russia, which ascribed plans for "subordinating Europe" to Russia. To provoke a conflict on Russia's southern borders and divert its forces from the main theatre of war the scribblers claimed that Peter the Great had intended to dismember Iran and "advance to the Persian Gulf". Incredible as it may seem, today too one comes across allegations of the USSR's "drive to the Persian Gulf" which are used as a plea to declare the adjoining area a "sphere of the USA's vital interests".

Another example. Henry Martin, a French historian, wrote in his book *La Russie et l'Europe* of the growing threat to Western civilisation on the part of the "Muscovites". The book came out in 1866, four years before the total defeat of the French by the Prussian army at Sedan! Kaiser Germany's upper crust, while getting ready for a world blood bath, raised a hue and cry of the "Slavonic threat" and Wilhelm II rejoiced in anticipation of "the final battle between the Germans and the Slavs". A "Bolshevik threat" was the leitmotif of the Third Reich's propaganda machine.

Beginning with Herberstein and Staden (16th century writers) certain Western circles had been seeking to prove that Russia was a non-

European state, and that Europe extended from Brest in the West to Brest in the East. Yet, in the 18th century Voltaire remarked that "Russia is Europe".

Indeed, the Soviet Union is an inseparable part of Europe in terms of geography, economy and culture. Its contribution to the peaceful development of the European continent, to its stability, cannot be overestimated. The Soviet Union has always believed that differences in social systems and ideology cannot hinder the development of normal, civilised relations between states with opposite social systems in Europe. It was the development of these relations in scope and depth that set off detente, which the USSR regards as a natural and essential stage towards creating a reliable and all-embracing security system.

It is largely through the efforts of the USSR and other socialist countries that Europe has become the birth-place of detente, of the Helsinki Final Act. Since its signing the European process has increased the peace potential of mankind and contributed to the strengthening of European and world peace. One may say that Europe has become a model of detente for other continents.

The code of peaceful life for Europe outlined in Helsinki is incompatible with the arms race that is being kept up on the continent. It is clear to all that in resolving the problem of security high on the list of priorities is reducing military confrontation, ridding Europe of all nuclear and chemical weapons, and cutting down conventional weapons. These goals can be attained only along the lines of peaceful coexistence, detente, disarmament, strengthening confidence and cooperation, by overcoming the negative consequences resulting from the deployment of US missiles in Europe.

The Soviet Union's stand on these problems is clear enough. It is ready to negotiate on the most radical measures that would turn Europe into a continent of peace. Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement proposed the complete elimination of Soviet and US medium-range missiles as a first step to freeing Europe of nuclear weapons.

The USSR confirms its proposals by concrete action: it has already introduced on a unilateral basis a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range missiles and has brought down the number of SS-20 missiles in the European zone to the June 1984 level. With regard for the withdrawn SS-5 and SS-4 missiles the USSR now has less medium-range ballistic missiles than 10 or even 15 years ago.

Such a programme calls for a definite reply. It is all the more urgent bearing in mind that world politics has incorporated a new and dangerous element—the USA's intention to militarise outer space in whose infinite expanses it hopes to achieve a decisive superiority. The militarisation of near space is a grave threat to European security. The SDI cannot provide 100 per cent leak-proof defence for the USA, to say nothing of Western Europe. Moreover, the USA is quite capable of using the space "shield" for a "forward-based" venture in Europe that would turn the latter into a theatre of military confrontation. On the other hand, if the SDI served also as a shield for Western Europe its dependence on the US "umbrella" would turn it into a US satellite. This would enable the USA to harness Western Europe's scientific achievements to the SDI and thus drain its intellectual potential. The result would be the inevitable loss of its independence.

However some people in Western Europe disregard all sense of reason. The FRG, for example, has chosen to take part in the SDI. Moreover certain West German circles are anxious to supplement the SDI with a West-European space "shield" in the form of "European strategic initiative". According to specialists, this venture would prove useless from the point of technology, ruinous in terms of spending, and harmful in terms

of politics, for it would widen the gulf between Western and Eastern Europe and undermine the continent's security.

It is the task of all Europeans to strengthen all the positive results that have been achieved in international affairs instead of indulging in imperial space ambitions.

Its peace potential and the wisdom acquired through ages of experience have made Europe the birthplace of the policy of detente. They are certain to guide it safely through the maze of unsolved problems.

Europe has a ramified mechanism of cooperation and it should be used as fully as possible to keep up the European process. It is necessary to reach as quickly as possible an agreement in Vienna on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and in Stockholm on the principle of non-use of force and confidence-building measures. It is essential that economic and scientific and technological ties between East and West be developed on a comprehensive basis that deliberate obstacles to trade exchange be done away with, that more joint effort be put into the environmental protection and humanitarian exchange, that feelings of mutual sympathy and respect among nations be promoted.

"Circumstances change, principles do not," were the words of Honoré de Balzac. The political situation in postwar Europe has repeatedly changed, but the principles of Soviet foreign policy on the continent have always been the same. Europe is a common home for all its peoples. No task is more noble and lofty than to jointly protect this home from the holocaust of a new war, to strive for and find a common language for achieving mutual understanding and cooperation among all its inhabitants, to turn Europe into a seat of goodneighbourliness.

SOVIET-SWISS RELATIONS: PAST AND PROSPECTS

A. ALEXANDROV

March 1986 marked the 40th anniversary of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Switzerland. The statement of the Federal Council (government) of Switzerland in the Swiss envoy's note to the Soviet charge d'affaires in Yugoslavia of March 18, 1946, said, among other things:

"...The Federal Council has shown that it changed its former attitude inasmuch as it had been unfriendly towards the USSR. It has also shown in positive acts that it was inspired by the desire to put an end to the situation which had obtained in the past and to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet government.

"Quite regretting the circumstances that had interfered with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries earlier, the Federal Council offers the Soviet government to resume diplomatic relations by mutually appointing ministers to be accredited at the governments of each of the two countries."¹

The Soviet chargé d'affaires in Yugoslavia informed in a reply note of the Soviet government's agreement to resume diplomatic relations with Switzerland. As is seen, the Swiss government, after expressing regret over the circumstances that "had interfered with the establishment" of those relations with the Soviet Union, offered that they be "restored".

Indeed, the first business contact between the young Soviet Republic and Switzerland was established through the Swiss mission in Petrograd as early as November 23 (December 6), 1917. Swiss Envoy Edward Odier passed to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs a note in which he referred to Articles I and IV of the Russian-Swiss Convention of December 14 (26), 1872, and asked to ensure the protection of the Swiss citizens and their property in Russia, pointing out at the same time that "no matter how the land problem is decided in Russia with respect to foreigners, it can be implemented only in accordance with law by bodies to be specified by that law and for a fair compensation". The Swiss note was accompanied by a statement to the effect that the "official recognition of the Russian people's government by the Swiss government depended on the answer of the People's Commissar on that issue".

On its part, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs replied that it "regards the question of the recognition of the Council of People's Commissars by foreign representatives as an entirely formal issue which would essentially change nothing and on which the Commissariat deems it impossible for itself to enter any diplomatic bargaining".

¹ *Izvestia*, March 20, 1946.

On November 22, 1917, the Council of People's Commissars issued a decree, in keeping with which all the Russian consular agents who failed to declare their loyalty to the workers' and peasants' government were considered deprived of diplomatic privileges and recalled. Nevertheless the Russian consul in Geneva, who had been dismissed from his post and deprived of all powers by the decree of December 4, 1917, continued to perform his functions. In this connection the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs notified the Swiss Federal Council on January 17, 1918, about the decision on the dismissal of the former Russian consul and its intention to appoint its own representative to Switzerland.

Yan Berzin was appointed the plenipotentiary of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic in Switzerland on April 5, 1918, by a resolution of the Council of People's Commissars, of which the Swiss mission was informed in a note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of April 10, 1918. But on April 19, 1918, the Swiss Consulate in Moscow, informing the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the consent to give Berzin an entry visa to Switzerland, made a reservation that that visa "did not indicate that the Swiss authorities recognised him as the Soviet government's official representative to the Swiss government".

On June 1, 1918, the Soviet diplomatic mission headed by Yan Berzin arrived in Bern. During the very first talk between the Soviet plenipotentiary and Swiss President F. Calonder, the latter said that he would willingly enter relations with the present government of Russia. But for the present those could only be business relations: officially the Swiss government could recognise neither the Soviet government nor its diplomatic mission. The President even expressed gratitude to the Soviet government for having so far not insisted on an official recognition.²

"Of course, we would like the Swiss government to recognise our Soviet Republic officially," Berzin answered, "but, taking into consideration Switzerland's difficult international position and hoping that the 'de facto' or 'officious' recognition would differ from an official one only in form, we are willing at the moment to reconcile ourselves to the fact and leave the question of official recognition open for the time being."³

It can be concluded from the above that the sides agreed to the formula of maintaining diplomatic relations between the two countries *de facto* without recognising the government of the Russian Federation *de jure*.

At the same time, Switzerland's refusal to recognise the Soviet government and its mission *ex officio* and the hostile attitude of the country's ruling elite to Soviet Russia created unfavourable conditions for the practical activity of the first Soviet diplomatic mission in Switzerland. The Soviet envoy had to encounter obstacles in his work deliberately mounted by the Swiss authorities. The Swiss government, incited by other capitalist states, began to look for a pretext to act against the Soviet Republic. It used the general strike in Olten as a pretext and accused the Soviet diplomatic mission of "Bolshevist propaganda" allegedly directed against the system existing in Switzerland.

The communique published by the Swiss government on November 8, 1918, read: "In its time the Swiss government had made it clear to the Soviet mission that it recognised neither that mission nor its government and that it maintained business contacts with it in the interests of the Swiss in Russia and the Russians in Switzerland, only provided the Soviet mission would refrain from any propaganda." The communique went

² See *Soviet Foreign Policy Archives*.

³ *Ibidem*.

on to declare that, as the Federal Council had data on "the support of revolutionary propaganda in Switzerland by the Soviet mission, it decided to break off all relations with the Soviet mission in Bern and asked it to leave Switzerland".

After the Soviet mission left Bern on November 12, 1918, the Federal Council was forced under public pressure to order an inquest, which established that the Soviet mission had not been implicated in propaganda.

On November 14, 1918, the Swiss mission in Russia sent a telegram, from Petrograd to Moscow, to Georgi Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, informing the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Swiss government's decision to expel the Soviet mission. At the same time it stated that "The Federal Council was not recalling its mission from Russia. We think that in this way relations between Russia and Switzerland are not broken off and that the problem can be settled to the satisfaction of both sides."⁴

The Swiss side wanted to show in this way the temporary nature of the measures it had taken towards the Soviet mission and its unwillingness to "burn the bridges" with respect to the Russian Federation. This was also corroborated by the fact that the Swiss mission continued working in Petrograd and departed from Russia only in February 1919, leaving a "temporary office on consular affairs of the Swiss mission in Russia" which was under the supervision of the Swiss Citizens' Committee. From the autumn of 1919 to June 1921 the entire correspondence on the protection of the Swiss citizens was carried out through that Committee, and from 1921 to May 1923 relations between the Russian Federation and Switzerland were confined to foreign trade operations.

Only in February 1941 the USSR and Switzerland signed an agreement on trade turnover and exchange of letters took place between People's Commissar for Foreign and Home Trade Anastas Mikoyan and Chairman of the Swiss trade delegation Eberard. The Soviet government voiced in the letter its desire to set up a Soviet trade representation in Switzerland and proposed that it appointed its own trade agent in the Soviet Union. However, after Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the implementation of that agreement was suspended.

The restoration in 1946 of diplomatic relations between the two countries was met with profound satisfaction in Switzerland. Soon after the Soviet mission arrived in Bern in September 1946, Swiss industrialists began to show interest in normalising and developing trade and economic contacts between the two countries. In March 1948, the USSR and Switzerland signed a Trade Treaty and agreements on trade turnover and on a Soviet trade representation. In December 1955 the Soviet mission in Bern was transformed into an Embassy and contacts began to be established between public organisations, cities and towns, and in the field of culture and sports.

Soviet-Swiss relations were given a boost in the early 1970s. Regular political contacts were made during that period, and the foreign departments of the two countries held political consultations on problems of bilateral relations and also on topical international problems.

The year 1973 saw the foundation of the Mixed Soviet-Swiss Commission on Scientific, Technological, Industrial and Economic Cooperation. In 1978 an Agreement on the Development of Economic, Industrial, Scientific and Technological Cooperation was concluded and the Long-Term Programme of Cooperation in these fields was signed in 1979. The two countries have had regular direct air communications (since 1967) and railway passenger communications (since 1975).

⁴ *Soviet Foreign Policy Archives.*

All this created favourable opportunities for progress to be made in mutual trade. In the past ten years trade turnover between the USSR and Switzerland grew more than seven-fold to reach about 1,000 million rubles by 1985. The Soviet Union exports to Switzerland oil and oil products, jewelry, non-ferrous metals, chemical goods, furs, foodstuffs and consumer articles. In its turn, Switzerland ranks first among Western countries in supplying the USSR with medicines, second in exporting pesticides and third in exporting metal-cutting machine tools and equipment for printing. The two countries' organisations, enterprises and companies develop to mutual advantage scientific and technological cooperation in the machine-tool industry, powder metallurgy, chemistry, pharmaceuticals, the food industry, the electrical appliances industry and electrical engineering.

Soviet orders have helped to maintain business activity for many years thereby saving thousands of jobs in the Swiss economy. At present, Soviet foreign trade organisations cooperate with about 300 Swiss firms. Swiss machinery and equipment are used to modernise the Moscow food combine and a car plant, to re-equip a number of printing shops and plants in the food, chemical and light industries. Large contracts for the delivery of equipment for fodder plants to the USSR are being implemented.

The televised address of Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the representatives of major companies, banks and official quarters of various countries, including Switzerland, who gathered to attend an international symposium World Economic Forum in early February this year in Davos, was of a great significance for the further development of the Soviet-Swiss trade and economic cooperation.

The USSR and Switzerland conduct joint fundamental research in nuclear physics, biology, medicine and environmental protection. Ever livelier become bilateral cultural relations, including exchanges of art exhibitions, film shows, performing companies and famous soloists. For instance, in recent years the Leningrad Ballet Company named after S. Kirov, the USSR Symphony Orchestra, artists of the Soviet circus, renowned singers and musicians performed in Switzerland. In 1984, the Geneva Opera and Ballet Theatre visited the USSR and the Zurich Camera Orchestra toured this country. Many connoisseurs of art in the Soviet Union had an opportunity to get acquainted with outstanding West European painting of the 14th-17th centuries, from the collection of a well-known Swiss collector Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza.

The USSR-Switzerland Society and the Switzerland-USSR Association which recently marked its 40th anniversary largely contribute to the development of these relations. Under the auspices of these public organisations the two countries held in 1985 by now traditional Days of the USSR in Switzerland and Days of Switzerland in the Soviet Union.

Interested in expanding not only trade, economic and cultural contacts but also a political dialogue with the USSR, the Swiss side advanced the initiative of holding meetings between the Soviet Foreign Minister and Head of the Federal Department of Political (Foreign) Affairs of Switzerland Pierre Aubert, which took place in Geneva in January 1982 and January 1985.

Of great importance for the further development of Soviet-Swiss relations was a talk that General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev had with Swiss President Kurt Furgler in Geneva on November 18, 1985, the first summit meeting in the entire history of relations between the two countries. They exchanged opinion on topical international problems and the more important aspects of Soviet-Swiss relations in a constructive and friendly atmosphere.

Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the Soviet Union treated with invariable respect Switzerland's status of constant neutrality, relying on which it can in no small measure promote the further development of the European process, the establishment of a productive dialogue between East and West and stronger detente and trust. Both sides voiced their conviction that the problems of the security of the European nations could be resolved only through mutual reductions of armaments, peaceful coexistence and cooperation between states and peoples.

They reiterated their shared interest in deepening mutually advantageous contacts between the USSR and Switzerland in the political, trade, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and other fields.⁵

As is seen, both sides demonstrated readiness to extend contacts and their striving to make constructive efforts with the aim of developing further and deepening bilateral relations. This striving, President Kurt Furgler pointed out, is a "good symbol and sign for the near and more remote future in relations between Switzerland and the USSR".

Soviet-Swiss relations are accorded a prominent place in Soviet policy of developing friendly, mutually advantageous and equal relations with the West European capitalist countries. Of no small importance in that is the tangible contribution Switzerland makes to the development of international relations by providing its territory for numerous international meetings and conferences. Many of them have played and continue playing a significant part in strengthening mutual understanding, security and peaceful cooperation between states.

⁵ *Pravda*, Nov. 19, 1985.

THE WORLD SITUATION AND ANTIWAR MOVEMENTS

Yu. Z H U K O V,

Chairman, Soviet Peace Committee

AFTER THE GENEVA SUMMIT

Several months have elapsed since the memorable Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva—a major event in international affairs. As was noted by the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, a major result of it was that the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States declared in a joint statement that a nuclear war must not break out, stressed the importance of preventing any war, nuclear or conventional, between the USSR and the USA, and committed themselves not to seek military superiority.

In Geneva, the sides reaffirmed the important understanding on the subject and goals of the current Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms, registered in the Soviet-American statement dated January 8, 1985, namely: to prevent an arms race in outer space and restrict it on Earth, to limit and reduce nuclear armaments and ensure greater strategic stability.

Furthermore, the sides agreed that the negotiations should be speeded up and progress be achieved as early as possible, in particular, in the areas where the Soviet and US positions coincide, including the principle of a 50-per cent cut in the nuclear armaments of both countries appropriately applied and also the idea of an interim agreement on medium-range missiles in Europe.

The news of these accords was received with satisfaction in the world. It so happened that on the day the Soviet-American summit in Geneva ended, a meeting of the peace committees of socialist countries began in Sofia. Suddenly the meeting was adjourned the moment it was announced that the closing ceremony of the Soviet-American summit, to be followed by a press conference with Mikhail Gorbachev, would be televised. Everybody rushed to the TV-sets. One had to be there to see the enthusiasm with which the delegates responded to the significant results of the meeting which the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was discussing.

However, among us, representatives of the peace movement of the socialist countries, and among millions of the participants in the antiwar movement in other countries who have greatly stepped up their activities over the past few years, these results did not evoke euphoria and a wish to relax, and to curtail these activities until the diplomats carried into effect the Geneva accords.

Everyone realised that the accomplishment of this task was not going to be easy. In his speech at the closing ceremony in Geneva Mikhail

Gorbachev, having noted the great significance of what had been achieved, cautioned: "One has to be a realist and put it straight: a solution to the major issues of ending the arms race and safeguarding peace has not been found at this meeting, and major differences on matters of principle still remain between us."

To advance along the path mapped out in Geneva, all leaders should display a political will for that. The Soviet leadership has such will, which is evidenced from the series of highly important Soviet initiatives, including those effected unilaterally. The major proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Statement of January 15, 1986 occupy a particular place among these initiatives. As for the United States, the Geneva summit and the pronouncements and actions of the US leaders in the months that followed have shown it is as yet not prepared for developing its policy in this direction. And effective antiwar actions to impel the USA to follow the Soviet example become all the more important in this context.

The task of all peace forces in the world today is to achieve, through joint or parallel actions, a radical turn in the international situation. Because today, as the Soviet side stressed at the Geneva meeting, when the objective course of world developments has placed the problem of mankind's survival in the focus of world politics, war and peace issues have become top priority issues concerning all people on Earth. The search for a solution to these burning issues must not be avoided. A solution must be found. This is the will of all peoples, including those of the Soviet Union and the United States. They demand that an end be put to confrontation which can become fatal.

This is why the major international organisations of peace champions, the World Peace Council above all, and many national antiwar movements hailed the Soviet-American summit meeting and said that if the immense work done in Geneva is to yield fruit, public opinion should exert still more powerful pressure on those who obstruct the implementation of the understandings registered in the joint Soviet-American statement. They announced their desire to make 1986, which has been declared International Year of Peace by the United Nations, a year of decisive shifts in international affairs, a year of confidence-building, of greater mutual understanding and cooperation, a year of effective joint actions by the peoples geared to stop the arms race, to effectively reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear and other mass destruction weapons.

Broad opportunities for joint or parallel actions by peace forces in this direction are offered by the International Year of Peace programme, approved by a consensus at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly. It envisages many highly important measures to be effected by public organisations on an international and national scale—from the International Conference of Non-Governmental Organisations held in Geneva this past January under the slogan "Together for Peace" to the World Congress of Peace Forces scheduled for October in Copenhagen (it is being organised by the International Preparatory Committee).

No matter how much the bourgeois press viciously claimed that after the Geneva summit antiwar movements would fold up, reality has proved the contrary. Since during the time that has passed after last November Washington has not only refused to join the Soviet Union in its unilateral actions to curb the arms race but has escalated the arms drive, and the masses have come to realise the simple truth: "If we don't act, then who will?". This is why the antiwar movements are stepping up their actions, which are becoming ever more purposeful and energetic, despite all attempts of the Western "psychological warfare" services to disorganise, split and mislead these movements, to distract them from their efforts

to accomplish the main tasks—those of ending nuclear tests, preventing space militarisation and reducing nuclear arms.

People are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the success of the peace forces achieved in Geneva should in no way pacify us. There can be no miracles, and a stubborn struggle is ahead to have the understandings reached in Geneva implemented.

In the past months we have on many occasions exchanged views with representatives of various antiwar movements of Europe, North and South America, Asia, Africa and Australia on these issues at international meetings in Helsinki, Copenhagen and Vienna and during bilateral contacts. Below are some of the conclusions at which we invariably arrived at our meetings and discussions.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITY OF ALL ANTIWAR FORCES WITHOUT EXCEPTION

The main political conclusion on which all have agreed is that a period of still more intensive struggle for the preservation of peace is ahead and that international democratic antiwar organisations, the World Peace Council above all, as well as organisations and movements, which while pursuing the same goals are not in these democratic unions and sometimes hold different, even opposite, views on a number of issues, have a major role to play in organising this struggle.

Present-day world reality is that the antiwar movements, whatever the ideological views of their participants, have a significant effect on global developments. For this reason their role was stressed in the new edition of the CPSU programme. There were three main forces of international development—the countries of the socialist community, the international working-class movement, and the developing countries. Now they have been joined by a fourth force—the international democratic peace movement.

This fourth force is driven by care for the survival of mankind and for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe overhanging modern civilisation. Hundreds of millions of people are aware of this threat. Many new antiwar organisations and movements now act in the world arena parallel with experienced and battle-hardened peace fighters, who have been carrying on their activities since the first postwar peace congress held in April 1949 in Pleyel Hall in Paris.

Among them there are powerful and authoritative organisations like the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Great Britain and the American Nuclear Freeze Movement, which had its demand for a nuclear freeze signed by millions of Americans, a number of authoritative antiwar movements in the FRG, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Australia and some other countries, a large number of religious organisations coming out against the arms race, and antiwar organisations of scientists and physicians.

However, there are quite a few organisations in the West that are as yet inexperienced, amorphous and poorly organised. Their strength is dissipated by internal discord. Some other members of antiwar movements are infected with the virus of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. Still more of them have taken the bait of bourgeois propaganda which has advanced the false slogan of "equal responsibility of the two super-powers", thus rendering their actions less determined. It is our task to maintain contacts with such organisations, too, and to find, patiently and persistently, common ground. Such common ground is doubtlessly the struggle for an end to nuclear tests, against space weapons, the struggle for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons. But at the same time, some leaders of such organisations should be prevented

from pushing people involved in the antiwar struggle to positions hostile to the cause of peace.

Taken together, the public movements working for safeguarding and strengthening peace possess a vast human potential. And if there is mutual understanding and cooperation among them, if the prejudices hampering cooperation are removed, this would be a great gain for the cause of peace.

Conversely, if this task is not accomplished, if the peace champions allow discord among various trends in the antiwar movement to grow and slogans having nothing to do with the struggle for peace to be imposed on some members of the movement and if they are oriented to supporting subversive elements in the socialist countries who style themselves as peace champions, then the cause of peace and the struggle against a nuclear war will suffer.

The facts show that the new peace moves of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole have provided a favourable basis for a new upswing in the antiwar movements. No wonder far-sighted politicians in the West, who have to reckon with these movements as a real socio-political force, are drawing the appropriate conclusions.

Symptomatic in this context is the evolution in the position of Social-Democratic parties with regard to the antiwar movements. In the 1950s, these parties expelled from their membership without a moment's hesitation people who took part in the struggle for peace, and the Labour government under Clement Attlee even denied Frederick Joliot-Curie, the great French scientist who had founded the peace movement, entry to Britain. The present leaders of these parties themselves take part in antiwar demonstrations. Speeches by Willy Brandt in Bonn and by Bruno Kreisky in Vienna, and the recent special Conference of the Socialist International on Disarmament, to which a delegation of the CPSU had been officially invited, are all cases in point. The Conference adopted a position on the key issues of war and peace which coincided with the CPSU's stand.

Thus, the present international situation requires that left-wing sectarian views (it is much easier to act on the principle "He who is not with us, is against us"), and right-wing opportunist tendencies, which undermine our key principles, must be overcome. It is only natural, however, that in debating with those whose views are unacceptable to us, we never agree to an understanding which would be tantamount to our uncritical approach to their ideological concepts. Nevertheless, we should come to terms, and we do, on such issues of the struggle for an end to the arms race and, therefore, for mankind's survival on which joint or parallel actions can and must be taken.

We should ably and persistently expose misinterpretations of Soviet foreign and domestic policies by some of our partners in antiwar movements in the West, who do so because they are either poorly informed or because they fear of being labelled "Soviet agents" if they agree with us. There is no use demanding their unreserved support for our positions, but we must never fawn over them or make concessions "on matters of theory, programme or banner," as Lenin put it.¹

In recent years the peace movements which have rallied round the World Peace Council have acquired a good deal of positive experience in this respect. What is meant, in particular, is their participation in the Prague forum For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, in two conferences of national antiwar movements of the countries of Europe and North America held in Athens, in another such conference in Helsinki, and also

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960, p. 331.

in many bilateral meetings with representatives of various antiwar movements. In this sense, our participation in the Perugia covenant at which many delegates have not concealed their hostile attitude to the social system in the socialist countries, was useful. Our taking part in that congress gave us a good opportunity, on the one hand, to demonstrate preparedness for a dialogue with any organisations which have declared an intention to fight for peace and, on the other hand, to unmask those, who waving a stolen banner of peace champions, are fanning a cold war within the antiwar movement.

Our position, flexible in tactical terms and firm in principle, has opened the eyes of many misled members of antiwar movements in the West and foiled the treacherous plans of those who hoped to isolate us and to lead Western pacifists away from antiwar actions and to the struggle for changing the social system in the socialist countries.

SOME MANOEUVRES OF THE ENEMIES OF PEACE

The enemies of peace, watching the growth of the antiwar movement with increasing concern, have sharply stepped up their subversive actions against it. Pseudo-movements, like the American Pro-peace organisation, are being set up. Within a brief span of time that organisation acquired an annual budget of \$30 million and a well-paid staff of 130. In their programme document its leaders made it perfectly clear that their goal was to raise the peoples in the USSR and other socialist countries to a struggle against their governments. Similar organisations have been set up in Britain, with direct assistance from the British government.

At the same time, one must not ignore also the fact that leaders of some antiwar movements, who had acted jointly or parallel with us against the arms race, were compelled to withdraw from the struggle for peace, obviously under pressure from without. In a letter sent to us from Britain, a leader of an influential antiwar movement wrote that he had resigned his job, as of late 1985. "The stress of intensive work in the field of East-West relations, especially in a country like Britain today, is severe", he wrote with regret. This factor, he said, would be appreciated by the activists of the Soviet peace movement.

The author of that letter stressed that he remained "devoted to the cause of disarmament, detente, peace and international friendship between all peoples", that the need for this is as great as ever, that "many of our joint projects have pointed the way to peace in a clear and unmistakable fashion", that he would carry on this work, and believed that the Soviet peace movement would find other ways of cooperating with him. But the fact remains: that man had obviously been removed from the leadership of the antiwar organisation and a new one, he wrote, was not appointed.

Another letter came from a leader of another large British antiwar organisation. He had visited the Soviet Union a few months ago as the head of this organisation. He wrote he had strong apprehensions that he might be accused of adhering to "pro-Soviet positions".

To the credit of our colleagues, they do not stoop to anti-Soviet attacks. Regrettably, however, there are leaders of some antiwar movements who deem it possible, and even necessary, to repeat the false rumours circulated by the bourgeois press; and they smear Soviet foreign policy moves only because they do not wish to be suspected of having "pro-Soviet" views.

The cause of the struggle for ending the arms race cannot benefit, for instance, from the publication of the article under the demagogic title "Gorbachev Fails to Seduce the Dutch" written by Mary Kaldor, editor

of the *European Nuclear Disarmament*. In that article she repeats the false arguments of the psychological warfare services rejecting Soviet peace moves outright and trying to belittle Soviet unilateral measures.

The article is replete with demagogic and false phrases:

"Gorbachev's proposals in some respects could be considered a step back [sic] from the START position" [as the Americans called the previous talks on strategic missiles—Yu. Zh.].

Or:

"If the Soviet Union had, for example, agreed to the Zero Option proposed by Reagan in November 1981, deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles could not have gone ahead." It is commonly known that the "zero option" meant that the USSR was to destroy all its medium-range missiles deployed as a counter-balance to the US theatre-based nuclear weapons in Europe and also to the medium-range nuclear forces of Britain and France, while all these weapons of the USA and NATO would remain untouched.

This clearly anti-Soviet political line pursued by such leaders must be exposed and rebuffed, of course. We have the right, and we even must, when we meet them face to face at various international meetings, and in our press, convincingly expose the true meaning of their statements in which they merely reproduce the false arguments of US propaganda. This does not mean, of course, that they should be labelled "American agents", but one should and must talk at least of a strange concurrence of their positions with those of the US leaders and their propaganda service.

OUR PRIORITY TASKS

In conclusion, I would like to express some ideas about the priority tasks of Soviet peace champions who have come out for increasing the number of people taking part in the antiwar struggle today and rallying them together on the key issues.

First. The situation in the world today dictates to us as well as to all peace forces of our time that we should not sit and wait until peace is ensured only through efforts on the state level. The peace moves of the socialist and a number of other peace-loving countries should be backed up by the actions of mass antiwar movements and rely on the clearly expressed will of the nations.

We, Soviet peace champions, should now, as before, actively display our will for peace and demonstrate nationwide support by mass actions to the policy of peace pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet government. What is required for the purpose is not just marches with demonstrators carrying banners or torches or chanting general slogans. There must be purposeful vigorous actions for concrete goals that are topical today.

Here is one example. We still advance the slogan "No to Nuclear Weapons in Europe, in East and West. No to Nuclear Weapons Anywhere in the World". But now that the Soviet Union has adopted a series of unilateral actions in this direction, actions that have been backed up all over the world, it is not only our moral right but also a duty resolutely to demand that the USA and NATO should follow suit and, if they don't, to show that they thereby assume the responsibility for a possible upswing in the arms race.

Second. We should more thoroughly and convincingly propagate the idea that it is the duty of every person who cares about safeguarding peace not only to speak out for peace but to make effective efforts to ensure the economic might of our state, which is a sound guarantee of peace.

The Soviet working people have found the form for such actions. I mean their labour drives when they declare the days of antiwar struggle

to be days of most efficient work, and many of them donate the money earned on these days to the Peace Fund. Such actions are, of course, voluntary. However, during the Week of Mass Action for Disarmament in October 1985 three times as much money was contributed to the Peace Fund than during other weeks.

For this purpose we should perhaps expand our infrastructure. At present, 120 local peace committees function in the USSR, mostly on a voluntary basis. They do extensive work. But isn't it time for us to go farther and set up groups of peace champions which would do this work at least at major industrial enterprises, research institutes and also in some rural areas.

Third. It is vital now that outstanding Soviet scientists, physicians, teachers, athletes, cultural figures be drawn on a broader scale in systematic work on disarmament problems, in advancing significant proposals, and in cooperating in peace actions with their colleagues in the capitalist world. We have many untapped reserves in this area. Our physicians, for instance, have scored great achievements. Their activities have won such broad recognition that their international organisation headed by Soviet Academician Chazov and outstanding American physician Lown was awarded the Nobel Prize.

Fourth. With the passage of time our all public organisations and movements are becoming increasingly active in the struggle for peace. As I see it, here, too, we have enormous unused opportunities.

The Soviet Peace Committee does not claim, of course, to become the leader of all these organisations in their peace efforts. These organisations draw up their own plans and act in this major area in keeping with their specifics. It seems that the trade unions, which are becoming increasingly active in the struggle for peace, have an especially important role to play in it. At the same time, a problem arises of coordinating these activities so as to avoid duplicating such actions.

It is imperative to ensure close cooperation among all our public movements during the preparations for the congress of peace forces due in Copenhagen, which will be attended by delegations of a wide range of non-governmental organisations.

Fifth. We should step up our cooperation with the United Nations, which is of great benefit to the antiwar movements and to the UN itself. For three years now, the Soviet Peace Committee has been active in the World Disarmament Campaign announced by the UN and reports on its work to UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. It takes part in all UN-sponsored meetings of non-governmental organisations. The second international UN conference for non-governmental organisations devoted to disarmament will be held in the Soviet Union beginning this May. Our Committee, together with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will be a host organisation.

Still greater opportunities for the promotion of cooperation with the UN will be offered by the International Year of Peace which began on 35 January 1 this year.

Sixth. We should resolutely expand our participation in the campaigns for human rights, above all for the main human right—the right to life.

These problems are of great concern to millions of people and, aware of this, dishonest psychological warfare functionaries in the United States and NATO are exploiting the human rights issue, asserting that human rights are observed in the capitalist countries and are suppressed in the socialist ones. It even comes to incredible distortions of facts, when these services disseminate fabrications alleging that the struggle for peace is banned in the Soviet Union while it is conducted without hindrance in the West.

They invent absurd rumours, launch campaigns in defence of criminals who are condemned in the Soviet Union for law breaking but are passed off in the West as champions of peace and human rights. Take, for instance, the frenzied campaign waged in the West for several years in defence of Shcharansky convicted for espionage for the USA. This strident campaign is used for sowing enmity and distrust towards the Soviet Union and also for diverting public attention from really scandalous human rights violations in capitalist countries, in particular, the increasing brutal persecutions of peace fighters there.

Recently I received a letter from a US federal prison in West Virginia. It was written by Helen Woodson, the mother of 11 children. She had been sentenced to 18 years [sic!] in prison on absurd charges that she had tried to wreck a Minuteman nuclear missile. In reality, she, together with two Catholic clergymen and another member of a pacifist organisation, had staged a symbolic protest action during which they struck the slab closing off the entrance to a missile silo and sprinkled it with their blood.

For this they were sentenced to 18 years! The judges did not care about the fate of the eleven children left without their mother. The story is tragic, indeed, but nobody in the West knows anything about it. The name of Shcharansky, justly convicted for espionage, has been mentioned in all bourgeois papers for several years, while the name of the noble American woman who was framed is concealed from the public.

This is by far not the only instance of this sort. According to Helen Woodson, another 22 US peace fighters are in jail. They do not fear imprisonment. "The world cries out for peace", she writes, "and as ordinary people in both nuclear powers begin to take personal responsibility for disarmament, that goal will be achieved. Imprisonment is a small price to pay for having taken part in that process, and I greet you in joy from my cell", she wrote.

Is it not clear that it is our duty to display solidarity on a broad scale with those whose right to the struggle for peace is so brutally trampled upon by bourgeois justice?

And the main thing: the 27th Congress of the CPSU has projected majestic, truly historic plans for the Soviet people's creative activity, whose implementation will be the life-work of all Soviet Communists and the whole Soviet people for many years to come, right up to the third millennium. These plans are pivoted on an intense struggle to ensure that mankind enters the 21st century without any nuclear or other mass destruction weapons.

That is why it is so important to make these decisions of the CPSU Congress known to hundreds and thousands of millions of people the world over. The Soviet Peace Committee and the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation have already invited the leaders of the major Western antiwar movements to attend an international briefing in Moscow to be held in the second half of March. However, that is only the beginning of the immense amount of work to be done by all the social organisations of the USSR in order to inform as broadly as possible our associates in the antiwar struggle of the decisions of the CPSU Congress.

These are some ideas about the international situation and the immediate tasks facing the peace movements in the Soviet Union and abroad. The Soviet Peace Committee welcomes any response, ideas and suggestions which might help us in our work.

USA ESCALATES INTERFERENCE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

V. T R A V K I N

Central America is variously referred to in Washington as the "southern flank", the "soft underbelly", a "sphere of vital US interests", etc. The essence of all these formulas is the same: official US quarters want to cover up and justify the growing US interference in the internal affairs of Central American countries.

US monopolies have for decades plundered the natural and manpower resources of Central America, imposing reactionary regimes as guardians of their interests there. The USA has always viewed Central America as a bridgehead for controlling the whole continent. It is this plunderous expansionist policy of Washington that has caused, after the Second World War, a new wave of national liberation struggles in the countries on the isthmus linking North and South Americas and seriously undermined the USA's positions in the region.

Seeking to regain its hold on the Western Hemisphere and prevent the further growth of liberation trends in Central America, the USA has openly committed itself to interference in the affairs of the region's peoples. Back in February 1982, addressing the Organisation of American States (OAS), the US President said that unless the USA acted quickly and resolutely in the interests of freedom, new Cubas would spring up on the ruins of the present conflicts.¹ Washington officials maintain that Central America needs US help to establish "democracy" there, needless to say, American-style democracy.

In recent years US interventionism in Central America has acquired an ever more dangerous character. Nicaragua and the patriotic forces in El Salvador are on the receiving end of constant threats and abuse from Washington. The CIA is waging an undeclared war against the country of Sandino through its hirelings. The White House stakes on force to solve the problems of Central America obviously ignoring the fact that the escalation of the US-provoked conflict in the region is fraught with serious destabilising consequences not only for Latin America but for world peace.

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The "advantages" of geographical proximity to the United States were felt in Central American countries very soon after they gained independence from the Spanish crown. By the middle of the last century the rapidly growing capitalist colossus felt its own borders were too tight for it. In 1853 the greedy northern neighbour seized more than half Mexico's territory. When gold was discovered in California, the Central American isth-

¹ *Granma*, March 1, 1982.

mus (through which at that time the most convenient road passed linking the developed American East and the then "wild" West) became a place where American dealers could profitably invest their money. Thousands of adventurers seized by the "gold fever" availed themselves of the services of the Accessory Transit Company founded by financier Cornelius Vanderbilt I which provided their passage to California via Nicaragua (for a handsome sum, of course). At the same time fertile Nicaraguan land attracted cotton planters from the US South, and the US government began to think in terms of building a canal across Nicaraguan territory to link the two oceans.

In 1855 units of American mercenaries headed by the rabid racist William Walker landed in Nicaragua. Walker proclaimed himself President of Nicaragua and announced that his "policy goal" was to have Central America and Cuba join the federation of southern States. Walker's buccaneers were rampant in Central American countries for five years. Having started by restoring slavery in Nicaragua, the self-appointed president ended up by being shot in Honduras. Unfortunately, a hundred and twenty-five years on the USA has yet to draw a lesson from that episode.

When at the turn of the century American capitalism was laying the foundation of its colonial empire, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Panama Canal zone were among the countries and territories seized by the United States. The sovereignty of the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Haiti and Nicaragua was flagrantly violated. In 1932 more than 30,000 Salvadorans, who rose up against the dictatorship in their country, were killed by US bullets. In 1934 the Somoza "national guards" led by US Marine officers treacherously murdered Augusto Sandino, leader of the popular war against the American invaders. After the Second World War practically all the peoples of Central America fell victims to Washington's criminal policies.

There is every reason for saying that the policy of the present US Administration in Central America is but a continuation of the long-time commitment of American imperialism to hegemony and suppression of the national liberation movement in the region. Shortly after it took office in 1981 the present US Administration proclaimed Central America and the Caribbean a zone of US vital interests promising that the United States would not be as hesitant there as it had been in Vietnam. The White House immediately set about trying to disrupt political settlement of Central America's problems hoping that American military or economic might would help it to achieve these goals quickly.

Washington's hegemonistic policy has been spearheaded against Nicaragua, whose people have overthrown the cruel Somoza dictatorship, against the patriotic forces in El Salvador and other countries of the region who have arisen to fight for their liberation. The US Administration has clearly proceeded on the assumption that any sign of "indecisiveness" in the region would weaken the position of the United States in other volatile areas on the planet, as well as in its relations with the USSR and the countries of Western Europe and Latin America.

Combining the policy of the "big stick" and the "dollar diplomacy" the US Administration has launched a military, political and propaganda offensive on the isthmus. *The Washington Post* thus described its aims: the Administration's eyes glitter with political ambition: liquidation of the left-wing regime in Central America would provide Reagan with a trumpcard against international communism. CIA professionals were also gloating because they could resort to their dirty tricks again.

American imperialism began to escalate its aggressive actions against socialist Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada. It increased aid to the antipopular regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala. Honduras was fast being turned into a bridgehead for counter-revolutionary armed actions against its neighbours. Steps were taken to involve Costa Rica in actions against Nicaragua.

Panama came under greater pressure to renounce its policy of solidarity with the democratic forces in the region.

The American secret services have assembled former Somoza men into armed bands who now stage raids on Nicaraguan territory from bases set up first in Honduras and then in Costa Rica. The tasks the USA sets before the mercenaries are: to destabilise the political situation in Nicaragua, to destroy its economy, and weaken the Sandinista armed forces. The territories of Honduras and the Pacific and Atlantic waters off the Nicaraguan coast are almost constantly the scenes of large-scale land and naval military exercises of the USA and its allies. The barbaric US aggression against Grenada in October 1983 was viewed by many observers as a "dress rehearsal" of direct Washington military action against Nicaragua or patriotic forces in El Salvador.

After the "success" of the Grenada venture, the US Administration stepped up its actions against Nicaragua in 1984. American naval ships with assault aircraft and marine units on board began to be concentrated off the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the isthmus. Acts of air provocation became much more frequent: in 1984 alone more than 1,300 violations of Nicaraguan air space were registered, of which 480 were by American spy planes. Somoza men, who were given high-speed naval boats, mounted a series of attacks on ports and other economic facilities on the Nicaraguan coast. The mining of Nicaragua's territorial waters by the CIA damaged merchant ships from many countries, including the Soviet vessel *Lugansk*, thus seriously aggravating the situation in the region.²

In the second half of 1984 the USA made desperate attempts to disrupt presidential and parliamentary elections in Nicaragua. Representatives of the right-wing opposition were given massive financial aid and the CIA launched a plan to exacerbate the conflict between the leadership of the Catholic Church and the government. The pressure campaign against the Sandinistas involved the Vatican, which demanded that Catholic priests who supported the revolution leave their posts in the government. The Somoza bandits stepped up their terrorist activities in order to intimidate voters. About 40 CIA-financed subversive radio stations broadcasting from neighbouring countries conducted massive propaganda against the elections.

Nevertheless, the first democratic elections in Nicaragua's history did take place. They brought victory to the Sandinista National Liberation Front (SNLF). Hundreds of foreign observers and journalists from many countries on every continent attested to the free character of the voting. The election returns were convincing proof that the masses supported the SNLF's and Nicaraguan government's course for national revival, the strengthening of national unity, political and economic independence, for a just political settlement in Central America.

After the re-election of the US President in November 1984 Washington's Central American policy toughened. The President admitted bluntly that his task was to overthrow the Sandinista government. This was the aim of the notorious "plan for peace" the US President made public in April 1985. Under the plan the Nicaraguan government was to stop military action against bandit units and begin negotiations with the leaders of armed counter-revolutionaries. The Sandinistas naturally rejected this brazen ultimatum. In reply the White House imposed a trade embargo on Nicaragua.

The US Administration stepped up its pressure on Congress to get it ap-

² See *Pravda*, March 30 and March 31, 1984.

appropriate \$27 million for "humanitarian" aid to the contras. This was a signal for the bandits to become more active.

All in all, American secret services alone spent about \$500 million on subversive activities against Nicaragua in 1982-1985. During that period 12,000 Nicaraguans, mostly civilians, fell victim to the US policy of state-sponsored terrorism. The total economic damage caused by the American mercenaries topped \$1,500 million.³ And this in a country whose population is a mere 3 million and annual exports are under \$400 million.

In building up tensions in Central America and fomenting anti-Nicaraguan sentiment, the USA is preparing plans for direct armed aggression in the region. From time to time information to the effect is leaked to the press in order to scare Nicaragua. Newspapers give detailed accounts of the proposed plans for the landing of "rangers" to seize and kill the leaders of the Sandinista government, for delivering a massive strike by the US navy, air force and army against Nicaragua, and sending landing forces to its territory. Newspapers quote the numbers of tanks, armoured personnel carriers, guns, and combat helicopters. Estimates are made of the number of casualties, including the fact that losses on the Nicaraguan side would be several times greater than those on the American side. It is stated that it would take up to four years to form a "legitimate" Nicaraguan government under American occupation.

Simultaneously Nicaragua's neighbours are subjected to psychological brainwashing to convince them that Nicaragua is an aggressor frenziedly arming itself to the teeth and threatening their independence. In order to create the appropriate political climate the violence of the Somoza mercenaries and thugs is presented on US television and in the bourgeois press as a civil war waged by the people who are dissatisfied with the Sandinista dictatorship. To frighten the NATO partners, it is being suggested that the "Reds" may cut US lines of munition and fuel supplies passing through Central America and the Caribbean which would make Western Europe vulnerable in the face of a "Soviet military threat".

While preparing for direct armed aggression, the USA is stepping up pressure on the Contadora Group to make it modify its activities in favour of a Central American solution that would suit Washington, and is involving friendly regimes in the region in its concerted military-political "security" programme. Attempts are being made to have the Honduran, Salvadoran and Guatemalan armies create an international armed force to invade Nicaragua.

Honduras was slated for the role of kingpin in these US plans at the turn of the 1980s. The White House was trying out a scheme to counter the appeal of the Nicaraguan revolution by carrying out a series of reforms to give a semblance of respectability to the reactionary military regimes in the eyes of the local population and world public opinion. "Free elections" were held in Honduras on Washington's instructions as early as 1981. As a result, a civilian government was formed. Although all the levers of power remained in the hands of the reactionary army elite, the "democratisation" of the regime enabled the US Administration to railroad through Congress major programmes of military and economic aid to that country (about \$300 million annually). The manoeuvres of American land, air force and navy units (which cost the United States more than \$100 million)⁴ ensured constant Pentagon presence in Honduras and made it possible to establish an impressive military infrastructure on its territory and to train and arm Somoza bands.

However, the Honduran military proved hard to train in a way that would suit the USA. Differences within the army elite led to the replacement

³ *Pravda*, Dec. 31, 1985.

⁴ *El Dia* (Mexico), Dec. 28, 1984.

of the commander-in-chief in 1984. In addition, the ruling circles of Honduras, which felt that they were exacting too small a price for toeing the Washington line, demanded that the USA at least triple its aid and make El Salvador return the Honduran territories seized in the war of 1969. The anti-Salvadoran sentiments among the Honduran military made the Pentagon remove its regional military training centre in Honduras where Central American bands were being trained, including those from El Salvador. In the runup to the "presidential elections" of 1985 several candidates spoke against further involvement of Honduras in carrying out US plans in the region.

In recent months the Honduran people has been increasingly unhappy about the presence of large units of Somoza men in the country, their involvement in the activities of the local "death squads" and complicity in numerous political assassinations. President José Azcona Hoyo of Honduras had to declare that the stay of contras in his country was undesirable. All these problems have prevented Washington from making full use of Honduras as a bridgehead.

In El Salvador the US Administration spent about \$2,000 million on a counter-insurgency programme in 1980-1985. As a result of the punitive actions more than 50,000 civilians died and 500,000 people (about 10 per cent of the population) had to emigrate.⁵ Under these circumstances, and in order to give "respectability" to the repressive regime in El Salvador, another "presidential election" was staged to an American scenario in 1984, which brought to power Washington's underling José Napoleon Duarte, former head of the military-civilian junta. The Salvadorans, however, were not to be duped by such manoeuvres and the guerrilla movement in the country has continued.

After its plans in Honduras ran afoul, Washington had to organise the deployment of anti-Sandinista bands in Costa Rica. However, that country, which has proclaimed neutrality and has no regular army, is still unprepared to take part in an aggression against Nicaragua.

The most troublesome of the Central American allies of the United States is Guatemala. The relatively small amount of American aid the Guatemalan military rulers received (about \$120 million in 1979-1984) allowed them to claim their independence from Washington. For example, on questions of Central American settlement Guatemalan representatives did not always range themselves with the more docile allies of the USA in the region. Besides, the Guatemalan army was so tied up with guerrillas in its own country that its command could not send any troops to take part in joint manoeuvres with the armed forces of the USA and its allies.

The bloody terror of military dictatorships and the collapse of their economic strategy caused growing resistance by the people of Guatemala. Under these circumstances the regime of General Oscar Humberto Mejía staged a general election seeking to create the illusion of a return to democracy. Although the elections were held amid continuing repression on the part of the military authorities and without the participation of genuinely democratic organisations, their results demonstrated that the people of Guatemala were resolutely in favour of a change, of establishing a civilian government.

The new Guatemalan President, Christian Democrat Vinicio Cerezo, has promised to restore democracy in the country and declared that his government backed the peacemaking efforts of the Contadora Group and was ready to help defuse the crisis in Central America.

Thus the US Administration has failed to make its allies in Central America come together in an anti-Nicaraguan military alliance. Nevertheless Washington still believes that by and large the situation in Central America is developing in a direction favourable for the United States and that the

⁵ *Pravda*, March 3, 1985.

course of events in Nicaragua can be reversed. That is why the USA is increasing military and economic aid to "representative democracies" in Central America (in 1986 this aid will amount to \$1,500 million as against \$990 million in 1985) and is trying to oppose them to the alleged "totalitarian" system in Nicaragua.

Having failed to eliminate the rebels in El Salvador and to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, Washington had to resort to diplomatic manoeuvres. In 1984 a series of meetings between representatives of the US and Nicaraguan governments were held in Manzanillo, Mexico. On advice from the White House the head of the Salvadoran regime Duarte had talks with the leaders of patriotic organisations in the country in October 1984. However, in the course of these talks the constructive approach of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutionaries came up against an impediment on the part of Washington and its stooges. The USA unilaterally broke off the Manzanillo meetings in early 1985 and is still refusing to resume them in spite of the repeated statements from Managua that it was ready to continue the meetings. The Salvadoran government broke off its dialogue with the patriotic forces.

Simultaneously Washington is engaged in secret activities to isolate Nicaraguan and Salvadoran patriots from other Latin American countries, notably from the Contadora Group countries which are looking for a political settlement to the Central American problems. Since the Contadora Group was set up in January 1983, US Administration officials repeatedly pledged support of its efforts. By September 1984 the Group had come up with a draft Act for Peace containing mutual obligations of Central American states in the security and socio-economic fields. The government of Nicaragua, in line with its consistent policy of peace, agreed to all the provisions of the Act for Peace. However, on directions from the USA, El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica put forward a counter draft that gravely distorted the essence of the document. As a result, the document was not signed.

Subsequently Nicaragua's neighbours used invented pretexts to aggravate their relations with Nicaragua and prevent the convening of working conferences of the Contadora Group. This was part of a US-orchestrated campaign to destabilise and to discredit the Nicaraguan government. In late May 1985 armed clashes were provoked on the border between Nicaragua and Costa Rica. The USA and its allies tried, without success, to make the Organisation of American States pass a resolution blaming the incident on Nicaragua. Much to the displeasure of the United States, the "compromise" resolution eventually adopted by the OAS Permanent Council (prepared by the Contadora Group) blamed armed mercenaries for creating tensions in the region. The USA has thus been unable to prevent leading Latin American countries from moving towards an agreed and independent stand.

Evidence of this is the formation, in the summer of 1985, of the so-called Lima Group of political support for the Contadora Group that included Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay. A meeting of the foreign ministers of the two groups on August 24-25, 1985 spoke in favour of self-determination and non-interference and for a political settlement of the conflict in Central America. The activity of the Contadora Group was also approved by the Latin American Parliament at its special meeting in the Uruguayan capital Montevideo, on October 10-13, 1985.

At present the United States, aided by its puppets in Central America, is again trying to block the process of political settlement in the region. As a result of its obstructionist policy multilateral talks and consultations within the Contadora Group were suspended for five months starting last December. This is added proof of Washington's commitment to resolving the Central American conflict by arm-twisting methods which meets with growing resentment and opposition on the part of most Latin American countries.

President Raúl Alfonsín of Argentina spoke of serious differences between the USA and its southern neighbours over Central American problems in an interview to the Venezuelan newspaper *El Nacional*. In his opinion, Washington refuses to understand that political instability in the region is the result of hunger, poverty, and inequitable trade and economic relations between the advanced Western states and the developing countries. At the same time, he stressed, Latin Americans are well aware of all these things because they are experiencing them. They declare that as long as hunger, poverty and economic stagnation exist in the continent's countries there will be no peace and tranquility. It is no accident that more and more states are coming out in support of the Contadora Group's constructive proposals.

The resolve of the continent's leading countries to prevent an escalation of the armed conflict in Central America was highlighted during the meetings of the Contadora Group and support group in Venezuela and Guatemala held in January 1986. The Executive meeting of the Latin American Parliament that was held shortly afterwards in the Peruvian capital adopted the Lima Statement protesting against any armed interference in Central America, which, it stated would "bring an immediate reaction on the part of all the countries on the continent."

The White House power politics in Central America is meeting with disapproval on the part of many West European countries who evince their interest in eliminating the danger of a large-scale armed conflict in the region. Fresh proof of it was provided during the visit of French President François Mitterrand to several Latin American countries in the autumn of 1985 when he criticised the US policy in Central America, stressing that Washington's support of the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries was the cause of tensions in the region.

Another evidence of Western Europe's disagreement with the aggressive actions of the USA in the isthmus was the conference on political and economic cooperation between the EEC, Spain and Portugal on the one hand and the Central American and Contadora Group states on the other at the level of foreign ministers held in Brussels on November 11-12, 1985. The conference documents stressed the desire to continue political dialogue (in accordance with the 1984 declaration passed by a similar meeting in San José, the capital of Costa Rica) which, along with the Contadora process, could lead to a peaceful settlement in Central America. The conference again named socio-economic backwardness and unequal levels of development as the main reason of instability in the region. This appraisal differs greatly from the US thesis that revolutions in Central American Republics are caused by "subversion by world communism", aggression of the bellicose East against the peaceful West, which is defending itself.

The conference pronounced itself in favour of a collective security system in Central America based on the curbing of the arms race, confidence measures, withdrawal of foreign troops, renunciation of the threat of force and attempts at political destabilisation, including by terrorist methods.

The Colombian Foreign Minister Augusto Ramírez Ocampo, speaking on behalf of the Contadora Group, declared that the San José and Luxembourg meetings mark the end of the Monroe Doctrine which the USA has used for more than a century in order to arrogate the right to decide the destiny of Latin American peoples.

It is also worth noting that during the conference a number of prominent West European leaders, including Lydie Schmit, member of the European Parliament and President of the Socialist International Women, parliamentarians from the EEC countries, clergymen and members of several non-go-

vernmental organisations of Europe appealed to the EEC to demand that the USA respect the decisions of the International Court of Justice,⁶ lift economic sanctions against Nicaragua, stop aid to the contras, and resume talks with the Nicaraguan government.

Israel occupies a special place among the forces that totally support the US Administration's policy of blackmail and diktat in Central America. In return for unqualified White House support of its expansionist course in the Middle East, Israel is doing all it can to help the United States build up tensions in Central America. It supplies \$250 million worth of arms to the reactionary regimes in the region every year. Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras receive Israeli aircraft, armoured vehicles, naval vessels, guns, mortars, small arms, communications and electronic military equipment. Israeli instructors train Central American punitive forces. They also train and supervise the actions of police and security officers. Israeli "experts" have helped to prepare and implement plans for setting up "model villages" in rural areas in Guatemala using Israel's experience in controlling Palestinian settlements and the American experience of "strategic villages" in Vietnam. Central American officers receive military training in Israel. Israeli air force pilots take part in air raids against guerrillas.

Israel is training and supplying arms to the Nicaraguan contras, especially at a time when the US Administration is meeting with resistance on the part of legislators who are concerned that Washington's direct participation in operations against the Sandinista government could gravely damage the US prestige in the world.

Among other backers of the USA in Central America are the anti-popular regimes of Taiwan, South Korea and Thailand. They generously finance the World Anti-Communist League which coordinates the leaders of the terrorist bands active in the volatile areas on the planet. The head of the WACL, retired American General John Singlaub, is raising funds to buy arms for the Nicaraguan contras at the request of the White House.

Washington's stubbornness in pursuing power politics in Central America is causing indignation and opposition throughout the world. In its note to the USA government of March 21, 1984 the Soviet government stated: "The Soviet Union condemns in the most categorical way the policy of terrorism, arbitrary acts and interference in the affairs of sovereign independent states pursued by the USA as incompatible with the generally accepted norms of law and morality, as posing a threat to peace and international security, and demands an end to that policy."⁷

Other socialist countries, too, have spoken out against the criminal activities of the USA. The top leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries stressed in the Sofia Statement of October 23, 1985 that their respective countries were ready to cooperate actively with all the interested countries towards an early settlement of the existing conflict situations and preventing the emergence of new hotbeds of conflict in various part of the world, including Latin America. The Statement urges the need to put an end to the imperialist policy of force and interference in the internal affairs of other countries, to

⁶ On May 10, 1984 the International Court of Justice in The Hague considered the Nicaraguan complaint and demanded that the USA immediately stop mining Nicaraguan ports, condemned encroachments on the Republic's independence by any military or paramilitary actions and the threat of force. The USA refused to recognise the validity of the International Court's decisions. According to a group of US congressmen, the White House policy in Central America violates 19 national and 11 international laws, including Article 2 of the UN Charter that condemns the use or threat of force in the relations between states.

⁷ *Pravda*, March 22, 1984.

acts of aggression, and to resolve conflict situations and disputes between states peacefully, and to fully respect the right of each people to determine its destiny independently.⁸

A representative International Conference of Solidarity with Nicaragua, for Peace in Central America held in Lisbon, Portugal, criticised the aggressive US actions against Nicaragua and the blockade and provocations against Cuba, and called on the peace-loving public of the world to support the struggle of the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala for national liberation. The 40th Session of the UN General Assembly condemned the US trade embargo against Nicaragua and demanded its immediate lifting. Demands for an end to all hostile actions against Nicaragua and US interference in Central America came from the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, the Coordination Bureau of non-aligned countries, the Standing Tribunal of the Peoples that met in Brussels, and the Latin American Human Rights Congress held in Zaragoza, Spain. Protest demonstrations are taking place in many major cities and capitals on all the continents, including the United States.

Elimination of the dangerous hotbed of tension in Central America, struggle against the escalation of the US interference in the affairs of the region's countries are an important task of all the peace supporters of the world. That is why massive international solidarity with the progressive forces in Central America today is part of the overall struggle for peace, for the right of nations to freedom and independence.

See *Pravda*, Oct. 24, 1985.

DUBNA

The town of Dubna is situated 128 kilometres north of Moscow, on one of the picturesque banks of the Volga River. Today it is rightly called a town of the peaceful atom, a "Mecca of physicists". In the socialist countries, and in other ones for that matter, there is hardly a major physicist who hasn't been to Dubna. Scientists come here from all over the world to take part in important experiments, theoretical research, international scientific conferences and seminars, or simply to familiarise themselves with what the Joint Nuclear Research Institute is working on.

A total of over 2,000 foreign experts come to this scientific centre annually. Niels Bohr once spent two days at the Institute. He familiarised himself with the synchrophasotron, and then delivered a lecture to a full hall at the Laboratory of Theoretical Physics. Frederic Joliot-Curie was here as well. Today one of the central thoroughfares in the town bears his name. JNRI was visited three times by the brilliant Indian physicist Homi Bhabha, who in Dubna saw the prototype of the Indian research complex which was later built in Bombay under his guidance.

Construction of the research centre in Dubna started right after the Great Patriotic War. One of its founders was the outstanding Soviet scientist Igor Kurchatov. One of Dubna's streets now bears the great physicist's name.

In March 1956, an agreement was signed in Moscow on the establishment of the Joint Nuclear Research Institute. Eleven countries are now the members of this international organisation: Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, the DPRK, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Vietnam.

Outstanding physicists from socialist countries Georgy Nadzhakov, Lajos Jánosy, Henryk Niewodniczanski, Gustav Hertz, Leopold Infeld, Václav Votruba took an active part in identifying the main directions of the Institute's work and developing its experimental base. Today Soviet scientists and experts are joined by some 600 physicists, engineers and technicians from socialist countries in working on topical problems of the physics of elementary particles, the atomic nucleus and condensed media and their peaceful practical utilisation.

The establishment of the international centre in Dubna was a demand of the times. Research into nuclear physics, and especially the physics of elementary particles, required the construction of sophisticated and expensive installations—particle accelerators and experimental reactors, which were more similar to large plants than to physics laboratories in the usual sense.

Only major, highly developed countries have been able to afford such research and experimental complexes. Academician Alexander Baldin, Director of the High Energies Laboratory, once related that when he, a young physicist at the time, saw a train enter the synchrophasotron building under construction, he realised that a new era was dawning in the development of this science.

Two major centres of the USSR Academy of Sciences had been set up by the time JNRI was founded—the Institute of Nuclear Problems with the synchrocyclotron and the Laboratory of Electrical Physics where the construction of a synchrophasotron was nearing completion. Both accelerators possessed parameters, unique in the world at that time, in particle energy. Following a Soviet proposal, an international research centre of

the socialist states was founded on the base of these two institutes. It should be noted that scientists from the fraternal countries were highly enthusiastic about the founding of the Institute. Everybody felt that a qualitatively new stage had arrived in science and in international scientific cooperation. The overriding aim of the Institute has always been, as is stated in its Charter, "the ensuring of joint theoretical and experimental research in the field of nuclear physics by the scientists of the Institute's member states".

JNRI has changed beyond recognition over the past 30 years. New unique mainframe installations have been built, and particle accelerators have been radically overhauled. A large number of big experimental installations have appeared—bubble chambers, spectrometres and other equipment for conducting research at mainframe installations. The data processing complex of the Institute is one of the largest in the socialist countries, numbering some ten big and medium-capacity computers. Of no less importance is the fact that a large international collective has formed during this time, which is capable of tackling complex research and technical problems on the world level. Today it numbers 11 academicians and corresponding members of Academies, 150 doctors and some 600 candidates of science.

OASIS OF SCIENCE

The magnificent panorama of Dubna opens up from a bird's eye view. The neighbourhoods of a modern town are stretched out along the bank of the Volga, and further on, several kilometres deep into the forest, stand buildings of accelerators and research reactors, laboratory wings, and the experimental production facilities and the services which provide the Institute with warmth, electricity, water, nitrogen, propane and helium.

The Neutron Physics Laboratory, the buildings of the two pulse reactors, and the kilometre-long experimental base with pavilions are the pride of Dubna. The recently commissioned new fast neutron pulse reactor (IBR-2) possesses the world's most powerful neutron fluxes. The huge experimental halls on the right and left of the reactor are filled with installations on which scientists from all the JNRI member countries conduct research.

The Nuclear Reactions Laboratory is a long building. It has three heavy ion accelerators, which reflect the stages of the development of the Laboratory and perhaps of the entire physics of heavy ions as a whole, the founders of which are the JNRI scientists. Here is the building of the synchrocyclotron—Dubna's first accelerator, the base installation of the Laboratory of Nuclear Problems. It recently underwent a major overhaul and experiments are now being conducted at it in meson physics, nuclear spectroscopy, medicine, radiochemistry and biology.

The building of the High Energies Laboratory is situated not far from the Dubna River. It is a major research centre in the physics of elementary particles and relativist nuclear physics. The basic installation of this Laboratory is the synchrophasotron. Its photographs are published in many monographs and textbooks on nuclear physics. It has become a symbol of the science of the atomic age. Scientists, engineers and workers have recently given the accelerator a new lease of life. Now the synchrophasotron accelerates to relativist energies not only protons but also the nuclei of a series of elements of the Mendeleev Periodic Table. Today the synchrophasotron is the only accelerator in the world which has high-energy beams of relativist nuclei. Thanks to this it has become the founder of a new, rapidly developing field—relativist nuclear physics.

Scientists intend to create on the basis of the synchrophasotron a new accelerator on superconducting magnets, the nuclotron, which will acce-

lerate to high energies the nuclei of all chemical elements, as well as polarised nuclei, which will make it possible to penetrate further into the structure of matter. The prototype of such an accelerator, Spin, has already been created and is functioning.

A new area in the creation of accelerators based on the principle of collective acceleration of particles has emerged on the banks of the Volga. Situated next to the High Energies Laboratory is the new acceleration techniques department. It has developed the prototype of a new type of accelerator.

A regular session of the Scientific Council of the Institute was held on the eve of JNRI's 30th anniversary in Dubna. The leading physicists of 11 socialist countries gathered as usual at a large square table. For many years the scientific and organisational activity of each of them has been bound up with the Institute. For example, in March 1956 the Czechoslovak scientist Professor Čestmír Šimáně took part in the conference of representatives of the socialist countries which founded JNRI. Then he spent several years working at Dubna as vice-director of the Institute. Today Šimáně is one of the heads of the Academy of Sciences of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Academician Hristo Hristov, director of the Institute of Nuclear Research and Nuclear Power Engineering of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences worked as theoretical physicist in Dubna, and then held a management post at the Institute. He is also a participant in the Conference in Moscow that founded JNRI. Academicians K. Lanius (GDR), A. Hryniewicz (Poland), and Namsarain Sodnom (Mongolia) worked for lengthy periods in Dubna, and their scientific and organisational activity is closely bound up with JNRI. Each country was represented at the Scientific Council by three leading physicists.

At this regular sitting of the Council the scientists from the socialist countries discussed the results of the past five years of the Institute's work. During this time JNRI has received a number of fundamental findings, made four discoveries, and many of the achievements of the international team are successfully being used in related fields of science and technology, as well as in the member states' economy. One of the main results of the Institute's activity over the past five years is the creation of the Institute's experimental base—the foundation of further breakthroughs by the JNRI physicists.

After the Scientific Council we met with the outstanding Soviet scientist, Academician Nikolai Bogolyubov, Director of the Institute. His office is on the first floor of the administration building on the Joliot-Curie Street. This is the Institute's headquarters. Hanging on the office's walls are portraits of the outstanding scientists Einstein, Vavilov, Kurchatov, Veksler and Joliot-Curie. Academician Bogolyubov frequently meets here with prominent and with young scientists who come to him for advice.

Academician Bogolyubov heads the activities of the physicists-theoreticians of the Institute. The laboratory of theoretical physics is one of the world major centres in the field of theoretical research. The work of the Dubna scientists has led to the discovery of new phenomena and served as a stimulus to the development of new scientific trends. For instance, new sophisticated methods of the analysis of superliquidity and superconductivity developed by Bogolyubov are extremely useful in the quantum theory of the field and the modern nucleus theory.

"Over the years the Institute's international collective has scored outstanding results in studying the fundamental laws in the physics of elementary particles and the atomic nucleus, and also in doing applied research," relates Academician Bogolyubov. "The Institute's scientists are the authors and co-authors of 29 discoveries registered by the USSR State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries which comprises a half of the discoveries registered in the USSR in the field of physics. One of the first

breakthroughs of the Institute was the discovery of a new particle of the antisigma-minus-hyperon particle. Soviet scientists were joined by physicists from Vietnam, China, the DPRK, Romania and Czechoslovakia in research on the synchrophasotron which led to this discovery.

In subsequent years the scientists of the Institute have discovered new types of the disintegration of the atom nuclei—proton radioactivity and the spontaneous fission of nuclei in an agitated state. In the course of the experiments scientists have revealed the manifestation of the nucleus properties of light and the retention of slow neutrons in sealed containers, and the existence of antitritium.

The work by outstanding Soviet physicists of the Institute Academician B. Pontekorvo, in the field of the physics of neutrino; Academician A. Baldin, in the field of the relativist nuclear physics; Academician I. Frank, in the field of neutron physics; Academician G. Flyorov, in the field of the physics of heavy ions are also of fundamental significance.

The synthesis of new trans-uranium elements from 102 to 106 was registered as a discovery. Mikhail Gorbachev noted during a recent meeting with American businessmen that since 1950 half the new chemical elements has been discovered in the USSR, i. e. in Dubna. "Now we are entering a new five-year period," Academician Bogolyubov said in conclusion. "The Institute's scientists comprehend the full importance of the tasks facing them which have been posed by the Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member Countries. We will try to do our part to implement it."

Even now the economic effect from the introduction of the scientific breakthroughs by the Dubna scientists in related fields of science and in the economy is measured in many millions of rubles. For example, in the Nuclear Reactions Laboratory of Academician G. Flyorov nuclear filters have been created, which are used in various aspects of microfiltration. They are widely utilised in medicine and industry. A new special installation, a cyclical implanter, has been built for batch production. A volunteer team of scientists from the Laboratory of Nuclear Problems have conducted large-scale tests on a number of state farms in Moscow and other regions on the method of magnetic treatment of potatoes and other farm crops to boost harvests. The experiments have shown that potato yields, for instance, an increase by between 10 and 15 per cent as a result of magnetic treatment. Experiments have been conducted for a number of years in this Laboratory on so-called medicinal beams for the purpose of exploring the possibilities of treating oncological diseases.

The Laboratory of Neutron Physics has designed a magnitocardiograph, which provides information on the working of the heart and effective diagnostics of cardiac disease. Scientists and cryogenic engineers have designed heavy-duty and efficient liquification installations several of which are already being used in industry. Wide-scale applied research is being conducted on the development of radiation analysis. Methods have been proposed for controlling environmental pollution. JNRI-developed mathematical programmes are successfully being used to conduct experimental and applied research in the Institute member countries.

TRAINING CENTRE FOR RESEARCH PERSONNEL

Every time Professor Nguyen Van Hieu, a Vietnamese scientist, comes to Dubna (he does so no less than twice a year), he makes it a point to find time to visit the yard of one of the houses on Kurchatov Street. Twenty five years ago, when he first arrived at Dubna as a very young specialist, Van planted a birch tree here. The small sapling has turned into a

mighty white-barked beauty over this time. Many changes have taken place in the scientist's life, too.

The young Vietnamese physicist's talents and brilliant abilities manifested themselves in hospitable Dubna. Contact with outstanding Soviet scientists and physicists from other countries, participation in scientific seminars, a thirst for knowledge, and tremendous industry did their work. He soon defended his candidate's dissertation and later his doctoral; he received the degree of professor, and wrote a book which was published in the Soviet Union. Today Professor Nguyen Van Hieu is an outstanding Vietnamese physicist of world renown. He heads the Vietnamese National Research Centre and heads the Institute of Physics in Hanoi. He was elected a foreign member of the USSR Academy of Sciences several years ago.

Nguyen Van Hieu considers Dubna his second home. He names Academicians M. Markov, N. Bogolyubov, A. Logunov and D. Blokhintsev his teachers. He values highly the role JNRI plays in the development of physics in Vietnam. Two experimental installations—a neutron generator and an electron accelerator-microtron delivered from Dubna—have become the main experimental base of the Institute of Physics in Hanoi.

"Work at JNRI is of tremendous importance for young scientists," Professor Nguyen Van Hieu says. "Working in such a prestigious international research collective is a great schooling for young people. We value highly the fact that over 40 Vietnamese physicists and engineers have become doctors and candidates of science at Dubna. I also started out in Dubna and I did most of my research projects here. Each trip here is for me a new catalyst for further work."

Another Vietnamese physicist, Nguyen Dinh Tu, worked a long time in Dubna. Today he is the Minister of Higher and Secondary Vocational Education.

In all the Institute member countries the charges of the Dubna "physicists' Mecca" play an important role in the development of science and technology and in personnel training. The Mongolian theoretical physicist Tchondogijn Tseren is President of the Academy of Sciences of Mongolia, and Professor Darzhaagijn Chultem is First Deputy Secretary of the State Committee for Higher and Specialised Secondary Education. The Korean scientist Park Gvan O is Director-General of the Korean Atomic Energy Research Institute. Over 100 Polish physicists, who worked at JNRI for a lengthy period, defended their candidate and doctoral dissertations and became leading specialists at institutes and universities in Warsaw, Krakow, Łódź and Poznań. In the GDR, some 30 physicists, who worked for a long period at Dubna are now professors and senior lecturers at universities in Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Magdeburg. JNRI has produced a large number of qualified personnel for Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba, Romania and Czechoslovakia. Such prominent Soviet scientific figures as Academician A. Logunov, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Rector of Moscow University, Professor I. Chuvilo, Professor L. Solov'yov, and many others came into their own at Dubna as scientists and organisers of science.

For physicists from socialist countries work at Dubna is of enormous importance because there they have an opportunity not only to take part in major scientific research, but also to acquire experience in research-organising work. Scientists from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, Cuba and other countries have occupied management posts in the Institute administration and separate laboratories. Many of them head research sections and sectors, run physicist groups, and head committees which arrange cooperation among scientists in individual fields.

"JNRI has opened up for us the road to the physics of the microcosm, to this important and at the same time complex and expensive science,

which would be inaccessible for us if we were alone," says Academician Hristo Hristov, a Bulgarian scientist. "I cannot imagine our science without the Joint Institute, without the life-giving contact with its scientists. I am referring precisely to science, not to nuclear physics alone, since here, in Dubna, there studied together with nuclear physicists specialists in electronics semiconductor detectors, computer technology, cryogenic engineering; our physicists, mathematicians, engineers and physicians worked there, too. We value Dubna not only from the standpoint of science. It is a model of internationalist cooperation. Such words as joint work, collective method, and friendship among peoples have specific content here. Here, at Dubna, friendship is born between people of different nationalities, above all between young people, which remains a lifetime. The Russian nature, the Soviet culture, the socialist way of life, the warm hospitality of the hosts, together with science, act on a person in such a way that if he has been here just once he will always want to come back again and again."

THE GEOGRAPHY OF COOPERATION

JNRI is in effect connected with the whole world, but above all, of course, with the research centres of the Institute's socialist member countries. The main vehicle of cooperation is the conduct of joint experiments. Widespread now is "physics at a distance", when experimental materials (photographs of bubble chambers and spectrometers, magnetic tapes with scientific information) are sent to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, where they are processed and studied, and then generalised and discussed in Dubna at working conferences. Following this is the stage of the preparation of joint scientific publications and reports at international conferences. The experimental materials are sent from Dubna to India, France, Yugoslavia and Finland as well.

Cooperation has become particular widescale in the development of new experimental hardware and devices, and the creation of new data processing techniques and programmes. For example, JNRI in conjunction with the Nuclear Research Institute in Dresden has developed a new unique spectrometer for heavy ion research on an isochronic cyclotron. Together with physicists from Krakow a spectrometer has been designed with the aid of which research on pulse reactors is being carried out. Hungarian scientist from Debrecen have successfully carried out experiments in heavy ion physics with the aid of an installation they designed. Large-scale experiments are being carried out with Karlova University and the polytechnical institute in Prague with the Spin installation.

JNRI is carrying out joint research and maintains scientific contacts with approximately 200 research centres of the Institute's member countries. Over 1,000 experts from the member countries come to Dubna every year to conduct joint projects.

However, cooperation between the Institute and research centres is not confined to the framework of the socialist community alone. Following the policy of the governments of the JNRI member states aimed at the multifarious development of economic, cultural and scientific ties and the strengthening of international peace and security, the Institute strives to effect cooperation on a mutually beneficial basis with scientific centres from other states, specifically with the European Organisation for Nuclear Research (CERN) in Geneva, whose members are 12 West European countries. JNRI has been maintaining ties with this prominent research centre for 25 years now. Over the past years the Institute has jointly set up nine schools for young physicists in different countries. For five years Dubna scientists have carried out experiments on a powerful proton accelerator in Geneva with the aid of a thoroidal spectrometer, the main units of

which were developed at JNRI. Today the Institute has become part of the preparations for a major experiment on the accelerator complex on counter electron-positron beams under construction in Geneva. Dubna physicists and engineers are preparing equipment for a new unique installation, Delphi.

The Institute has long been cooperating with French research centres in Paris, Orsay, Saclay, Strasbourg and Grenoble. French physicists together with their colleagues from JNRI have carried out a major experiment on the heavy ion cyclotron in Dubna with the aid of a French spectrometer. Today we are doing joint research on the measuring of neutrino mass with the aid of an electrostatic spectrometer, in the design of which both sides took part.

A whole series of major research projects has been carried out with Italian scientists. Joint experiments on the proton accelerator of the Institute of Physics of High Energies in Serpukhov with the aid of a magnetic spark spectrometer led to the discovery of two unstable particles. For some ten years Dubna physicists have conducted joint research with US physicists on the accelerator in Serpukhov, Batavia and Dubna. Electromagnetic radii of Pi- and K-mesons have been measured.

As we know, basic research is the underpinning of the practical utilisation of scientific breakthroughs. Fundamental research continued for years before man learned to harness electricity and the energy of the atom. The Dubna scientists are certain that the basic research which they conducted and are conducting today will sooner or later find practical application. As Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his report at the conference in the CPSU Central Committee on acceleration of scientific and technological progress on June 11, 1985, the forward edge of the fight to accelerate scientific and technological progress in the economy lies through science. "Priority should be given to the development of fundamental science. It is it that is the generator of ideas, that makes breakthroughs in new fields and renders a new level of efficacy possible."

JNRI's activity extends far beyond the framework of scientific and technological breakthroughs. New socialist and communist forms of human communication are formed here. Today, when the USSR and the other socialist countries focus on scientific and technological progress to accelerate their socio-economic development, the activity of JNRI as an international scientific centre takes on still greater importance. The scientists from the socialist countries who are working at Dubna are determined to make their contribution to socialist integration and the all-round utilisation of scientific achievements in the socio-economic development of the Institute's member countries.

V. S H V A N E V,
International Department Head, JNRI

OBSCURANTIST IN THE GUISE OF HISTORIAN

The political and ideological debates in the USA around the Soviet-American Geneva summit (November 19-21, 1985) continue to rage. Ultra-right groups are trying to smother the voice of sober-minded Americans who are urging the current Administration to formalise and develop all the positive achievements that were scored at the meeting and which engendered hopes to improve the world political climate. As we know, the entire gamut of American hegemonists, including certain quarters in the White House, had intensively begun to psyche themselves up to oppose the Geneva dialogue long before it took place.

The essayist and historian George Will solidly holds the flattering to him title of the right flank of the most right. Nevertheless, he is published by the "liberal" magazine *Newsweek*. Right before the start of the Geneva summit, *Newsweek* carried Will's commentary under the intriguing title "Words to Watch Out For".¹

The author peppered his commentary with historical "facts" and folklore stories abounding in morbid humour. He wrote that all top-level meetings, beginning with Versailles (after the First World War) have been useless. In a pseudo-scholarly fashion he tried to prove the "harm" of the meetings at Tehran (1943), Yalta (1945) and Potsdam (1945), and also the postwar conferences: Geneva (1955), Vienna (1961), Glassboro (1967), Moscow (1972), Washington (1973), Moscow (1974), Vladivostok (1974), and so on. The essayist had no qualms about including in his "reflections" of a purely obscurantist nature the ominous Munich deal of 1938, portraying Adolf Hitler as a respectable fuehrer.

However, the observer is not stupid enough to push all this without anything indeed "respectable". Here he adduces the words of Winston Churchill (of the Munich period), who justified the Western powers' deal which cost the peoples tens of millions of lives. Churchill justified the shameful deal with the words: "better jaw-jaw [at summit meetings—V. K.], than war-war".

Will wrote that in November 1985 in Geneva "better jaw-jaw than agree-agree". Such was his—to put it mildly—advice to head of the White House. In an editorial entitled "To Implement the Geneva Accords", the newspaper *Pravda* reminded its readers after the summit: "...The more reactionary circles of US imperialism and the military-industrial complex and its placemen in the American Administration did all in their power down to the last day before the summit to either torpedo it or turn this vital political dialogue into a 'dialogue of the deaf'."²

When Will and his supporters failed to ruin the summit, they advanced the afore-mentioned formula, which is nothing else than a version of the "dialogue of the deaf" formula.

The essayist and historian has a great deal of experience in fighting detente. He defiled it in the 1970s and is now denigrating the opportunity for any accords.

¹ George Will, "Words to Watch Out For", *Newsweek*, Nov. 25, 1985, p. 112.

² *Pravda*, Dec. 13, 1985.

What other voices did the obscurantist want to shout out? Among the materials that appeared on the eve of the Geneva summit, which expressed the wish that the US President find a common language with Mikhail Gorbachev, one's attention is drawn to the article by former US President Richard Nixon, which opens the autumn 1985 issue of the quarterly *Foreign Affairs*. "Superpower Summitry"—this is the title of the essay, which deals with the need for a "new relationship" between the USA and the USSR, based not on "sentimental expressions of friendship but hardheaded mutual respect."³

Advocating the creation of the "foundations for a new structure of peace in the world", Nixon urges his countrymen to believe the following: "The least likely danger of nuclear war is a Soviet nuclear attack on Western Europe or the United States." He goes on to state that "world war has become obsolete as an instrument of policy between the two superpowers".

Nixon is caught in the grips of several ideas of the "strategic defense initiative". Admittedly, he is against the deployment of "star wars" weaponry, but he is in favour of research in this sphere as an "incentive [for the Soviet Union] to limit its offensive weapons". The former President was still unaware of the Soviet proposals on a 50 per cent reduction of the nuclear armaments of the USA and the USSR capable of reaching each other's territories. Controversial and harmfully stimulating ideas are also encountered in Nixon's discussion of other problems, which shows the force and tenacity of the military-industrial circles in upholding their militarist ideas which are baleful not only for other peoples but for the American nation as well.

The army of American obscurantists led by ideologists of Will's ilk, among others, is being mobilised to prevent any agreements between the two great powers, which the sober-minded public of that country is working for. These people speak "words to watch out for", Will threatens.

Outstanding among the chorus of voices which after the Geneva summit have become part of the attempts to discredit its positive results are observers and media belonging to the ultra-right wing of American journalism. For example, the ultra-right newspaper *The Washington Times* carried an article entitled "Beware of Soviets Bearing Gifts" by Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, former Chief of Staff of the US Navy.

What is the former admiral dissatisfied with? "On the negative side [of the Geneva meeting—V. K.]", he writes, "I see efforts to engage in cultural exchanges, to cooperate in various scientific endeavors such as fusion research, to open up consular offices, etc. as a desire to turn back the clock to an earlier era of detente."⁴

The reader can get the impression that the former naval Chief of Staff is a dull-witted soldier who does not understand the importance of development and exchange in the field of culture and science in the modern world. But this is not the case. Elmo Zumwalt is a Doctor of Law, Doctor of Philology and Doctor of Technology, so he does have "brain-power", otherwise he couldn't have defended his doctoral dissertations.

Zumwalt repeatedly states that he is against cultural and scientific ties, since they can "lull" Americans and draw them into the process of reviving detente. What, then, does the retired admiral have against detente? "Ironically", he claims in all seriousness, "while Americans felt safer during the detente years, they were in fact less safe, as a shift in the nuclear balance occurred during this period of reduced tensions". Developing his idea, Zumwalt states that the Soviet Union has created the

³ Richard Nixon, "Superpower Summitry", *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1985, Vol. 64, No. 1, p. 2.

⁴ *The Washington Times*, Dec. 2, 1985.

largest ever nuclear and conventional weapons arsenal known to humanity.

The "Soviet military superiority" bugbear is being trotted out not only by Elmo Zumwalt. The prominent ultra-conservative observer William F. Buckley is a contributor to *The Washington Times*. Like George Will, he also tries to call in question any value contained in the Soviet-American summits. These meetings, he declares categorically, are held "in very low esteem as engines of policy change".⁵ Hence his main judgement, which he sets forth in the article's title: "The Summit's Achievement Was Nothingness".

Continuing to advance various "moral", but in reality absurd, objections to future Soviet-American summit meetings, Buckley merely confirms his reputation as an advocate of cold war and a "crusade against communism".

George Will, that same obscurantist posing as a historian and journalist, has decided to play the role of the latter. In the December 23, 1985 issue of *Newsweek* he commented on the new edition of the CPSU Programme. Will's article exhibits the libellous form peculiar to him. He complains that this document is imbued with ideology and not even merely ideology, but Marxist-Leninist ideology. He tries to discredit Leninism by advancing the false tenet that scientific socialism and communism have "posed a threat" to the 20th century.

However, in his complaints and slander George Will only repeats the numerous attempts of the past to discredit the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism. Departing from a concrete analysis of the new edition of the CPSU Programme, he shows his untenability before a document which generated keen interest all over the world and which has become, as the press reports, an object of detailed study for political leaders, organisations and institutions in every corner of the world.

V. K A L A S H N I K O V

⁵ *The Washington Times*, Dec. 2, 1985.

BEHIND THE MASK OF THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

Washington does not miss a chance to sound the alarm over the more frequent incidents of the seizure of hostages, bomb explosions, assassination attempts—everything that it calls international terrorism. The President, Secretary of State and other top Administration officials constantly talk about this, stressing that the international terrorism problem is now on a par with other priority tasks of US policy.

Among others, the pronouncements of CIA Director William Casey stand out for being especially assertive. Of late he has spoken several times about international terrorism before audiences consisting mostly of people close to the "intelligence community". Before such a crowd the CIA chief did not particularly beat around the bush.

Having stated, for example, in a recent speech at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy that the United States is involved in a "pitiless war without borders", Casey informed his audiences that America and several NATO countries have to defend themselves in every way possible against states whose leadership is guiding the actions of "ideological fanatics". Herein supposedly lies the root of the entire problem.

Here the boss of Langley (the place where CIA headquarters is located) adduced facts and figures. Over the past three years, according to his statistics, the number of "international terrorist actions" has doubled, amounting to a thousand incidents in 1984. Each day, W. Casey said, a bomb placed in a car, hotel or shop goes off, and terrorists' bullets take human lives.

Indubitably, the death of any innocent person is unjustified. However, what William Casey and his colleagues from the US Administration are saying can in no way explain the essence of the matter. They want to cloud the truth that it is the United States that bears the brunt of the responsibility that there exists in the world such a psychological climate, and such a tense political atmosphere which are spawned by all types of repression, coercion, killings and mockery of the individual.

After all, it is a fact that with the arrival of the current Administration the US cloak and dagger empire has drastically stepped up its activity. Today the CIA budget is growing even faster than the Pentagon allocations. Limitations on the dirtiest, most criminal actions abroad have been lifted.

The informed London journal *South* states that never before, even in the 1950s, when Allen Dulles tremendously enjoyed taking part in the drafting of plans for military coups... was there such a great desire at Langley to furnish "interference" aid as today, when the CIA is headed by William Casey.

At present, the journal points out, the CIA guides and backs seven regional wars in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Kampuchea, Lebanon, the Western Sahara and Chad, five large-scale anti-insurgent operations in El Salvador, Sudan, Somalia, Sri Lanka and the Philippines, and at least nine programmes to destabilise the situation in Greece, Poland, Libya, Syria, Iran, Ethiopia, Cuba, Vietnam and Mozambique.

According to American press reports, the CIA is staging large-scale "clandestine" operations in a total of from 50 to 70 sovereign states. In other words, a third of the UN member states are objects of acts of blackmail and murder being perpetrated by US intelligence. So it turns out

that the statistics of terror adduced by William Casey are far from complete. If one takes into account the victims of the CIA "clandestine" operations, they should be increased many times over.

Casey names Iran and Libya as the main centres of international terrorism. Iranian and Libyan agents, he claims, hang like the Sword of Damocles over many states of the Middle East, Africa, Europe and, of course, the United States.

With professional scrupulousness the CIA Director adduces facts and versions ascribing to the Iranians and Libyans methods of preparing operations and channels of weapon and money supply. Nothing seems to have been forgotten. The only thing that is not mentioned is the large scale on which the United States is carrying out hostile subterfuge against these countries. Is not it obvious that precisely this activity of Washington is the main source of tension in relations with Iran and Libya? It is worthwhile, for example, to recall the secret report prepared for the President, which recently came out in the American press; in it the officials of the US "intelligence community" set forth plans of actions against Libya. The report unequivocally states that assassination of the leader of the Libyan revolution can be the most practical way of resolving the Libyan problem.

William Casey would not be William Casey if he did not bring up the "Soviet connection" to international terrorism. "It may seem shadowy to some", he told his audience at the Fletcher School, "but it seems rather clear to me".

And to dispel all doubts that all the intrigues come from the Soviet Union, the Washington intelligence chief elucidated that this "connection" consists in the fact that Moscow spreads the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, which "provides a rationale for terrorism and violence"—all in the name of "wars of national liberation".

The Marxist-Leninists have always been principled enemies of terrorism as a means of political struggle. Today, too, the Soviet Union is decidedly against any manifestation of violence. The Soviet state firmly supported the resolution passed at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly last December which condemned the practice of terrorist actions. It is futile to look for the "hand of Moscow" in national liberation movements, which arise not on command from without, but as a result of sharp social processes within individual states as an expression of the reluctance of the masses to put up with colonial oppression and imperialist rule.

Washington knows this all too well. William Casey's judgements about "Soviet involvement" in terrorism are an unceremonious and deliberate lie fabricated to dampen mounting worldwide indignation over "secrete wars" and the terrorist operations which the CIA is staging in many countries.

Y. P Y A D Y S H E V A

NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES IN THE UN

Last year the United Nations marked two significant events—forty years since its inception and twenty-five years since the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted. It was a symbolic concurrence. The Declaration on Decolonisation adopted at the USSR's initiative is an outstanding event in the UN's activities. Speaking at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly, Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, emphasised: "The United Nations was founded to prevent war, to enlarge the scope of freedom—freedom from oppression and freedom from want. Many national liberation movements would not have succeeded without the moral and political support of the United Nations."¹ In its turn, the emergence of new independent states and their membership in the UN have radically changed the image of this Organisation, influencing the essence of the decisions it takes.

The non-aligned movement, incorporating the overwhelming majority of the Third World countries, is a major force in coordinating the developing countries' activities at the UN. The movement refrains from adopting decisions mandatory for its members. Still, it exerts considerable influence on their activities, including those at the UN, by elaborating positions on practically all issues tackled by the international community.

Since its inception, the non-aligned movement has paid great attention to the United Nations. Built on the sovereign equality of states, large or small, irrespective of their economic or military potentials, the UN provides the non-aligned states with a rostrum to make their positions known to the rest of the world, to put forward their goals and to be equal partners in discussing the pressing problems of our time. For the non-aligned and all the developing countries the UN is an important instrument for defending their sovereignty and independence from imperialist encroachments.

The leaders of the non-aligned countries repeatedly raised their voice for a maximum use of the UN potential, a fact which was reflected in the movement's documents. For example, the final document of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries, adopted in Luanda in September 1985, once again reaffirmed that the movement had consistently fulfilled its firm and inviolable obligations to the United Nations in order to maintain and strengthen that Organisation and to enable it to attain in the most effective way the goals and principles recorded in its Charter.

Despite their socio-political differences and dissimilar positions they hold on individual problems, the member countries of the non-aligned movement quite resolutely defend their common interests at the UN, jointly advocate peace and disarmament, and are in favour of the completion of decolonisation and restructuring international economic and political relations on a fair basis. The thrust of their activities at the UN mainly coincides with the line pursued by the socialist countries in world affairs, and runs counter to the course steered by the imperialist forces

¹ UN Doc. A/40/PV.48, Oct. 24, 1985.

towards confrontation, and an accelerated arms race and towards their hegemonistic policy of blackmail and diktat.

The developing countries, now comprising the overwhelming majority of the UN members, are a kind of a touchstone indicating whose course enjoys support on the world scene. In recent years, the non-aligned countries have become more consistent in repelling the policy of aggression, militarism and colonialism. This is born out by the analysis of the statements and the voting pattern of the non-aligned countries at the UN: in about 80 cases out of 100 the positions of the USA do not coincide with those of the overwhelming majority of non-aligned countries.

The anti-imperialist thrust of many UN decisions, and the unwillingness of the absolute majority of the states to succumb to the USA, evoke a counteraction on the part of the US Administration. In March 1984, testifying to the Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee, the then US Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, admitted that the UN was a mirror reflecting "world opinion" and that that opinion consistently opposed the US positions largely due to the fact that a great number of the "non-democratic" states had become UN members.² Retiring from her post, Jeane Kirkpatrick stated in January 1985 that there were a number of pernicious trends at the UN, to which she relegated the proposal to establish a new international information order, the attempts to expel Israel from the UN and endless Security Council meetings at which the speakers were vying with each other over who could better offend the USA and Israel.³ The US mass media, various organisations, and above all the Heritage Foundation, close to the government, joined in the campaign to discredit the UN. The Foundation offers a multitude of means to subjugate the UN to US diktat, and recommends that the Administration resort to anything, including financial blackmail and the threat of withdrawing from the Organisation.

However, Washington cannot fail to realise that attacking and swearing at the UN cannot alter the nature of its decisions. That is why American diplomacy has elaborated a set of measures intended to overcome trends unsuitable for the USA in the international community's activities. From an arrogant rejection of the UN services and its importance the Administration proceeded to more vigorous actions, resorting to demagoguery, pseudo-peaceable rhetoric and all sorts of trickery in the procedural struggle. However, economic and political pressure exerted primarily on the developing countries most vulnerable to it, remains the chief method used by Washington to attain its goals.

As early as 1981, the US Mission at the UN sent a message to more than 40 non-aligned countries. In this message Washington requested that they explain the communique of the meeting of ministers for foreign affairs and the heads of the delegations of the non-aligned countries at the 36th Session of the General Assembly. In the letter it was said that the communique contained "malicious slander" and was biasedly anti-American. At the 38th Session of the General Assembly the US President attacked the non-aligned countries, accusing many members of the movement of unguine non-alignment and tolerance to the "satellites" of the Soviet Union.⁴

The intensive US pressure on the non-aligned countries is exerted openly, as well as through backstage brainwashing of the delegations, through US Embassies and other channels. The world press carried nu-

² "Testimony of Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations before the Senate Appropriations Committee, Foreign Operations Subcommittee", March 2, 1984, *Congressional Record*.

³ *Newsweek*, Jan. 19, 1985.

⁴ UN Doc. A/38/PV.5, Sept. 26, 1983.

merous reports on the complaints of the Third World diplomats that US envoys requested them to explain their voting at the UN and told them how to vote in the future.

According to Congressional Act 98-151 of November 14, 1983, the US Mission at the UN has to submit a yearly detailed statistical report on how this or that country supports the stand of the American delegation. It is no secret that these data are taken into account in approving the programmes of economic aid to the developing countries. The economic plight and hunger besieging most African countries are being increasingly used to put undisguised pressure on the states in the region.

The statements and moves of US officials reaffirm that political, economic and other kinds of pressure will remain the chief method of US diplomacy at the United Nations. US Secretary of State George Shultz said in San Francisco in June 1985 that the USA and its spokesmen had made it clear to other countries that the way they voted and the decisions they supported at the United Nations were taken seriously by the USA, and that their conduct at international forums would affect their bilateral relations with the USA. Voices are heard in Washington urging the need to use financial levers to combat those tendencies at the United Nations which the USA finds undesirable, to reduce US contribution to the United Nations or make that organisation renounce its "one country—one vote" rule, which reaffirms the principle of the sovereign equality of states, and to switch the General Assembly to "weighted" decision-making on some issues, when the "weight" of a state's vote would depend on its contribution to the budget.

In his speech at the final plenary meeting of the 40th Session of the General Assembly, UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar voiced his concern over the USA's intention to reduce its contribution to the UN budget and declared that such a move would violate the UN Charter and would inevitably have "a political effect on the strength and potential of the Organisation".

The recently ended 40th Session of the UN General Assembly showed once again that the essence and methods of US diplomacy at the United Nations continue to arouse indignation and resistance among the non-aligned states. In his speech at the 40th Session, former President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, exposed and denounced the practice of pressuring the developing countries. He noted that on most resolutions of crucial importance for Tanzania the latter's vote did not coincide with the US vote. He declared: "Perhaps the most blatant example... of international authoritarianism is the growing practice of threatening adverse consequences to small nations which use their United Nations votes in a manner displeasing to a strong Power. We know from experience that this has been happening privately for some time. But now even the sense of propriety has gone; small and poor countries are being publicly threatened that they will be punished... I must reassert the right of all United Nations members to speak and to vote in accordance with their own judgement.... To belittle that right is to threaten the whole structure of international cooperation; it is derogatory to the dignity of the United Nations, and of our separate States."⁵

The non-aligned countries' refusal to give way to US pressure against their own interests is clearly manifested in the course of UN debates on the problems of eliminating the military threat, curbing the arms race and strengthening universal security. In these debates, Washington is often the target of direct criticism on the part of non-aligned states and finds itself voting in isolation.

That was what happened at the recent sessions of the General As-

⁵UN Doc. A/40/PV.13.

sembly when the states examined the issue of preventing an extension of the arms race to outer space. The developing countries fully realise that the militarisation of outer space not only poses a threat to the entire human race but undermines the hopes of the Third World countries for increased aid from the industrialised states which will have to pay for a "space" spiral in the arms race.

As was pointed out in the final document of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Luanda, "general and complete disarmament, under an effective international control, demands that outer space be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and that it should not be transformed into theatre for the arms race", while "reliance on strategic defence threatens to exacerbate rather than ameliorate the present global instability based on the threat of mutual annihilation and leads to an unprecedented escalation in the nuclear arms race".⁶ At the United Nations, that concerted stand is being realised in the non-aligned countries' support for the Soviet Union's initiatives aimed at preventing militarisation of outer space, and in the drafting of their own resolutions seeking to ensure its peaceful use for the benefit of the whole of mankind. At the 40th Session of the General Assembly, for instance, a big group of non-aligned countries introduced a draft resolution Prevention of Arms Race in Outer Space. Almost all the UN members—151 states—voted in favour of that resolution, and only the USA and Grenada abstained.

The staunch and consistent stand taken by the non-aligned countries was demonstrated, in particular, by their attitude to the proposal introduced by the USSR at the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly on the Inadmissibility of the Policy of State Terrorism and Any Actions by States Aimed at Undermining the Socio-Political System in Other Sovereign States. They clearly saw that this initiative corresponded to the underlying goals of the non-aligned movement and was aimed at protecting the sovereignty and security of all states, irrespective of their socio-political systems.

The delegates from the developing countries rebuffed the attempts to deprive them of the right to freely choose their own way of development, and pointed to the developments in Central America, the Middle East and the south of Africa as the most dangerous examples of the policy of state terrorism. The absolute majority of these states voted for the Soviet draft resolution, thereby showing their opposition to the USA. It is not by chance that the British representative, leaving it to the other opponents of the Soviet proposal to indulge in demagogic subterfuges, bluntly stated that his country seriously objects to it since it condemned the policy of the United States.

Of course, the gross pressure exerted by the USA on the non-aligned countries and the attempts to split their ranks, and discredit the movement's progressive wing have a telling effect. Resolutions on the so-called Afghan and Kampuchea issues—resolutions devoid of any political realism—are foisted on the United Nations. Sometimes US diplomacy succeeds in dulling the edge of anti-American criticism in the speeches of delegates and in the adopted draft resolutions. At the 39th Session the USA, resorting to undisguised blackmail and procedural subterfuges, managed to delete its being mentioned by name from the resolutions condemning the South African regime of apartheid.

However, even succumbing to the imperialist pressure, the majority of the non-aligned countries qualify that fact as a forced step, which does not reflect their approach to the events. For instance, the representative of Nigeria G. Garby, Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, stated as regards the resolution on apartheid, which had failed to

mention the USA by name, that any subterfuges, propaganda, lobbying or pressure exerted on the Assembly could not relieve of responsibility before history those who provided military, economic and political support to the regime of apartheid, and actually defended it.⁷

Despite the economic hardships, the persistent dependence of the non-aligned countries, the diversity and the contradictory nature of the movement itself, these states resolutely oppose the US pressure, vigorously support the decisions aimed at ending the arms race, averting the threat of nuclear war, checking the forces of aggression, and strengthening international security. The position of most non-aligned countries is close to the unswerving and peaceable course followed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—the fact which is confirmed by the results of the latest sessions of the UN General Assembly.

A. K O L O S O V S K Y

⁷ UN Doc. A/39/PV.99, Dec. 13, 1984.

A Significant Page in the History of the Second World War

M. I. Semiryaga, *The Struggle of the Peoples of Central and Southeast Europe Against Nazi Oppression*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1985, 325 pp. (in Russian).

The book under review deals with the peoples' liberation movement which developed during the Second World War in the Nazi-occupied countries, one of the "biggest public movements of the 20th century" in terms of its historic and political significance. The work describes the European peoples' struggle against Nazi oppression, its forms and methods. Particular note is given to the birth and evolution of popular liberation movements, and well-grounded causes for the development of popular-democratic revolutions into socialist revolutions predetermined by history.

The author analyses in detail the significance of the Resistance movement and shows the Communist Parties' leading role in the struggle against fascism. A separate chapter deals with the liberation mission of the Soviet Army, the mass heroism of Soviet soldiers and their combat cooperation with the armies of the Nazi-occupied countries against the common enemy.

The book devotes a lot of space to the exposing of the "new order", for, as the author justly notes, although historians have carried out extensive studies on the question of how the Soviet Union defeated the enemy, "inankind, and especially the younger generation, have insufficient knowledge of *how* dangerous that enemy was" (p. 6). That is why the reader will naturally be drawn to the chapter "The Occupation Regime and Its Reactionary Essence", which investigates many key factors predetermining the antifascist struggle in all the diversity of its forms and its further evolution.

By the summer of 1941 Nazi Germany had occupied Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia and

Greece—altogether 11 countries with an area of nearly two million square kilometres and a population of over 140 million. There began operating in these countries the huge Nazi apparatus of suppression, oppression and all-round exploitation, and in several of them—in keeping with the Nazi strategy—the Nazis began the depopulation of European "living space". In the countries that were earmarked by the Nazi engineers of the "new order" in Europe for annihilation Nazism revealed its true face. The author adduces numerous documents exposing hatred of all human beings, which is the essence of fascism, analyses the goals, structure and activity of the Nazi occupation machine and underlines its class content: "Atrocities horrendous in terms of nature and scope are inherent in the very essence of capitalism which spewed fascism" (pp. 68-69).

An important place belongs to criticism of the bourgeois falsifications of the antifascist struggle waged by the peoples of Central and Southeast Europe. The book exposes the widespread notorious thesis of "export of revolution in trainloads of Soviet troops". The West often ignores the objective truth that revolutions "mature in a process of historical development and break out at a moment determined by a whole complex of internal and external causes"¹.

As to the external conditions for the development of revolution one can quote the achievements of the Red Army which according to Clement Gotwald performed "the hardest part of the job—the route of the invaders" (p. 301). "The revolutions in the countries of Central and Southeast Europe

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 547.

as such took shape in their native soil" (*Ibid.*), which is shown by the author on several examples.

The popular democratic revolutions which developed into socialist revolutions gave convincing proof to Lenin's thesis: "No power could destroy capitalism if it were not sapped and undermined by history."²

It is more opportune to speak of export of counter-revolution as in the example of Greece where the British troops, upon landing there in the autumn of 1944, made short work of the Greek patriots and restored the anti-popular monarchist regime which had virtually broken down in the course of the national liberation struggle. "This was intervention to prevent democratic changes in Greece" (p. 189).

The book shows the untenability of a version of bourgeois propaganda which claims that through the fault of the Soviet Union Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary were not acknowledged as cobelligerents after they declared war on Nazi Germany. Adducing diplomatic documents of that period the author restores the historical truth, for it was the "internationalist Leninist policy of the Soviet government that provided the liberated countries with the opportunity... to break through international isolation, strengthen their national independence and take a worthy place in the family of freedom-loving nations" (p. 276).

All the more important is criticism of Western falsifiers who attempt to distort the role and significance of popular movements—the subjects of the historical process. Typical in this respect is the book *40 Years Ago. The Allied Invasion in Europe* by the US histo-

rian C. Grenger which alleges that liberation of the peoples of Europe began with the landing of the Allies in Normandy. The aim of such allegations is to show the USA as the sole liberator of Europe from fascism, distort the role of the Soviet Army in liberating the European peoples, and the essence of the antifascist struggle waged by the peoples of occupied countries.

The author gives a thorough description of the national liberation struggle in the occupied countries (Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania) and the countries of the Hitlerite bloc (Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania), which is accompanied by a study of numerous internal and external factors responsible for its peculiarities in individual countries. All this has enabled Professor Semiryaga to draw several impressive and well-grounded conclusions. In analysing the Resistance movement he underlines the "inseparable link" between its general democratic and class aspects: "Whereas the general democratic aspect gave it scope and a mass character, the active participation of Communists and other democratic forces in its ranks made it politically acute and uncompromising" (p. 125).

Unfortunately, some of the generalisations offered in the book call for additional study, which somewhat detracts from its scientific value. The work would have also benefited from a more balanced presentation of events and problems. For instance, the uprisings in Slovakia, Prague and Warsaw merit only a few pages.

On the whole, however, the book may prove interesting for the reader at large and serve as a worthy reference manual for historians, journalists and lecturers on international affairs.

Ya. GORELIK

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, 1964, p. 417.

The Key Factor in Nicaragua's Economic Development

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Jaime Wheelock Román, *Entre la crisis y la agresión. La Reforma Agraria Sandinista*, Managua, 1985, 148 pp.  
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The victory of the popular anti-imperialist revolution of July 1979 in Nicaragua under the leadership of the Sandinista National Li-

beration Front (SNLF) initiated radical progressive transformations in all spheres of the country's public life. Nicaragua is an

agrarian country and consequently question of land is a crucial one for its economic development. The fundamental changes that were wrought in the Nicaraguan village were of great political significance: the solution of the land question would play a substantial role in winning the support of the peasants, who make up the population majority, for the new government.

The book under review, written by Jaime Wheelock, a member of the SNLF leadership, Nicaragua's Minister of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform, analyses the Sandinista government's economic strategy, which is aimed at overcoming economic backwardness and dependence on centres of world capitalism. Special attention is devoted to agrarian reform, its peculiarities and significance for fulfilling the country's economic plans.

The author writes that before 1979 in Nicaragua there existed capitalism which was "not developed or mature but dependent capitalism... And one even could not claim that there existed the capitalist mode of production in the country. The book says that "it was a country that had been steadily drained of its wealth by the USA and other capitalist powers." (p. 22). Combatting backwardness and dependence and overcoming Nicaragua's unequal position in international economic relations became the pivot of its revolutionary government's economic strategy. The Nicaraguans had to solve these tasks in an atmosphere of economic dislocation brought on by the civil war.

The introduction of large-scale agrarian changes capable of changing the structure of land ownership and turning agriculture into a highly profitable branch of the country's economy acquired urgent significance. In the pre-revolutionary period the Nicaraguan village had been the breeding ground of all social ulcers and vices: 2,000 latifundists, many of them foreigners, owned half the arable land, whereas 70 per cent of petty land owners had at their disposal only four per cent of the farmland. The greater part of the peasants had no land whatsoever and was forced to lease it. The country's biggest latifundist was dictator Somoza's family.

That is why the agrarian transformations were begun with the confiscation of property owned by Somoza and his stooges. In 1979 their lands, a total area of 1.6 million manzanas (1 manzana=0.7 hectare), or 20 per cent of the country's farmlands were nationalised. The lands in the possession of the

dictator and his clique had incorporated technologically and organisationally the more advanced capitalist economies. They were reorganised into large-scale state agricultural enterprises. "That is precisely why," writes the author, "we began by setting up state farms instead of satisfying the peasants' just demands" (p. 25).

To satisfy the peasants' interests, Wheelock writes, an agrarian reform was passed in Nicaragua in July 1981. It guaranteed private ownership of land, irrespective of its area, but stipulated the confiscation of lands that remained unproductive, were used ineffectively, discarded or leased out. It also fixed the admissible norm of land property at 500 manzanas in the Pacific zone, and 1,000 manzanas elsewhere.

The author underlines that the agrarian reform opened up broad vistas for developing the cooperative movement which had emerged spontaneously immediately after the revolutionary victory. During the first two years of the reform the confiscated land was organised first and foremost into cooperative farms, a step that fully accorded with SNLF economic strategy. From mid-1983 the land began to be turned over to the peasants' individual ownership.

The agrarian changes made it possible to radically alter the structure of allotment in Nicaragua in the five post-revolutionary years. The state sector now accounts for 19 per cent of the arable land, and the cooperative sector—for 17 per cent. The share of farmlands owned by the latifundists went down from 36 per cent in 1978 to 13 per cent in 1984 (p. 119). During the years of people's power the land-starved and landless peasants received two million manzanas, or 25 per cent of all arable land. According to the Minister of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform, the Nicaraguan government faces the task of consolidating these achievements and ensuring their progress.

The author writes that the radical structural reorganisation of the country's economy is hindered by two factors. To begin with, in the last few years the USA has intensified its policy of aggression against Nicaragua, employing to this effect a diversified arsenal of financial, trade, diplomatic and military methods aimed at smothering the Sandinista revolution. Threatened by an undeclared war and the constant danger of intervention the Nicaraguan government is forced to rechannel a great part of its material and manpower resources into defence, which affects the

rates of economic growth. Moreover, the armed raids of counter-revolutionary gangs, which are aimed chiefly against the country's economic facilities, inflict heavy material losses.

The other detrimental factor are the soaring prices for imports and falling prices for the country's traditional exports, the protectionism of several capitalist powers and the US discriminatory measures, all of which have been in operation since 1979. For this reason the Sandinista government is anxious to diversify its foreign economic ties, namely to

extend and intensify cooperation with the socialist states and Latin American and Arab countries.

The book shows that Nicaragua's agricultural transformations, which are highly essential for revolutionary progress, are meeting with the people's approval and support. The Nicaraguan peasant has become the true master of his land and is courageously defending his country and its revolutionary gains from imperialist encroachment.

T. SAPRYKOVA

A Timely Warning

Die konventionelle Aufrüstung für die 90er Jahre. Aus den Schubladen des Bundesverteidigungsministeriums. Analysen und Dokumente. Kassel-Bettenhausen, Weber, Zucht und Co., 1984, 100 pp.

For a long time the buildup of NATO conventional weapons slated for the 1980 and 1990s has been overshadowed by turbulent debates in Western Europe around the deployment of American medium-range missiles in the FRG and other countries and the US Administrations' "strategic defense initiative". However, it is not surprising that the authors of the book, who are involved in the antiwar movement in the FRG, turned to the problem of the West's conventional ("classical"), weapons. The NATO war doctrines, revealed in the early 1980s, paid particular attention to the development and technical upgrading of this class of weapons.

The American approach to conventional weapons was made public in the US Land Army's Air-Land Battle Doctrine, which has been enforced since 1982. It envisages the development of latest high-tech-based systems of the most "sophisticated" weapons to hit targets deep inside the territories of the socialist countries. Meanwhile, a new generation of conventional weapons is to become a component in military operations under conditions of the combined use of nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons on an "integrated" war theatre (pp. 12-13).

The so-called Rogers Plan, christened after the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, General Bernard Rogers, was unveiled back in December 1982. The growing efficiency of conventional weapons was characterised in

the Plan as a reliable means of avoiding the use of nuclear weapons at the initial stage of a possible military conflict in Europe. However, the Plan reaffirmed the need to "update" the nuclear forces of the bloc and rejects the possibility that NATO can renounce the first-use of nuclear weapons (p. 15).

"Rearmament" in the "classical" field is presented by the NATO propaganda services as a means of elevating the "nuclear threshold", thereby lowering the chances of a nuclear war breaking out in Europe. Deepening military collaboration between the bloc's West European members, required by a buildup of conventional weapons, is presented as a process helping them to be less "dependent" on the USA and bringing these countries back to the policy of detente and disarmament (p. 68).

While proving the unsoundness of these assertions, the authors stress the objective link between the NATO projects of strengthening the conventional component of the West's military might in Europe and the nuclear and outer space adventures of the US aggressive circles evoking protests among most West Europeans (pp. 11-12). Contrary to the assertions of NATO propaganda, the "conventionalisation" of NATO dangerously diminishes rather than raises the "nuclear threshold", and is a growing war threat in Europe. The matter is whether the brass-hats in the West will come to realise their plans

of creating a European powerful potential comprising nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons (pp. 8, 11-12).

It is indicative that some quarters in the West European NATO countries extricate themselves, in words, from the American Air-Land Battle Doctrine allegedly applicable exclusively to the US Army. They in Western Europe do not, allegedly, intend to blindly follow the plans of turning the continent into an "integrated" war theatre. Unmasking the attempts of the NATO members to disassociate themselves from the overseas militaristic concepts, the authors point out that already in August 1982 the then Inspector of the Land Forces of the FRG, General Meinhard Glanz, signed the preface to the above-mentioned doctrine (p. 14). The Rogers Plan and the Air-Land Battle Doctrine, the book says, pursue the goal of instilling a new generation of "sophisticated" electronic weapons to deliver "in-depth" strikes at the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The idea of using modern technology to develop and manufacture such weapons also threads through the long-term programme for the development of West German armed forces up to 1997. According to today's estimates, the implementation of this programme will cost the country at least DM240,000 million.

Rightfully noting that all these costly militaristic efforts of the FRG cannot be justified by either military or "defence" considerations, the authors refer to a statement made by a certain Farwick, a staffer of the planning headquarters of the FRG Ministry of Defence, to the effect that the line of stepping up the West's military preparations is linked with the hopes entertained by certain politi-

cal forces to wipe out the socialist system in the East European countries (p. 16).

The designs of the Rogers Plan's compliers are quite consonant with the mercantile calculations of the influential circles of the West German military-industrial complex as well. The point is that it is expected that with the completion of the supply of Leopard-2 tanks and some other hardware for the Bundeswehr there will be an outflow of orders from the leading sectors of the West German war industry, hitting the tank-building, ship-building and the aerospace branches. This explains the heightened interest of the West German military business in obtaining orders in the R&D field and testing new weapons systems (pp. 44, 61-62).

The same motives lie behind the huge expenditures slated by the West German Ministry of Defence for purchasing tanks (DM10,250 million), aircraft (DM17,500 million), anti-aircraft weapons (DM23,300 million) and other weaponry.

The book emphasises that the heaving up of West German military programmes will entail increased military allocations, which will inevitably lead to a further curtailment of funds for social needs, and to a growth of state debt.

Worried by a tangible prospect that the development and deployment of new weapons systems will dash all hopes of involving the FRG in tackling the practical disarmament problems, the authors appeal to expand discussions on the military policy of the Bonn authorities, to keep a watchful eye on the developments in this field, and to step up a large-scale antiwar struggle in the country.

A. ZAGORSKY

US Military's Aggressive Plans

Daniel Ford, *The Button. The Pentagon's Strategic Command and Control System*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1985, 271 pp.

* An alarm was sounded at the NORAD (North American Aerospace Defense Command) headquarters on June 3, 1980—it was a signal from the early warning systems that Soviet ballistic missiles were on their way towards the United States. Almost immediately the US strategic forces were put on a

stand-by alert. A few minutes later, however, it was found that the system computer gave the false alarm because of a fault in a 46-cent chip among the myriad of microcircuits. The incident was leaked to the press, alerting Congress. According to a report prepared by a Senate committee, false alarm signals were

received nearly 150 times between January 1979 and June 1980. The Congressmen's wrath at the condition of the strategic command and control system (incorporating attack warning systems) seemed to know no bounds.

There is every reason to believe that the leakage of the incident on June 3, 1980, was intentional. In 1978 and 1979, the Pentagon launched a study into the efficiency of the armed forces command and control system, which exposed certain deficiencies, to correct which the Pentagon needed extra money. To get the funds it needed, the law-makers at the Capitol Hill were to be stirred into authorising additional appropriations.

The incident and the Congressional hearings that followed it engaged the attention of all Americans. Since the early 1980s, increasingly larger numbers of magazine articles and books have been devoted to the American strategic command and control system (SCCS) of nuclear forces. The book by Daniel Ford, a Harvard University researcher, deserves to be reviewed. It is written on the basis of the existing publications and talks with numerous military and civil experts.

For the uninitiated, the title of the book, *The Button*, conjures up a mysterious "red button", which sets in motion the entire nuclear might. In fact, Ford explains, there is no button, or switch, or a key, by pressing which the President launches nuclear carriers. Over the four decades of the nuclear age, the USA has set up a special command and control system to oversee the employment of mass destruction weapons that includes facilities to detect and track ballistic missiles, space objects and aerial targets; means of communications between commands and missile bases, bombers and nuclear submarines; and ground, underground and airborne command posts, from which the US military and political leaders intend to wage a nuclear war.

Specialists in many fields—the military, civilian engineers, and psychologists—have devised sophisticated procedures that could, at first glance, ensure reliable control over the nuclear forces and obviate the use of lethal weapons unauthorised by the President.

Daniel Ford, however, lists numerous drawbacks and failures in the SCCS organisation and points to the most vulnerable components. For example, a general responsible for the day-to-day operation of the NORAD headquarters dialed a telephone connecting the

headquarters to the White House to show Ford how the direct link functioned under crisis situations. To the general's confusion the telephone was dead—the general, Ford learned, did not know that the number was preceded by a zero (pp. 20-21). Early in the Carter presidency, a rehearsal was staged to evacuate the President (substituted by Zbigniew Brzezinski) from the White House at the start of a nuclear war. The helicopter that was to take the President to the airfield where he was to board a plane barely escaped being shot down by White House secret service agents who knew nothing about the event (p. 130).

Facts of this kind and the complaints heard from government experts and specialists of research institutions should not, however, give the impression of the SCCS being in the state of near collapse. The system was not, of course, put together haphazardly—it was deployed with specific aims in mind and is "a by-product of the military's unstated reliance on the major first-strike option." (p. 234). In the wake of an incapacitating blow, the US strategists hoped, the vulnerability of their own SCCS could be overlooked.

With a military strategic balance set in between the USSR and the USA, the Washington strategists came around to a realisation that knocking out the adversary for good with a first strike was still beyond America's capability. In the 1980s, the US Administration sought an end to the "nuclear deadlock" within the framework of a protracted, "controlled" nuclear war concept. Daniel Ford wrote that "the current strategy of controlled escalation was adopted, to be sure, after innumerable studies by the last four Administrations. It is the end product of a debate over 'limited nuclear war' that has been going on since the 1950s" (p. 101).

In the author's view, the military brass do not believe that the USA can, at least in the foreseeable future, saddle the other side with nuclear war conduct rules favouring Washington, so they give priority to preparations for a first strike. Moreover, they are apprehensive that the dominant role they have in decision making on nuclear weapons employment might pale. Nominally, the President or his stand-in alone is empowered to "push the button", but he would inevitably be swayed by the military in giving the nod to a particular alternative.

Besides the President, some members of the armed forces top echelon also have access to codes which are used in transmitting or-

ders to employ nuclear weapons. Both Ford and John Steinbruner, Director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, hold the view that the military could, in crisis situations, make their own decisions over the President's head, or even against his will (pp. 143-144). The Navy command, for example, are openly opposed to electronic locks, being provided on the missile launching systems of nuclear submarines, to be opened by coded instructions from Washington. It is possible in theory that missiles could be launched by a submarine command-

ing officer without the President's authorisation (p. 120).

Daniel Ford deals with a single component of the US war machine. He passes some problems in silence, not infrequently giving credence to bourgeois propaganda theses of a "Soviet military threat". Still, his logic leads to the conclusion that the US military strategy leans towards the first strike option, and that the greatest imperialist state's foreign policy is geared to escalating the arms race and preparing wars of aggression.

G. STURUA

Democracy Hollow and Real

E. L. Kuzmin, *The Problems of Democracy and the Ideological Battle in the World Arena*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1984, 278 pp. (in Russian).

The problems of democracy, civil rights and freedoms, the socio-political system are becoming more prominent in the ideological struggle on the world arena. Attempting to undermine the positions of socialism, to take social revenge on a global scale, the imperialist ruling circles are seeking to discredit the socialist people's power, to weaken the influence exerted by socialism on millions upon millions of people all over the globe.

The book under review is of certain interest in this respect. The author picks up a serious, substantiated polemic with our ideological opponents, leaving it to the reader to clear up the entanglement of views and concepts advanced by our adversaries, who in their striving to discredit the theory and practice of socialist democracy are ever ready to resort to lies and distortions of the facts.

The book exposes the unsoundness of bourgeois concepts of the extraclass nature of democracy, the concepts frequently employed to conceal the objective fact that "two radically different types of democracy correspond to socialism and capitalism as two opposite social systems" (p. 28). The dilemma of "free democracy or totalitarian dictatorship", concocted by the apologists of bourgeois democracy, is used by leaders of present-day imperialism to substantiate and exonerate not only the propagandistic forays

against socialist democracy but also avert subversive actions against it and undisguised interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

At the same time, as the book shows, bourgeois theoreticians are attempting to explain away and justify numerous violations of democracy in the capitalist world by various causes, including new social conditions as well, mainly by the impact of the scientific and technological revolution. In so doing, they claim that wide democracy hampers scientific and technological progress and hinders economic development. Calling for concentrated power, they do not exclude even the possibility of establishing a "political tyranny" and often point to a direct link between its nature and the industrial level of society.

However, the root-cause of the problem is the very socio-economic nature of the capitalist world rather than the scientific and technological revolution. Under socialism, this revolution not only does not hinder the development of democracy but objectively implies its deepening and expansion. As was emphasised in the documents published in for the 27th CPSU Congress, the interests of an accelerated socio-economic development of the country on the basis of the achievements in science and technology are inseparable from the interests of the implementation of the fullest and most effective democracy.

The author cites many examples to support the fact that in modern bourgeois society the dictatorship of the industrial and financial oligarchy presupposes an extremely high level of the concentration of capital, a real dominance of monopolies over most political organisations and means of ideological influence on the people, a merger of monopolies with the state into a single mechanism. And the rivalry of the bourgeois political parties and the existence of opposition in parliaments do not undermine the foundations of this dictatorship and do not, and cannot, serve as a guarantee of preserving the basis of bourgeois democracy (pp. 60-61).

As is elucidated in the book, at a time when the role of representative institutions in the state mechanism is visibly waning in capitalist countries, and the levers of control are relegated to the upper echelons of executive power, the USSR is abiding by the constitutional provision on the supremacy of the Soviets of People's Deputies in charge of all other state bodies.

Our ideological opponents are particularly zealous in attacking the principle of the leading role of the CPSU in Soviet society. Many Sovietologists are spreading ideas about the "usurpation of power", the "limitation" of the activities of the state organs and even their "absorption" by the Party. The author not only exposes the theoretical unsoundness and political implications of these sallies but also explains the root-causes of the growing role of the Party in modern conditions.

The book also dwells on the issues of the ideological struggle around human rights. Analysing the strident campaign in the West around fundamental human rights and freedoms allegedly violated in the socialist countries, the author notes that in spite of the superfluous diversity of the concepts and views aired in this connection, they can be reduced to an unsophisticated, run-of-the-mill formula: on the one side—an "omnipotent", "totalitarian" state and on the other—a "defenceless" individual "deprived of all rights". In doing so, the critics of socialism are at pains to "represent the bourgeois moral as a

moral common to all mankind and the capitalist society as a system based on values most fully corresponding to human nature" (p. 180).

Unveiling the falsity and hypocrisy of such postulates of the bourgeois propaganda, the author cites articles of the USSR Constitution, other Soviet laws, official statistics characterising the real state of affairs in the socialist countries. The present USSR Constitution considerably enriches the content of all rights—political, socio-economic, cultural and personal. It also consolidates their guarantees—material, organisational, ideological and juridical. The author made a convincing comparison of the corresponding legislation and its implementation in the leading capitalist countries and in the USSR as regards the most important civic rights and freedoms. And he does not sidetrack complexities and difficulties arising in the process of developing socialist democracy. This process involves the search for, and testing of, new forms, overriding inertia and outdated concepts.

The book is not devoid of certain drawbacks and weaknesses. In particular, the important problem of appraising the prospects for the evolution of the socialist state has escaped notice. The conclusion that the struggle of political parties for power in the capitalist society is a mere interplay of political forces seems to be somewhat simplified. One cannot agree with the assertion that the adoption of international covenants on human rights did not affect Soviet legislation, because some specifications, although not of fundamental importance, have been made.

Nonetheless, the thorough research into the problem carried out in the book confirms that the extensive inclusion of the issues pertaining to democracy into the arsenal of the ideological struggle waged by the bourgeois states against existing socialism is another indicator of their weakening positions in the face of the steadily growing influence and prestige of the forces of socialism on the world arena.

B. TOPORNIN,
D. Sc. (Law)

A Major Factor of World Politics

The Non-Aligned Movement in the Modern World, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1985, 288 pp. (in Russian).

Now it is hard to imagine multifarious world affairs without the non-aligned movement. The vigour of this movement springs from its antiwar, anti-imperialist and anticolonialist thrust, from the active struggle against imperialism's aggressive course and for freedom and independence of the peoples. At the same time, the non-aligned movement is a complex and internally contradictory entity of states differing in their socio-political make-up and levels of economic development. This movement, containing various tendencies, is at times a stage of clashing views over the very nature of this gigantic interstate policy alliance of the developing countries.

The reviewed monograph is an attempt to comprehensively analyse the non-aligned movement, its principles and policy, to reveal its political contents and elucidate its international ties. Based on Marxist-Leninist methodology, this monograph, abounds in facts.

The authors lay particular stress on the fact that the non-aligned movement stems from the colonial and semicolonial past of the overwhelming majority of its members, making them subservient in the world capitalist economy. At the same time, these countries are driven together by the common tasks of attaining economic independence and protecting themselves from neo-colonialist encroachments. This also explains why all non-aligned countries, regardless of their socio-economic leanings, are distinguished by their anti-imperialist trends. As the book notes, "there exists a fairly stable basis for the functioning of the non-aligned movement, which is the similar historical record and socio-economic conditions and the basic political and economic tasks facing its participants. In the final count, the concordance or closeness of the interests of the non-aligned countries as regards major international problems override their discord and internal contradictions" (p. 5).

Of particular import is the attempt to evaluate the complex, and not infrequently, contradictory role and place of the non-aligned

movement in the modern world against the backdrop of the struggle of the two systems. Equally important is the conclusion that despite the growing internal socio-political incongruity of the movement, its attitude to present-day international problems retains, on the whole, a clear-cut anti-imperialist thrust.

The authors tackle many new problems of the non-aligned policy, while some old problems are analysed in a new light. The monograph makes the movement's division into periods more clear, thereby allowing the reader to better comprehend its evolution. In this connection it is necessary to note the freshness of the monograph's conclusions on the role of Bandung in shaping the non-aligned movement and its policy (pp. 42-46).

The book does a good job in covering the dynamics of the movement, the changing priorities in the basic problems, which were thoroughly considered, the guiding motives of individual regions of the developing world for taking part in the movement. Of particular interest in this respect is the analysis of the role assumed by the Latin American countries in the movement. It is the first time this topic has been discussed so thoroughly in Soviet literature.

An important place in the book is occupied by a critical analysis of the political course followed by the USA and other Western powers towards the non-aligned movement. In elucidating this problem the authors show specific features of individual imperialist states' approach to the movement. Of particular interest in this respect is the author's interpretation of the West European countries' policy as regards the movement, a policy more realistic and balanced.

A significant place in the monograph is assigned to the study of the movement as a specific institution in the history and the system of international relations, as well as to the analysis of the mechanism of the movement and the procedure of its activities. The chapters devoted to these issues consi-

derably enrich the book. The monograph is a collection of systematically-arranged material, in particular, on setting up the organisational structure of the movement, the work of its bodies, the procedure for elaborating and taking decisions.

The book stresses that the potential of the non-aligned movement and the main sources of its strength spring from the growing role played in this movement by the countries taking a resolutely anti-imperialist stand and from the consolidation of its internal unity. The objective historical processes are at the core of the community or closeness of the positions of the movement's participants with the USSR and other socialist states, which have always praised the movement's contribution to strengthening peace and international security. It is a fact that the Soviet Union has always consistently supported the actions of the non-aligned movement which were aimed at safeguarding peace and international security, at protecting the legitimate rights and interests of the developing countries.

It is an incontestable fact that the non-aligned countries have acquired their influence on the international scene not only due to their own major actions and initiatives in the

struggle to mitigate the military threat and restructure the unequal economic relations with the imperialist states, but also due to the peaceable foreign policy of the socialist community, the conjunction or closeness of the positions held by the socialist and the non-aligned countries on the key issues of international development.

It is only natural that, as in many other collective works, some of the problems are covered in sufficient detail, while others are covered to a lesser degree. This notion applies first of all to Chapter VI which, in our view, would have benefited had it contained material revealing the participation of broad public strata in the non-aligned countries in the antiwar, antinuclear movement, and showing the sometimes complex internal struggle around these issues. Neither does the book sufficiently cover the issues of relations of the non-aligned countries with the socialist states.

The main conclusions drawn by the authors and their evaluation of the prospects for the non-aligned movement contribute to a more profound understanding of the role played by this movement in international affairs.

I. LARIONOV

The Benefactors of the Antipopular Regime

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George Black, *Garrison Guatemala*, London, Zed Books Ltd., 1984, 202 pp.  
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The book written by George Black, a member of the staff of the North American Congress on Latin American Studies, covers a period in Guatemala's history from 1954, when the USA manipulated their puppets to do away with the progressive government of Jacobo Arbenz. While for the most part dealing with the problems of the day, the author analyses the economic development of the country, the external and internal policy of the military regimes supplanting each other over the past 30 years, and the revolutionary movement of the popular masses.

George Black points to the declining economic growth rates, the unfolding inflation and the mounting foreign debt, and the worsening living standards. The author

attempts to exonerate all these negative trends by referring to the falling prices for the staple exports of the country on the world market and by the fact that the military brass hats have elbowed the bourgeoisie from its positions. In fact all economic dislocations are rooted primarily in the policy of the ruling circles geared to expanding ties with US monopolies, all the more so because over 80 per cent of all foreign TNCs operating in Guatemala are American ones. This policy impeded the development of the national economy, preserving its lop-sided, one-crop structure.

As a result of the antipopular policy pursued by the pro-American regimes more than a half of the able-bodied population of the country are totally or par-

tially unemployed, and more than 70 per cent of the people are living in dire poverty. Lacking the people's social support, the military dictatorships waged an undeclared war against the Guatemalan people by the army, semi-official organisations like the Secret Anti-Communist Front, Death Squads and their kindred. Over the three decades of the blood-chilling terror unleashed in Guatemala some 100,000 people have perished and 38,000 are missing.

In spite of the terror and repression, the Guatemalans are continuing their struggle to attain freedom. The section of the book entitled *The Thirty Years War* deals with the people's war, its forms and methods. The author welcomes the struggle of the Guatemalan people, and, on the whole, is quite objective in his assessment of the present stage of the popular movement, noting that it becomes increasingly organised and more cohesive.

Starting from scattered action, the people now are becoming involved in coordinated activities greatly facilitated by the merger, in 1982, of four guerrilla organisations into a military-political front—the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) which demanded the restoration of democracy (p. 112). In 1984 the guerrilla warfare had engulfed 14 out of 22 departments of the country.

The main prop of the antipopular regimes in Guatemala has been, and remains, US imperialism. True, while James Carter was US President, bilateral relations cooled off somewhat. In 1977, the USA went so far as to stop its aid to the regime invoking the latter's failure to observe human rights. George Black regards this move as a confirmation of the Democratic Administration's principled position, digging up the fact that the Guatemalan dictator Garcia once called the US President an accomplice of communism (p. 156). However, the author himself has to concede that unofficial deliveries by the USA to the regime were not interrupted even for a week. Moreover, Israel stepped up its aid.

Over the same period the Carter Administration had elaborated, as applicable to Guatemala, a Programme of Pacification and Eradication of Communism. The USA was bent on knocking together an "iron triangle" incorporating Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, regarding it as a springboard for its expansionist policy in Central America (p. 163).

With the advent to power of the Republican Administration, US-Guatemalan relations have been infused with new blood. Even in the course of his election campaign the President-elect told officials of the Guatemalan dictatorship: "We'll get in and then we'll give you help. Don't give up. Stay there and fight. I'll help you as soon as I get in" (p. 157).

And the President abided by his promise. While in office, he removed virtually all restrictions imposed in 1977. Military deliveries were mounting. The Simms Amendment, adopted by the US Senate in August 1982 and allowing American troops to be dispatched to any Latin American or Caribbean country, had cleared the way for an official buildup of the military aid to the regime. The same year, on the President's insistence, US banks granted Guatemala loans and credits to the tune of \$170 million (p. 170).

According to Washington's calculations, Guatemala, as the most developed among the Central American countries, was to become the leader in the "iron triangle", a US outpost in the subregion. To this end the USA, assisted by Israel, attempted to set up a powerful military-industrial complex in Guatemala.

George Black analyses another facet of Guatemala's external policy—its relations with Israel which has long ago become the US right arm in Latin America. Indeed when the USA restricted its military supplies, Israel had sold 50,000 Galil rifles and more than 1,000 machine guns, 15 Arava planes, 5 military transport helicopters, 10,000 hand-grenades, and 5,000 tear-gas bombs. Apart from weapons supplies and capital investments into the Guatemalan industry under the secret "stabilisation" programme elaborated by the USA, Israel and Guatemala, there were some 300 Israeli military experts in the country teaching punitive methods of anti-insurgent warfare. George Black recalls the words of the Israeli Ambassador to Guatemala: "Guatemala is one of our best friends" (p. 166).

Last December general elections were held in Guatemala. The victory was won by the representative of the Christian Democratic Party, B. Cereso, who was officially proclaimed President on January 14, 1986. The new head of state promised that his first steps would be aimed at restoring democracy in the country and at promoting fair peace in Central America. Now, after

three decades of terror and repressions the people of Guatemala entertain the hope for a better future.

The book written by George Black, despite his ambiguous political views, is another proof of the fact that it is US Imperialism,

upholding reactionary regimes, which is responsible for the tragedy of the Guatemalan people, as well as many other Latin American peoples.

B. TRUTOVSKY

Economic Problems of the Oriental Countries

V. Yu. Kukushkin, *Oil and Development: Libya, Algeria*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1985, 229 pp. (in Russian).

M. S. Modelevsky, R. N. Andreasyan, V. I. Iskoldsky, L. I. Lushnikova, *Fuel and Energy Problems of Foreign Asia and North Africa*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1985, 201 pp. (in Russian).

Despite their thematic and genre homogeneity the books under review differ in the geographical scope of the scrutinised problems, the authors' approach to them, and the nature and content of the authors' conclusions and evaluations.

Naturally, this diversity of approach is reflected in the nature of the authors' assessment of the present state of the energy problem and the prospects for its evolution in the oriental countries. Thus, the authors of the collective monograph conclude that there exists a trend towards mitigating the tensions in the world in the supply with relatively cheap fuels and a relative lessening of the danger of oil "hunger". At the same time, Kukushkin draws attention to serious economic difficulties facing the OPEC countries amidst the fuel overproduction and the difficulties experienced by the capitalist power industry while extricating itself from the present, "depressed" state.

The problems of rent relations, i. e. relations involved in the distribution of the surplus profits derived from the raw material economies, and the price-formation policies of the oil-exporting countries of the East, are extensively covered in both books. And each of the authors soundly upholds the rent-based principle of the current price formation on the world oil capitalist market. Thus, "at present the oil prices, while remaining under the monopoly regulation and control of OPEC, in reality are formed under the toughest pressure on the part of the TNCs and are connected to a considerable degree with the conditions of the worst production of liquid fuel in the USA and

Western Europe" (M. Modelevsky *et al.*, p. 50). This oil market price-formation concept of the authors is in full accord with the increasing stipulation concerning the cost nature of the present oil prices, that is, the lack of the elements of monopoly rent in their internal structure. In his turn, Kukushkin puts forward a new interpretation of the economic nature of the oil prices on the world oil market when the "state monopoly" rent, determined by the ownership of the oil deposits by the newly free countries, is becoming their integral part.

The authors pay particular attention to the political aspects of the struggle waged by the developing oil-exporting nations for the elimination of the former extortionate system of distribution of profits from the "black gold" extraction and sales. As Kukushkin notes, by the mid-1970s due to extended state control over the development of the national oil industry and the rise of export prices on oil, the OPEC states have mainly succeeded in re-establishing the "classic" principles of rent profits distribution on the world oil capitalist market. "For the first time in history there occurred a redistribution of the surplus value created in the capitalist world in favour of one of the regions of the national liberation zone" (Modelevsky *et al.*, p. 145). At the same time, "under the impact of the energy and other structural crises the volume of the surplus value alienated by the monopolies of the developed capitalist countries for their benefit has grown... This has exacerbated the monetary and financial situation in the developing oil-importing countries,

has intensified their financial dependence on the imperialist powers and transnationals, thereby deepening the contradictions between the developing countries and the centres of the capitalist system" (Modelevsky *et al.*, pp. 143-144).

Of certain interest is the analysis carried out by Kukushkin on the preservation of some foundations of economic neo-colonialism with respect to the leading OPEC member states which are subjected to the unremitting pressure exerted by the imperialist powers and transnationals. At the same time the author stresses that oil imperialism zeroes in its heaviest salvos at such states as Libya and Algeria regarding them as its outspoken opponents in the OPEC ranks and as "adherents of an all-out rigid confrontation with imperialism" (pp. 148-149).

In this connection, the author holds, the formal, quantitative criteria are insufficient to evaluate the results of the nationalisation of the oil-and-gas industry in the developing countries. He also justifiably notes "the conditions in which the former concessionaries continue their economic activities in the Arabian oil monarchies even after the 100-per-cent nationalisation are still more acceptable than the status of some mixed enterprises in countries like Algeria and Libya where the former foreign holders preserved their ownership on a part of the share-holder capital" (p. 104).

Providing a similar assessment of the evolution and methods of imperialist expansion in the oil-extracting countries of the Arab East, the authors of the collective monograph note that "the primary goal of it (oil imperialism—*Ye. Kh.*) has remained the same: to secure control over an uninterrupted supply of Middle Eastern and North African oil for its economy and armed

forces, for a profitable use of this oil by transnationals" (Modelevsky *et al.*, p. 146).

At the same time, the sections dealing with the problem of petro-dollars reveal to the utmost the divergencies in the authors' approach to the problems examined in both books. In his evaluations and generalisation Kukushkin bases for the most part on the analysis of the phenomena and processes observed in the economy and power generation of the two North African states, while the conclusions drawn in the monograph are often suffused with excessive generalisation, and at times the authors fail to take into account the specificity of the socio-political and economic problems of particular states and groupings.

It seems, should V. Kukushkin have attempted to examine the energy and primary goods problems facing other countries in the Arab East as well, some of his propositions would have been more substantiated and convincing. The content of the monograph would have then gained from a more precise and clear-cut correspondence of some sections of the book to the particular problems of the regions under study.

Despite some fragmentation and a lack of consent on a number of key issues the books under review can be regarded as a summary of a scientific discussion on the problems of the Eastern countries' oil-and-gas industry, which has become the centre-piece of the exacerbating energy problem and has undergone a profound structural transformation in the 1970s and early 1980s.

The publication of these books would hardly exhaust such a vital and interesting theme and would probably stimulate new scientific publications.

Ye. KHARTUKOV

THE TRANSPORT THOROUGHFARES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY ★
LIBYA ★ WHAT GOES ON BEHIND THE FACADE OF WELL-BEING ★ AN
ORGANISATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION ACTIVISTS

The Transport Thoroughfares of the Socialist Community

A concrete result of socialist economic integration in action is the CMEA countries' international transport infrastructure. Their joint efforts contribute to its steady development, making it possible to cope with the growing mutual and transit foreign trade shipments. Thus, in the last 35 years the volume of export and import freight flow between the CMEA countries increased nearly 8-fold, and reached the sum total of hundreds of millions of tons; passenger transportation stood short of 30 million.

Railway transport takes priority in most CMEA countries and is important for domestic and international communication. Today it accounts for nearly 45 per cent of the freight and for 27 per cent of the passenger shipments between these countries. Integration of railway transport has promoted the improvement of national transport systems and their modernisation, helping solve large-scale economic tasks. The extension of wide-gauge tracks, for instance, ensured the uninterrupted transportation of tens of millions of tons of iron ore from the USSR to iron-and-steel works in several European socialist countries. Efforts were pooled for the building of railway bridges, developing the capacities of border stations, modernising thousands of railways, updating transportation means, especially locomotives, making more intensive use of the transport potential and raising its effect in general.

For over 30 years now the CMEA states have enjoyed the use of a common stock of freight cars which now comprises over 300,000 units of Bulgaria, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. It has become possible to eliminate or reduce empty runs on international and domestic lines, accelerate turnover, raise the

economic effect from the use of freight cars, bring down the density of freight traffic and improve the work of international thoroughfares, border stations and railway marshalling yards.

The CMEA countries have worked out coordinated programmes for developing railway transport until the year 2000, which they are consistently translating into reality. They work to increase the lines' carrying capacities, especially through electrification, build more side tracks and considerably increase the capacities of border stations and junctions. Measures are introduced to raise the technological level of the rolling stock and improve railway services.

According to forecasts, by the end of the century the length of electrified lines employed only for international shipments will increase by 3,500 kilometres. Four principal railway thoroughfares linking the capitals and large administrative and economic centres of the CMEA countries (Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow; Rostok-Berlin-Prague-Bratislava-Budapest-Bucharest; Gdansk-Katowice-Bratislava-Budapest-Bucharest; Moscow-Kiev-Bucharest-Sofia) will be fully electrified. Altogether the agreement on the modernisation and technological rehauling of railway lines of international significance envisages the development of 14 such main lines running from East to West and 4 lines running from North to South, with a total length of nearly 19,000 kilometres.

Motor transport is playing an ever increasing role in international communication. It is important for passenger traffic between the European CMEA countries and also for freight shipments dealing with specific types of goods, such as cinematographic, photo- and radio equipment, cosmetics, medicine,

foods, clocks and watches, precision instruments, electronic appliances, etc.

Motor transport provides convenient services for inner-branch specialisation and cooperation of production in the CMEA countries. For instance, it ensures the delivery of front axles for the Ikarus buses from the USSR to Hungary and the delivery of spare parts for these buses to the USSR, and is used on an increasing scale for conveying large-sized and heavy-weight freight for atomic power plants under construction, chemical and metallurgical projects. The envisaged CMEA programme for cooperation in building and modernising highways in the international category with a heavy flow of traffic, and building facilities servicing passengers and transport means is highly conducive to the further development of motor traffic.

Water transport takes care of nearly 25 per cent of all mutual import and export traffic between CMEA countries, where 20 per cent falls to sea transport. Shipping companies in the fraternal countries maintain over 120 regular delivery routes in different directions. Drawing on the agreement on cooperation in commercial sea navigation, they work for the effectiveness and mutual benefit of the international maritime shipments.

A significant achievement of this cooperation was the development in the late 1970s of progressive transport technology systems, among them the international economic enterprise Interlighter founded by Bulgaria, Hungary, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. It takes care of freight shipping between the Danube countries and Indian and Pakistani ports, and along the Danube-Mekong shipping line where it ensures sound sea communication with Vietnam and Kampuchea. The transportation of cargo in lighters helps do away with high-cost delays of vessels in sea ports and increases their turnover.

Another example of this kind is the Friendship Bridge, a railway ferry system which has been running between Varna (PRB) and Ilyichevsk (USSR) since 1978 and which has become an important integrating link of the CMEA transport system, which speeds up three- and four-fold the shipment of cargo. The progressive railway ferry system is now making good progress, as evidenced by the recently opened line between Burgas (PRB) and Poti (Georgian SSR). Work is under way to open a similar

line between Klaipeda (Lithuanian SSR) and the GDR's railway ferry complex Mukran on the Rügen Island, which will start operating at the end of the current year.

The CMEA countries are linked by a unified *container system*. Its common fleet stock of large-volume shipping containers tops 150,000. Some 50 railway and shipping container lines have been put into operation, linking the socialist countries' industrial centres, and 160 terminals and stations servicing heavy containers. The introduction of this system has improved the preservation of freight cargo, and has on the whole brought down the cost of and speeded up transport operations. The CMEA countries intend to increase the volume of container shipment four-fold by 1990 as against 1980.

Today aircraft of socialist fraternal countries make flights to over 100 countries. Twenty-two international air lines linking the CMEA countries have become lines of friendship. All the countries of the socialist community are engaged in meaningful work aimed at developing and improving air transportation. Large-scale joint measures are undertaken to outline the prospects for developing aircraft engineering and providing civil aviation with the basic technological means. Of late new liners and helicopters boasting additional comforts and load-lifting capacities have been introduced on CMEA airlines.

Much attention is devoted to improving air-traffic control (ATC). To this effect a general agreement has been signed to organise an international ATC research and experimental centre. Great importance is attached to the development of CMEA countries' airports, providing them with installations for automating and mechanising operations connected with the servicing of passengers and air technology.

Extensive joint work is conducted to train personnel in the techniques of flying and aircraft maintenance. A Centre for the joint training of flight crews, maintenance personnel and air-traffic controllers has been set up in Ulyanovsk (USSR). It has already trained several thousand specialists for the CMEA countries' civil aviation.

The constantly growing oil and gas deliveries from the Soviet Union to the European socialist countries has given impetus to the development of *pipeline transport*. The first units of the 4,500 kilometre-long Druzhba pipeline system began operating in 1964.

other forms of economic cooperation including credits and loans, private financial operations of American citizens in that country. Approximately 1,500 Americans who worked under contract in that country were ordered to leave it before February 1 under penalty of imprisonment.

Washington and Tel-Aviv persisted in calling upon their West European states to join the boycott of Libya. Official circles of certain West European states, however, stated that they did not approve of sanctions as a method of interstate relations, and refused to join them. According to West European politicians Washington's policy, aimed at applying pressure on Libya, is creating dangerous tension in the Mediterranean.

In an effort to neutralise, or at least to calm down criticism by Arabs with regard to gangsterous actions against Libya the Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe toured several Middle East countries in January 1986. This high-ranking Pentagon official also visited Tel-Aviv where he reportedly discussed means of coordinating anti-Libyan actions of the two countries. It wasn't long before

new anti-Libyan provocations were made: on February 4 Israeli air pirates intercepted a Libyan civilian aircraft in international air space and forced it to land at an Israeli military air field.

Aggressive anti-Libyan actions of the United States and its "strategic allies" were severely criticised by all progressive forces of the world.

The hostile anti-Libyan actions of the White House were regarded in Moscow as a threat to peace and security not only for the Mediterranean but even for the regions outside. "Such actions," a TASS Statement reads in part, "cannot but evoke universal concern and indignation. The world public must raise its voice in defence of the cause of peace and the inalienable right of each people to determine its own destiny." The Soviet people resolutely condemn the reckless and adventurist policy of the USA in respect of the sovereign Arab country—a UN member, and demand that an end be put to the outrageous acts of state terrorism.

A. VLADIMIRSKY,
V. LAVRENTYEV

What Goes on Behind the Façade of Well-Being

"Agricultural Crisis", "Farmers Ruined", "Impoverishment of Rural America", etc.—such headlines are encountered ever more frequently on the pages of US newspapers and magazines. The question comes naturally: How is it that a country which is the chief supplier of grain to the world market has suddenly found itself in the throes of an agricultural crisis? Nevertheless this is so.

On that bitter-cold day of December 13, 1985 about 100 farmers gathered at the Lone Tree Cemetery in Iowa City (Iowa State). They came from the nearby districts to attend the funeral of a farmer from Hills, the 63 year-old Dale Burr, and his wife Emily. Their death was far from ordinary. It shook the whole country, showing once again the extent of the crisis embracing US farms and the farmers' desperate situation for which Washington's official policy was mainly to blame.

What took place on December 9 in Hills, remarked the CBS TV company, would have

happened anyway, sooner or later. Dale Burr shot his wife, then he shot John Hughes, President of the Hills Bank and Trust Co., and farmer Richard Goddy who tried to bar his way in the street. Then he turned the muzzle of his gun against himself and pulled the trigger...

Burr had fallen into hopeless debt and become another victim of the notorious "price scissors", when steadily falling prices for farm produce go hand in hand with steadily growing prices for machinery, fuel and fertilisers. It turned out that 10 days before the tragedy Burr had called on his sister and her husband and told them that he had virtually lost his farm, could not pay his bills, nor even a part of his debt to Hills Bank and Trust Co.

This is how *The Iowa City Press-Citizen* commented on the Hills tragedy: "But if there is one thing that is clear from Monday's tragic series of murder and suicide, it is that the farms crisis is not numbers and deficits

and bushels of corn. It is people and pride and tears and blood."

It can be gathered from the US press that today not dozens, not hundreds but thousands of farmers suffer the same plight as the late Dale Burr. According to *The New York Times* at least 2,000 PS farmers go bankrupt weekly, and according to the Associated Press, nearly one out of six farmers is under the constant threat of following suit, while one out of 14 is on the brink of ruin.

In the unanimous opinion of specialists the reason for such a sombre state of affairs which has become the lot of tens of thousands of US farmers—these are chiefly the owners of small and so-called family farms—lies in the extortionate policy of big agrarian corporations controlling both the marketing of farm produce and the sale of farm machinery in the country. They seek, on the one hand, to fix the lowest possible prices for the farmers' produce and, on the other, to charge them exorbitant prices for farm machinery and manufactured goods.

The direct result of this policy is the mass ruin of US farmers. According to the US press, in the five years that the present Administration has been in office nearly 150,000 farms have gone to ruin. Data from the US Department of Agriculture shows that in only a year's time, from June 1, 1984 to June 1, 1985, the number of US farms went down by 43,770, which is a drop of nearly 2 per cent. Its reports also showed that within the same period the area under crops went down by 3.8 million acres.

The future of US farms is far from cheerful. US economists predict that the total net incomes of the population employed in agriculture will go down in 1986 by another 10 per cent. It should be noted however that the forecast reduction of the total incomes in 1986 will take place after their drop in 1985.

One must also take into consideration the falling prices for real estate—the farmers' chief possession. According to experts, the aggregate value of farmers' real estate went down from \$856,100 million (as of December 31, 1984) to \$790,000-840,000 million in 1985. Forecasts for 1986 set the figure at \$770,000-830,000 million.

Each year brings new complications to the marketing of farm produce. According to data supplied by James Donald, Chairman of the World Agricultural Outlook Board under the Department of Agriculture, farm

exports, which fell in 1984-1985 to \$31,000 million, were likely to drop even further in 1986. The reason for this trend are the failures suffered by US agricultural produce in the world market owing to the exorbitant rates of the US dollar in the world currency markets, which automatically brings up the prices of all US exports.

In this situation, *The New York Times* wrote, "evidence is mounting that fear and despair are spreading among hundreds of thousands of farmers who are looking at losses of millions of acres, farms either already lost or likely to fall into the hands of creditors soon." According to the report compiled jointly by the Food and Agricultural Policy Research Institute and the leading magazine for agricultural problems *The Farm Journal*, the debts of nearly one-third of all US farms exceeded 40 per cent of their property value. According to experts, such a financial state of affairs virtually puts into question the ability of the farmer to survive. The report emphasizes that 15.4 per cent of the aforementioned group of farms already had debts running above the 70 per cent level, which in the obtaining situation was tantamount to unavoidable bankruptcy.

The Hills tragedy in Iowa is an example of the far from rare outcome of bankruptcy. Losing all hope of assistance from the State authorities and the federal government farmers find the only way out of the tragic situation by taking their own life. There are no official statistics on this score. But according to sociologist Rex Campbell of the University of Missouri, the suicide rate among farmers is 30-40 per cent above the country's average.

In general the crisis of US farmers affects to a smaller or greater extent many aspects of the country's life. Banks that have given credit to farmers turned insolvent go bankrupt, the engineering and chemical industries incur losses. The situation is highly alarming in small towns which are closely linked with agricultural production. Indicative in this respect is the fate of the small town of Madelia in Minnesota. In 1984 alone, it witnessed the ruin of 10 firms. The town is on the verge of complete desolation and it is far from being the only one that has been hit by the agricultural crisis. According to the US press, in many towns of South Dakota one comes across vacant buildings. James Abdnor, the State's Republican Senator, confirmed that

hundreds of small towns were on the verge of extinction.

Washington's antipopular course meets with sharp protest from rural America. It has become a common sight to see thousands of farmers taking part in protest

marches in the capitals of their home States and even before the White House. They demand help and protection against the monopolies' arbitrary rule.

A. LAZAREV

An Organisation of the Environment Protection Activists

Greenpeace is a mass international organisation for the protection of the environment, uniting within its ranks people from many countries. This movement, however, does not fall wholly into the category of "ecological" movement. Its name Greenpeace, which speaks for itself, and the nature of its activity show that it embraces the ecological and pacifist movements as complementing each other. As underlined by the British participants in the movement at their meeting in Bristol, bombing the environment is the worst thing that could happen to it.

It is logical therefore that the organisation's activities are spearheaded against nuclear weapons tests which are fraught with irreparable consequences for mankind. It was precisely the struggle against the nuclear threat that brought the movement to life in 1970 as a movement of protest against US nuclear tests in the atmosphere in the vicinity of the Aleutians.

Its struggle against the nuclear threat raised the organisation's prestige and extended its ranks. In 1977 the number of Greenpeace members increased to 80,000 representatives from all continents. The organisation is financed by donations and the sale of postcards and badges propagating its ideas.

The Western press often classifies the organisation's methods as naive and deliberately sensational. Indeed, its activists, who call themselves "living shields" of nature, organise "lay-ins" on railway tracks in different countries to prevent transportation of nuclear materials; go out into the open sea, challenging cruisers and destroyers with mere sailboats; climb factory smokestacks in protest against environmental pollution.

But most important of all is that Greenpeace draws the attention of the local and world public to many urgent problems of

our time. Its activists make thousands of people aware of their responsibility for the future of our planet, and of their ability to speak their view of the world in which their children will have to live. It is noteworthy that the environmental protection movement in general and Greenpeace activities in particular do not only promote civic feelings among the broad population layers, but are essentially a form of mass democratic movements.

The methods of struggle for its aims are extremely diverse, ranging from participation in international conferences, blockading nuclear centres and holding large-scale demonstrations, to unflagging and painstaking work in courts where use is made of all the traditional legal possibilities afforded by bourgeois jurisdiction. Legal action was used by the Greenpeace movement against the US Inco company whose production activities were responsible for the "acid rains" in Canada.

The Greenpeace movement embraces a wide scope of activity and is gaining momentum. In 1985 the organisation had a membership of 1.2 million activists from 15 countries. Today it boasts about 30 representative bodies and affiliations in many parts of the world, 150 full-time officials, and a yearly turnover of \$10,714,000, as of 1985.

Greenpeace continues to fight for its chief aim—the stopping of all nuclear tests, which it justly regards as an effective means of saving the environment and peace on Earth. Its struggle against the nuclear threat has recently been given further impetus, and, as fixed in its programme of action adopted in October 1985, will now be extended to nuclear disarmament.

V. SEROV

FOREIGN POLICY ORGANS OF STATES

Foreign policy departments of states should be regarded as an inalienable part of the entire system of state organs or, in other words, the constitutional establishment of the country. The latter is, in its turn, determined by the class nature of an individual state. Whatever their names or structures, all state bodies and departments entrusted with foreign policy functions are called upon to pursue the goals of the ruling class.

The supreme bodies of the state are engaged in shaping and implementing the general line in International affairs, including relations with foreign states and efforts to resolve international problems. They resort to various methods in doing so. These methods incorporate the acts of the supreme bodies such as the conduct of negotiations with other countries at the level of heads of state and government, the signing of treaties and agreements, the exchange of parliamentary and government delegations, the sending of messages, the publication of statements and other diplomatic instruments, the recognition of states and the establishment of diplomatic relations with them, the severance of these relations, and so on.

Special departments are responsible for the practical implementation of the foreign policy line. As a rule these bodies are called ministries of foreign affairs, in the Soviet Union included (until 1946, in the USSR it was named the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs). In some other countries, such as France and Belgium, they are called ministries for external relations, and in the USA—the Department of State headed by the Secretary of State. Their functions are mostly identical, although there are some peculiarities in their implementation in particular countries. These divergencies are connected with the constitutional pattern of this or that state.

Among the principal functions of these departments are the maintenance of relations with other countries; analysis and summing up of the information on the situation in individual countries and the world at large; elaboration of proposals as regards the state's positions on various international issues, as well as projected foreign policy actions; elaboration of draft treaties and agreements; running of diplomatic and consular establishments abroad, missions and delegations at international organisations; day-to-day contacts with diplomatic missions of other states; protection of their citizens' interests abroad; consular matters.

From its very inception, the foreign policy service of the Soviet Union was based on the principle of combining a Soviet institution with a Party institution. Lenin attached particular significance to this flexible amalgamation in the whole of state activities, regarding it as "a source of great strength in our politics".¹ This principle is enshrined in the Basic Law of the Soviet state—the Constitution of the USSR, which stresses that the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state organisations and public organisations, is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people. The Communist Party, armed with Marxism-Leninism, determines the general perspectives of the development of society and the course of the home and foreign policy of the USSR.

As the highest organ of state power in the USSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet is empowered to deal with all matters, foreign policy matters included, placed within the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the Constitution; admission of new Republics to the USSR; definition of the state borders and the protection of the frontiers and the territory of the Soviet state; problems of peace and war; safeguarding of sovereignty; defence and state security matters; the USSR's representation in international relations; the USSR's ties with other states and international organisations; the establishment of general order and coordination of the Union republics' relations with foreign states and international organisations; foreign trade.

Between the sessions of the Supreme Soviet, these functions are relegated to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. It ratifies and denounces international treaties of the USSR;

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, p. 496.

It is empowered to declare a state of war in the event of an armed attack on the USSR or when necessary to fulfil international treaty obligations providing for mutual defence against aggression. The Presidium appoints or recalls diplomatic envoys of this country in foreign states and at international organisations; it receives the letters of credence and recall of other states' diplomatic representatives; institutes and confers diplomatic ranks; admits to citizenship of the USSR, rules on questions of renunciation and deprivation of the citizenship of the USSR, and on questions of granting asylum; and bears other responsibilities under the Constitution and Soviet laws.

The USSR Council of Ministers, as the highest executive and administrative organ of state power, is entrusted with general direction in regard to relations with other states, foreign trade, economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation of the USSR with other countries. It concludes intergovernmental agreements; takes measures to ensure fulfilment of the USSR's international treaties; composes delegations to various international organs and commissions operating within the framework of signed agreements; appoints delegations to the negotiations on treaties not requiring ratification. The government of the USSR maintains business contacts with the governments of other countries.

In the USA the President, the head of state and the chief executive, is endowed with quite broad powers in the foreign policy field. Under the Constitution, he is empowered, with the consent of the Senate, to conclude treaties and agreements with foreign powers (provided two thirds of the Senators present concur); to establish diplomatic relations with other countries; to receive ambassadors and other envoys; to appoint, with the Senate's consent, US representatives to high diplomatic posts. The President supervises US foreign policy through the Department of State and other bodies engaged in the elaboration and realisation of the US course in world affairs.

Particularly influential among them is the National Security Council (NSC) established in 1947 under the National Security Act as the main presidential consultative body dealing with foreign and military policy matters. Actually, the NSC is now the leading organ engaged in providing advice on US policy. It is composed of the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the CIA Director and a number of other top officials responsible for central departments, as well as the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs. In recent decades the role of the latter has become more weighty in the shaping of the US foreign policy. For example, during Nixon's stay in office, his National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger not only participated in the foreign policy decision-making and became the chief executive of the NSC and its bodies, but regularly acted as the presidential representative at talks with foreign powers.

In France, the President carries out the functions of the head of state and holds practically all levers of state control. As for the Prime-Minister, he has to follow the President in the home and external affairs. Naturally, this line is also followed by the Ministry for External Relations.

In the FRG, the supermost figure in the elaboration and implementation of the foreign policy course is the head of the government—the Federal Chancellor. Despite the fact that the FRG Ministry for Foreign Affairs is an important link within the system of state organs, there are other bodies handling foreign affairs in the Federal Chancellor department. In its turn, the press and information service at the disposal of the Federal Government is engaged in collecting information, as well as in elaborating the propaganda thrust of the West-German information services abroad. The FRG Ministry for Foreign Affairs has special sections for external economic issues. It also maintains ties in culture and sports.

The state structure in Britain has peculiarities of its own. Although the nominal head of state—the monarch (presently the Queen)—is the supreme bearer of power, in fact, the Prime-Minister, as the first adviser to the Queen, holds all the levers of state management. The British department for foreign affairs, called the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, is the most influential foreign policy body in the country. Besides its head—a member of the Cabinet of Ministers—this organ is supervised by the permanent secretary. He supervises the British political intelligence, and the Foreign Office is represented in the British military intelligence department.

O. T A N I N

On January 23, 1986 the USSR Council of Ministers approved a Statute on the export of chemicals which have a peaceful purpose, but can be used to produce chemical weapons. Here is the text of the document.

STATUTE

on the export of chemicals which have a peaceful purpose, but can be used to produce chemical weapons

The Statute regulates the export from the USSR of chemicals which have a peaceful purpose, but can be used to produce chemical weapons (hereafter referred to as dual-purpose chemicals). A list of dual-application chemicals is annexed.

Changes in the list may be made only by decision of the USSR Government.

Dual-purpose chemicals are being exported from the USSR with due regard for the Soviet Union's obligations under the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.

Dual-purpose chemicals may be exported from the USSR provided guarantees have been given by the importing countries that chemicals of that category:

- a) will not be used, directly or indirectly, to produce chemical weapons;
- b) will be re-exported or transferred from the jurisdiction of the recipient country only with the written consent of the corresponding Soviet foreign-trade organisation (in the event of multistage re-export, such consent can be requested both directly from the Soviet foreign-trade organisation and through the intermediate re-exporters).

These obligations should be specially formalised by the competent government bodies in the recipient countries in each particular instance of Soviet deliveries of dual-purpose chemicals or reaffirmed by way of reference to corresponding obligations under existing multilateral or bilateral treaties, agreements or other contractual acts in law.

Operations relating to the export from the USSR of dual-purpose chemicals are carried on by foreign-trade organisations of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The draft agreements (contracts) with foreign partners in what concerns the terms of the guarantees connected with the export of dual-purpose chemicals are to be agreed with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Dual-purpose chemicals may be shipped from the USSR only when the corresponding foreign-trade organisation of the USSR receives the above guarantees from the recipient country.

In the event that a recipient country violates the obligations envisaged by the present Statute, the export of dual-purpose chemicals from the USSR to that country shall cease.

Simultaneously with a cessation of exports, the Ministry of Foreign Trade with the participation, if necessary, of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall take measures in accordance with the norms of international law and the USSR's international treaties to ensure that the recipient country fulfils its obligations.

A decision to resume exports shall be taken by the Ministry of Foreign Trade in agreement with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in each particular case once the causes of the breach of obligation have been established.

List of Dual-Purpose Chemicals

1. Cyanogen chloride
 2. Dichlorocarbonic acid
 3. Hydrogen cyanide
 4. Phosphorus oxychloride
 5. Phosphorus trichloride
 6. Trichloronitromethane (chloropicrin)
 7. Thiodiglycol
 8. Dimethylamine hydrochloride
 9. Chloroethyl alcohol
 10. Compounds containing phosphorus-methyl bond
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THE 27th CONGRESS OF THE CPSU AND ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE

Professor Sh. S A N A K O Y E V,

D Sc (Hist.)

The Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have a special role to play in determining the strategy and tactics of the domestic and foreign policies pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state. At these Congresses the impressive plans for the country's economic growth, for building the material and technical basis of communism are drawn up and endorsed. The Communists at these forums determine and specify the foreign policy line of the CPSU and the Soviet government and advance a detailed programme of struggle for stable world peace and security. All this ensures the dialectical relationship between the accomplishment of development tasks at home and the provision of favourable foreign policy conditions for that and the continuity of the consistent Leninist policy of peace and international cooperation.

The role of the Party Congresses is great, indeed, in the scientific and theoretical analysis of problems involved in world relations and in the foreign policy of socialism. Each Congress is held in a definite historical situation. So a Congress gives an analysis of world development at a certain stage and sets the tasks for the Party in accordance with the current world situation and with the key tendencies of that period. This approach is of great scientific and practical significance. An accurate scientific assessment of the world situation as a whole in some or other period of time makes it possible to set practical goals in the struggle for peace and social progress, for the prevention of the threat of a nuclear holocaust. In this respect the results of the 27th CPSU Congress are of exceptional importance at the present decisive moment, which rightly will occupy a special place, not only in this country's history, but in the history of the world.

In the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress, Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, analysed foreign policy problems and clearly defined the main trends of international development. He stressed that the chief goal of the Party's international strategy was clear—"to ensure to the Soviet people the possibility of working under conditions of enduring peace and freedom.... To fulfil it in the present situation means, above all, to terminate the material preparations for a nuclear war".

The 27th Congress of the CPSU not only stated that the international tensions had grown, but revealed the causes of such a course of events and made clear who was to blame for it. It pointed out to where this would lead mankind, if no drastic measures would be taken to restrain the forces of war and reaction which were pushing the world into the nuclear abyss. The danger looming over mankind has never been so awesome, says the new edition of the Programme of the CPSU. This great danger to peace comes from imperialism, US imperialism above all. Precisely its actions show the policy of the USA and NATO as it really is. This is in fact a policy of social

revenge to be taken by achieving military superiority over socialism. It is a policy of suppressing progressive and liberation movements by force and maintaining world tensions on the level which, in their view, would justify the nuclear and conventional arms race and militarisation of outer space.

Furthermore, the Congress frankly stated in its historic documents that imperialism presented a threat of a third world war: "Imperialism is using the achievements of man's genius for the development of weapons of awesome destructive power. The policy of the imperialist circles, which are prepared to sacrifice the future of whole nations, is increasing the danger that these weapons may actually be put to use. In the final count it threatens mankind with a global armed conflict in which there would be no winners or losers and in which world civilisation could perish."

Such is the Party's assessment of the most acute problem confronting mankind today—the problem of war and peace. This assessment is dictated not by subjective factors but is based on a strictly scientific analysis of the realities of the modern world, on the objective exposure of the anti-popular, militaristic policy of imperialism and the possible catastrophic effects of this policy.

The ideologists and politicians of the USA and NATO stick to just the opposite point of view. They are interpreting the situation in the world, if not by drawing a rosy perspective, then at any rate by greatly belittling the danger of a nuclear war, a danger which is the result of their warmongering, of the imperialist policy of imposing the arms race on others. The ruling elite in the imperialist states acts so primarily because it set out to whitewash its policy of building up world tensions, justifying the arms race and concealing from world public opinion what had really caused the worsening of the international climate.

At the same time, frenzied anti-Soviet and antisocialist campaigns are launched in the USA and other NATO countries, their population are being brainwashed increasingly in the spirit of militarism and great-power chauvinism. The methods used in these campaigns resemble those that were employed in Nazi ideology and propaganda. To that end, all kinds of lies are made use of, from a "Soviet threat" to "human rights" violations. Mendacious assertions about an "export of revolution" or about the socialist countries' intention to impose their social system and ideology on other nations figure prominently in the efforts of the imperialist bourgeoisie to spread hatred for the Soviet Union among the population in the capitalist world. For that purpose the bourgeoisie falsifies both the history and the theoretical propositions of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and misinterprets the goals and tasks facing new society in the area of domestic and foreign policies. Though it does succeed in misleading fairly broad segments of the population in the USA and other Western countries by these misinterpretations and distortions, this is not due to the power of logic displayed by bourgeois propaganda, and not due to its "truthfulness", but because it skillfully exploits the very fact that the revolutionary renovation of the world is irreversible, that it is an objective and logical process which is not dependent on anyone's will. Precisely these objective changes, taking place constantly in the world, are exploited by our class enemies as a kind of a "demonstration lesson" used for brainwashing the population and suppressing the revolutionary will of the broad popular masses in the West.

Drawing a false picture of the overall international situation, making it look as though Moscow is deliberately exaggerating the threat of a nuclear war for propaganda purposes and for intensifying the world antiwar movement—are part and parcel of the basic ideological and political tenets of international imperialism today. This line of conduct of the ruling elite in the USA and other NATO countries is also used in the attempts to justify its negative, unconstructive approach to the solution of the key problems of world politics, its indifference to the concern of the world public over inter-

national peace, over the destiny of human civilisation. **Imperialism looks upon the buildup of world tensions as a quite normal state of affairs, as a major condition for continuing the arms race, cultivating warmongering policy and ideology and undermining revolutionary, liberation and democratic movements, including the antiwar movement, in various countries.**

Our class enemies do not like it, of course, that by our humane and peaceful policy and diplomacy, by our entire foreign policy practice we have been, and are, greatly influencing the character of international relations and world politics. The methods employed by Western countries in diplomatic practice cannot but undergo changes to some or other extent under the favourable influence of Soviet diplomacy and Soviet foreign policy actions. The Western countries have often had to refrain from using **crude methods** in dealing with other countries of the world, as was the case in the past. Though today, too, the imperialist bourgeoisie more often than not resorts to brute force, interfering unscrupulously in the internal affairs of other nations. But, in doing so, it is compelled to act circumspectly and reckon with the USSR and other socialist countries, which have always been defending new fair and democratic principles and methods of conducting international affairs.

This goes to show that existing socialism has already contributed a good deal to the drastic restructuring and perfection of international relations on the principles of equality and justice, with the interests of all states duly considered, and at the same time, it gave mankind a **good example** of how, in what direction these relations should develop and what imperialist "legacy" they should be delivered from.

It is symptomatic in this context that whenever it concerns constructive talks on the key issues of war and peace, curbing the arms race and lowering the level of military confrontation between the USSR and the USA, and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO, the ruling circles in the United States and a number of the imperialist states immediately back away, pretending that it does not concern them at all or that they are just not interested. Their answer to major proposals made by the USSR and the other fraternal countries is usually "no".

The ruling elite in the Western countries often explains this obstructionist stance by something like fear of a "Soviet threat" or of "aggressiveness of world communism". That is a deliberate lie, though, needed by advocates of imperialism as they try to diminish the impact of the ideals of scientific communism, and the influence of the great example of the socialist countries on the peoples in the non-socialist part of the world.

It is perfectly clear that deliberate distortion of facts and the spreading of wild myths about "Soviet expansionism" have nothing to do with a rational state policy, with the real state of affairs in the world and therefore any political course based on such false premises is doomed to complete failure.

In the West, demagogic rhetoric is often substituted for a practical businesslike approach to the solution of problems of world politics. A good deal is said there about the need for an East-West dialogue, for negotiations. Many speakers say that distrust and suspicion between the two great powers—the USSR and the USA—must be overcome. But how is this to be done? Should all this be confined to mere talk, or should practical measures be taken? The White House evades an answer to these questions for definite reasons. The talk in the US Administration around negotiations, its verbal "preparedness" for solving world problems (on Washington's terms, of course) is an essential part of the ideological and psychological brainwashing of its own population, and the world public for that matter, which is obviously concerned over the present situation in the world.

The reply of the US President to the Soviet Statement of January 15, 1986 is clear evidence of that. It is stressed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee that "in his letter the President agrees in general

with some or other Soviet proposals and intentions as regards the issues of disarmament and security. In other words, the reply seems to contain some reassuring opinions and theses. However, these positive pronouncements are drowning in various reservations, 'linkages' and 'conditions' which in fact block the solution of radical problems of disarmament".

As a result of this, in fact, obstructionist position the disarmament talks were stalled for a long time, and not a single significant arms limitation agreement has been signed in recent years.

In its assessment of the present international situation, which is marked by increased tensions and the growing threat of a new world war, the USSR had no wish to lay it on too thick, but proceeded from the actual state of affairs. It is precisely this which motivates the USSR's desire to induce all governments not just to ponder over the course of world events, but to pool efforts to eliminate the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and to display a more responsible and thoroughly considered approach to determining their political course which in the nuclear age cannot be based on doctrines of war and aggression or on a strategy of using armed force in solving international issues.

The whole complex of large-scale initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries are an example of a responsible, wise and realistic approach to most acute problems confronting mankind. And the CPSU proceeds from the assumption that however grave the threat posed by the policy of the aggressive circles of imperialism to peace, a world war is not fatally inevitable. The new edition of the CPSU Programme stresses most emphatically: "It is possible to avert war and to save mankind from catastrophe. This is the historical mission of socialism, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world."

What are the grounds for this optimism?

It is motivated not just by good intentions, but is a result of a sober and precise assessment of the alignment of class and political forces in the world and of objective and subjective factors determining the international development today.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme plainly states that the possibilities for safeguarding and strengthening peace have never been so real. This conclusion is based on a profound scientifically-based analysis of the main motive forces of social development, on a definition of the character and the main content of the present epoch.

There is no need to show that the cardinal revolutionary changes in the past decades have greatly altered the image of the world and have given rise to a number of factors which not only create a new situation but offer new conditions for further international development.

Besides, scientific and technological progress, and the development of new mass destruction weapons of monstrous power entirely change the former, traditional approach to the solution of war and peace issues, which cannot but influence world relations and world politics. The general recognition of the fact that there can be neither winners nor losers in a nuclear war is clear proof of that. This idea is known to have been expressed in the joint Soviet-American statement adopted at the Geneva summit in November last year. The leaders of the two powers, aware of the responsibility of the USSR and the USA, have agreed that a nuclear war should not be unleashed, that there can be no winners in it. This is a starting point for elaborating and pursuing a foreign policy by political leaders in all countries with a keen sense of responsibility in our nuclear age.

Indeed, the very progress of science and technology dooms warmongers, forces of war and aggression to self-destruction if they venture to launch a

world nuclear war. If one asks whether the present situation in the military area is conducive to restraining the hawks, the answer would definitely be "yes, it is". Only a madman can ignore today the strength of nuclear retaliation.

This does not at all mean that the threat of a nuclear catastrophe looming over mankind is automatically removed. To reach their self-seeking goals and extract fabulous profits from the manufacture of ever newer types of mass destruction weapons, the aggressive forces of imperialism do not reckon with the political realities of the world. They go ahead with the nuclear arms race and are vigorously preparing for social revenge. It is imperative therefore that, on the one hand, these reactionary forces be restrained, their aggressive plans be disclosed before all nations, the true aims of the ideology and policy of imperialism be unveiled and the warmongers be unmasked. On the other hand, the forces of peace and progress opposed to the forces of war and aggression, and the objective and subjective possibilities of preventing a new world war must be shown. What is actually meant here is not some "passive" factors, but purposeful vigorous actions by the peaceloving states, political parties and the growing antiwar movement; the intensifying confrontation between the forces of peace and socialism, on the one hand, and imperialist reaction whose policy presents the danger of mankind being drawn in a nuclear conflict, on the other.

In this context, of great practical value is the definition of the character and main content of the present age given in the new edition of the CPSU Programme: "It is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, and of historical competition between the two world socio-political systems, an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions and of the disintegration of colonialism, an epoch of struggle of the main motive forces of social development—world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, the peoples of the newly free states and the mass democratic movements—against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression and for peace, democracy, and social progress."

This concise and very meaningful formula presents a clear picture of the complex, many-sided and contradictory world in which we all live and struggle. It is an expression of the essence and scope of the struggle between the forces of socialism and peace, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism and war, on the other—a struggle which has grown worldwide. This formula also expresses the unbreakable dialectical relationship existing in our epoch between socialism and world peace, between the progress of the whole of mankind and prevention of a nuclear catastrophe.

At the same time, this definition singles out the movements and political forces which have been entrusted by history with the great mission of solving the historical dispute in their own favour, ensuring the further advance of humankind, and delivering it from the danger of being destroyed in a nuclear conflagration.

It is naive, to say the least, to place the responsibility for the revolutionary changes in the world entirely on existing socialism, as this is done by our ideological adversaries who talk without let up about the "export of revolution", the "hand of Moscow", a "Soviet threat", and so on. They themselves hardly believe what they say. Their goal is to try and prove that the progressive processes in the world are not a law-governed development but a historical abnormality.

If one forgets for a moment the lies and slander levelled at the socialist countries, then the truth will be that it is our "fault" that socialist revolutions have been accomplished in a number of countries of Europe, Asia and Latin

America; that, as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, people's democratic revolutions—and in the overwhelming majority of the countries national democratic revolutions—have been accomplished, that the influence of socialist ideals and the example of existing socialism has been growing all over the world, and that we have been invariably strengthening our solidarity with the peoples fighting for their liberation.

We have never denied this. Nor do we now. Denouncing the idea of an "export of revolution", Lenin stressed the immense significance of our influence on the capitalist countries. "We cannot overthrow them [the ruling classes in the capitalist countries—Sh. S.] by a war from without," he said. "But we can speed up their internal disintegration. We have achieved that on an immense scale by the Soviet, proletarian revolution."¹

If a "Soviet threat" means in the West the influence of the example of communist development, the impact of our spectacular social, economic, political and cultural attainments on the hearts and minds of peoples in the non-socialist part of the world—they are vast, indeed, and their effectiveness is growing steadily, together with the transformations, speeding up the rate of building a new life by making fuller use of the results of the scientific and technological revolution.

It is precisely socialism which has enabled this country to overcome century-old backwardness within a brief period of history, reach the summits of social progress and achieve outstanding gains in every sphere of life. Soviet society has entered the stage of developed socialism. It is said in the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000 that a powerful scientific, technological and cultural potential has been built in the country by several generations of Soviet people. The Soviet Union today has highly skilled personnel, a powerful industry and an extensive mechanised farming. The USSR is second to none in the world in many areas of science and technology. The well-being of the population has been increasing steadily, the socialist way of life is being constantly perfected, and the principle of social justice is being applied ever more fully.

The very nature of the socialist system and the creative labour of the working people in the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries, their relentless struggle for peace and social progress, and their solidarity with the peoples safeguarding their freedom and independence—all this has made the USSR and the entire socialist community a strong bastion of peace and social progress. The international prestige of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries has been increasing every year, and their role in the world relations and world politics has grown immensely. It is hard to imagine today that any significant international issue would be solved without their active participation. And they would not be solved, of course, against their interests. The consistent position of the USSR and the other socialist community countries in the United Nations is commonly known: they have won the respect of the world community due to their correct and progressive policy of peace and their businesslike and constructive proposals on the key issues of war and peace.

All this does not suit the ruling circles in the United States and other Western powers. They would like to regain the monopoly position of imperialism, the position it occupied not so long ago. But times have changed, and the international position of imperialism has changed as well. The imperialist bourgeoisie does not wish to reconcile itself to the new alignment of forces on the world scene. But it will have to, sooner or later. The Soviet Union and the world socialist community as a whole are firmly opposed to the imperialist forces of aggression and war, expose the expansionist plans

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, pp 112-113.

and the policy of militarism pursued by the USA and NATO, and erect a high barrier in the way of nuclear-warmongers.

The Soviet Union and its allies in the Warsaw Treaty are strong enough militarily to crush any aggressor. The fraternal socialist countries have long since become a material base of the world peace and security movement. The establishment of military strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the North Atlantic bloc, is the historic gain of existing socialism. It is one of the main factors of international stability, a factor considerably restricting the aggressive actions of international imperialism.

Western political scientists, too, write a good deal about the alignment of world forces and construe "triangles" of all kinds in order to portray relations among states on different continents and to forecast the course of world development.

What can be said about these exercises of bourgeois political scientists? In the first place, theirs is obviously a **non-class** approach to determining the alignment of world forces. Moreover, the "methods" they employ are designed, in fact, to obscure the essence of the processes going on in the world by substituting purely geographic and geopolitical reasoning for an analysis of the alignment of political and class forces. Their reasoning cannot give one an idea of the true motive forces of social development and of the factors actually determining the dynamics of world relations and world politics.

The bourgeoisie has always avoided a class approach in examining social phenomena. International relations are no exception either, for a correct and sober assessment of the class and political forces in the world does not tip the balance in favour of capitalism and fully frustrates the hopes of the capitalists of finding a way out of the global crisis, leaving them no historical perspective. Bourgeois political science is not in a position to disprove the fact that the alignment of class and political forces in the world is changing in favour of socialism.

Until recently the ideologists of imperialism reassured themselves by asserting that the confrontation between the two socio-economic systems did not look so grave to them when the notion of alignment of political forces was "diluted" by military strategic factors, which at that time were advantageous to the USA and NATO.

But the alignment of class and political forces in the world must not be confused with the East-West military strategic balance. These are two different notions comprising various components. The former notion is based on the fact that there exist the two opposite social systems in the world and can be applied in analysing the course and the outcome of the competition between the two systems. Due account is taken, naturally, of the position and strength of the parties and political movements operating within national frameworks, their programmes, their influence among the masses and the prospects of expanding this influence. So, the alignment of class and political forces is determined not by the quantity and quality of weapons, but by class, socio-economic, political and moral factors.

As for the military balance, the comparison here is drawn mostly in the numerical strength of the armies and the quantity and quality of weapons, nuclear and conventional, tactical and strategic. This balance is decisive, of course, from the point of view of safeguarding the security of states belonging to different systems; in particular, in defending the gains of existing socialism and creating favourable conditions for the creative endeavour of the Soviet people and the peoples of the fraternal countries. Therefore the attainment of approximate military strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, and between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, is hard to overestimate. It deprived imperialism of yet another means of blackmail and pressure on the socialist countries and compelled it to adapt itself to the situation which has evolved in the world. Addressing the Session of the USSR Supreme So-

viet in November 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "It so happens that both our countries will have to get used to strategic parity as a natural state."²

Military-strategic correlation of strength does not, of course, determine the essence of the revolutionary renovation of the world and the course of world development. But it is quite another matter that the ruling classes of the imperialist powers, the USA above all, staking on the arms race and imposing it on the Soviet Union, attempt not only to upset the existing parity but to hamper the fulfilment of the USSR's impressive social and economic plans in order to diminish the appeal of socialist ideals among the working people in the capitalist countries.

The advanced positions in safeguarding peace and strengthening international security are occupied by the **working class and its vanguard—the international communist movement**. Carrying on the class battles and the economic, political and ideological struggle against capitalism, it is at the same time the consistent opponent of war and imperialist aggression. The Communist and Workers' Parties, mass trade union and youth organisations, uniting millions of working people, take an active part in the worldwide movement for peace and against the threat of nuclear war. The communist movement today is an influential ideological and political force. "The strength of revolutionary parties," says the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "lies in the fact that they firmly uphold the rights and vital aspirations of the working people, point out ways of leading society out of crisis situation of bourgeois society, indicate a real alternative to the exploiter system and provide answers, imbued with social optimism, to the basic questions of our time. They are the true exponents and the most staunch defenders of the national interests of their countries."

The Communist and Workers' Parties in capitalist countries, which have to fight in difficult conditions and are exposed to daily pressure from the class enemy, and therefore are compelled constantly to repel the bourgeois propaganda attacks on Marxist-Leninist ideals, carry on extensive ideological and political activities among the broad sections of the population in their countries, unmask the antipopular essence of the exploiter system and reveal the pernicious effects of the policies pursued by the ruling circles which gear the interests of their countries to those of the overseas monopolies, and often follow in the wake of the USA's imperial policy.

It is often alleged in bourgeois literature that the workers themselves (especially those employed in military industries) are not interested in curtailing the war industry which is said to maintain high employment. Moreover, there are "scientific men of wisdom" who assert that it is impossible to end the arms race because the corporations involved in arms manufacture, which have become part of the military-industrial complex, have become accustomed to fabulous profits and would not allow a winding down of the war industry.

Of course, the main economic law of capitalism discovered by Marx—the law of production and appropriation of surplus value—is itself an expression of the everlasting desire of the capitalists for unpaid labour and ever greater surplus value, which, as Marx put it, is "the immediate purpose and compelling motive of capitalist production."³

But this main law pertains to capitalist production as a whole and therefore there is no need to limit its operation, in theoretical and practical terms, merely to military business, that is, to interpret it one-sidedly and thus to make an impression that this is an impasse with no way out. The struggle

² *Pravda*, Nov. 28, 1985.

³ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 244.

for ending the arms race is fairly definite and specific. Despite all the rapacious laws operating in the Western economy, the arms race can and must be curbed. This task is quite practicable. What is needed for this is **decisive political actions** to limit, and then to eliminate, nuclear arms. As for the industrial potential now used for manufacturing these weapons, when diverted for civilian purposes, it will prove far more effective and will maintain a high level of employment at that.

One must remember also that a large part of the monopolies producing mainly consumer goods are not interested in the arms race. They gain too little from the militarisation of the economy. In other words, there is a contradiction between the military-industrial corporations and a part of the huge economic complex producing civilian goods. So, in the capitalist economy, too, there are preconditions which can help end the arms race.

The contradiction of capitalist production mentioned above makes itself felt mostly in the periods when international tension lessen and the development of international relations becomes stable, while periods of crises always stimulate militarisation in the economic and political activities of Western countries. But it is precisely militarisation that aggravates these crises.

The most zealous opponents of reducing military contracts are, of course, the so-called defence contractors of the Pentagon who receive billions of dollars of profit. Their response to the possibility of arms control was aptly described by *The Washington Post*: "The President's proposal to halve the strategic arsenal of both superpowers and eliminate mobile missiles triggered an 'immediate spasm' from America's major weapons makers, who reacted like anyone with a financial interest in jeopardy."⁴

Producers of lethal weapons would never respond differently. But, luckily, it is not for them to decide disarmament matters. And, besides, such a response does not mean that the arms race cannot be restricted. On the contrary, it can be stopped by political actions, as this is done, for instance, after the end of a war and during a natural diversion of military production for peaceful purposes. Therefore, all assertions that there are insurmountable economic difficulties in the way of disarmament problems do not hold water.

Disarmament can be effected on the principle of equality and equal security. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Party says: "Our country stands for removing weapons of mass destruction from use, for limiting the military potential to reasonable adequacy. But the character and level of this ceiling continue to be limited by the attitudes and actions of the USA and its bloc partners... The Soviet Union lays no claim to more security, but it will not settle for less."

The point is that the US Administration constantly refers to the position of the military-industrial complex whenever it tries to justify its own negative, militaristic policy. But in actual fact both the Administration and the arms manufacturers have joined hands to torpedo any constructive solution to disarmament problems. This confirms Lenin's thesis that the imperialist state merges with powerful monopolies. The roles here are carefully distributed: politicians are engaged in demagogic rhetoric, alluding significantly to the military-industrial complex and the Pentagon, while the latter are busy manufacturing weapons, nuclear and conventional, with the connivance of political leaders.

The developing countries today have become a major factor of peace and international security. The emergence of a large number of sovereign states as a result of the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism has introduced entirely new elements in world relations and world politics.

One can talk about economic backwardness, about difficult social and economic problems, or about class stratification in the newly free countries, but the fact that dozens of formerly colonial states in Asia and Africa have embarked on the path of independent development and are now actively engaged in world politics, considerably influencing the alignment of forces in the world, is in itself of historic significance. The anti-imperialist struggle waged by the countries which have cast off the colonial yoke, the struggle for strengthening independence and promoting social progress, is part and parcel of the world revolutionary process.

These countries are interested in peace, in international stability which would help them solve the vital problems confronting them, especially curbing militarism, the material base of which, to a considerable degree, is neo-colonialism. As is emphasised in the Resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress, imperialism created the refined system of neocolonialism. The brutal exploitation of the developing countries is becoming one of the most important factors for financing imperialism's militaristic preparations, its domestic policy, its very existence. Imperialism ever more intensely stands in opposition to mankind. The setting up of various progressive regional organisations, public ones and those operating on the state level, and the emergence of a fairly broad non-aligned movement go to show that the governments and peoples of the young national states wish to free themselves from the numerous toils of imperialism, independently to decide their fate, and together with the entire world community to defend peace and life on the Earth.

But, apart from the outward factors which create conditions for averting a nuclear war, the significant fact is that capitalism itself is in deep crisis. The disintegration of the old system is an objective and irreversible process and, as historical practice has shown, no "regulations" or "reforms" can stop it. "In this sense," says the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Party, "capitalism negates itself as it develops. Unable to cope with the acute problems of the declining phase of capitalism's development, the ruling circles of the imperialist countries resort to means and methods that are obviously incapable of saving the society which history has doomed."

The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, naturally, weakens the positions of imperialism in the world and gradually saps its social and economic foundations. In these conditions, the ruling circles in the West have to be far more cautious, all the more so since new revolutionary explosions erupt quite frequently as a result of international crises provoked by them. At the same time, it must be remembered that the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism causes greater confusion in the ruling quarters of the United States and the NATO countries, which at times seek a way out of this situation by launching military-political ventures that are fraught with the gravest consequences.

Lenin scientifically proved that "state-monopoly capitalism is a complete material preparation for socialism, the threshold of socialism, a rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism there are no intermediate rungs."⁵

A recognition of this fact by the imperialist bourgeoisie would, of course, mean its recognition of the actual state of affairs in the world today and, above all, a recognition of the obvious truth that it is precisely the aggravation of the crisis of the entire capitalist system which caused the sweeping revolutionary changes in the world, started by the Great October Socialist Revolution, and that the replacement of the old capitalist formation with a new, communist, one is inevitable. But the imperialist bourgeoisie cannot sign its own death sentence. Therefore it denies the objective course of history and stands up for the exploiter system, for its militaristic policy and

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, Moscow, 1964, p. 359.

ideology. But as the general crisis of capitalism grows deeper and the positions of the outgoing world become irreparably weaker, better opportunities emerge for restraining the warmongers.

The aggravation of all socio-economic and political contradictions of bourgeois society causes the emergence of various opposition political parties and movements, in which an active part is taken not only by the working people and the intellectuals but also by broad sections of the bourgeoisie which realise the danger of the domestic and foreign policies pursued by their governments. These movements are diverse, which cannot be otherwise. But on issues of war and peace their positions largely coincide, especially now that the world is faced with the threat of a world nuclear catastrophe. This stance is clearly seen from the antiwar and antimissile movements in the Western countries, the movements which have become a powerful force and cannot be ignored by governments, political parties and individual politicians at all levels.

The immense scope of the antiwar movement in the West is another sign of the crisis of capitalism and yet another sign of the internal decomposition of the old society. Besides, the growing antiwar actions should be viewed as a failure of the USA's imperial policy, the policy of diktat and oppression pursued by the US monopoly bourgeoisie with regard to its West European allies, especially towards newly free countries.

This broad antiwar movement has proved effective in the efforts to eliminate the threat of a nuclear world war. The worldwide peace struggle is being joined by more and more forces, and very authoritative ones at that. Their voice is heard by all nations. Even the open enemies of the antiwar movement would not dare to deny the fact that this movement is exerting a notable influence on the policy of the NATO countries, the USA above all. Manoeuvring and the search for ideological and propaganda methods for undermining the antiwar movements and the futile attempts to change their character and the direction of their activities—this is what the ideologists and politicians of the big bourgeoisie are doing in a bid to create a climate conducive to pursuing an aggressive, militaristic foreign policy. But the antimissile and antiwar movements of all shades have already become part and parcel of the political reality in capitalist countries, a powerful counterpoise to the arms race, to the militarisation of political thinking. It has an ever bigger role to play in the struggle for peace and international security.

Thus, in our time the course of historical development itself has created a situation in which the potential of peace and progress is steadily growing. And it is this constant growth of these forces and their interaction that are, according to the new edition of the CPSU Programme "a pledge that the hopes of the peoples for a life of peace, freedom and happiness will be fulfilled".

The issues of war and peace and of preventing a nuclear catastrophe were the focus of attention at the Congress of Soviet Communists. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress, its Resolution and the delegates and the guests in their speeches gave a comprehensive analysis of the present-day situation in the world, clearly assessed the alignment of class and political forces and revealed the causes of heightening world tensions and the arms race, and identified those who are to blame for this.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the Congress is a good example of a creative Marxist-Leninist approach to the analysis of the key trends in world development and to shaping the strategy of an accelerated socio-economic advancement of the country and solving the vital issue facing mankind—the issue of war and peace.

The Congress not only voiced an ardent call for creating a comprehensive system of international security, addressed to all governments, parties, public organisations and movements which are concerned over the fate of peace on the Earth. It also proposed a set of urgent measures on laying the foundations of such a system in military, political, economic and humanitarian areas. Guided by these principles, as emphasised in the Resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress "peaceful coexistence could be made a supreme universal principle of interstate relations".

The Congress of Soviet Communists has demonstrated the Party's constructive approach to the key problems of peace and international security. An important political outcome of the 27th CPSU Congress is the general line of the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party adopted at the Congress for accelerating the country's socio-economic development, strengthening peace on the Earth.

Such a course would be entirely in keeping with our time, when there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence of states belonging to the two different social and economic systems—socialism and capitalism. The course of world developments, dangerous as it is today, demands that the governments and nations display high responsibility for the fate of civilisation and learn the great art of living in peace on the Earth.

NEW WAY OF THINKING AND "NEW GLOBALISM"

Anatoli G R O M Y K O,
Vladimir L O M E I K O

Our time is imperatively entering the course of history as a turning point in many areas of domestic and international policies. Foreign policy is known to have its origins at home. The Soviet Union's course at accelerating its socio-economic development finds its logical sequence beyond its borders as well, in a large-scale programme directed at peace and disarmament. The entire approach of the CPSU and the state of the working people to international relations is imbued with the spirit of highest responsibility for the destinies of the world and a perseverant search for a way out of the difficult labyrinth of nuclear confrontation.

"We are realists and are perfectly well aware that the two worlds are divided by very many things, and deeply divided, too," said Mikhail Gorbachev in the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th Congress. "But we also see clearly that the need to resolve most vital problems affecting all humanity must prompt them to interaction, awakening humanity's heretofore unseen powers of self-preservation".

All of the foreign policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet government is dictated by the desire to improve world relations, and halt the arms race which through the fault of the imperialist powers swept the world. A vivid example of that is furnished by the proposals advanced in the Statement of January 15, 1986, for the complete elimination of nuclear, chemical and other types of mass destruction weapons throughout the world by the year 2000 and the new Soviet initiatives set forth in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, which are aimed at *creating a comprehensive system of international security*. These initiatives represent a concrete and realistic programme for freeing the people of the world from the horrors and the threat of universal self-destruction, meet the deepest aspirations of all mankind. It has evoked so broad and positive a response in various countries and among all the peoples precisely because it has expressed the age-old dream of peoples concerning a stable peace and at the same time shown a genuine road to its implementation.

The world public—and this is vividly attested to by numerous responses—has seen in the thoroughly weighed Soviet proposals *a fundamentally new approach* to solving the most acute problem of today. The gist of the approach is that it is motivated not merely by concern for national interests or national security of one state or a group of states. It is imbued in its entirety with the spirit of historical responsibility for the fate of the whole world, for safeguarding security for all, and for preserving life itself and civilization on the Earth. To achieve that goal, one had to be able to rise above the really existing contradictions between policies and ideas, to look far beyond the disagreements of today, and to see new horizons and coasts of cooperation. To this end, one had to rise above national egoism, tactical considerations, disputes and strife in order to preserve the primary asset, i. e., peace and a reliable future.

Concern over the fate of the world is incompatible with a policy aimed at preparation for war, a reliance on force. Attention must be drawn to this obvious truth only because almost daily, representatives of the US Administration make ostensible professions of peace which shroud the threats of sanctions and covert or overt interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The way of thinking of too many US politicians clearly lags behind the rapid changes transpiring in the world right before our eyes. Those politicians live in the age of computers and exploration of the galaxy but they are still thinking in terms of the Stone Age. Their philosophy of intimidation rests on the selfsame blind faith in strength, the only difference being that they rely on a nuclear missile, the more powerful the better, and on armaments, the more sophisticated the better, rather than on a long stick or a weighty rock.

Some of those politicians are not even averse to discoursing on a need for a new way of thinking in line with the new realities in the world. Yet, they persist in giving an old interpretation to everything new and look at it through the prism of the selfsame psychology of power arrogance.

This is borne out, among other things, by the approach of the elite at the helm of power in the USA to the issue of nuclear and space arms and to regional problems. It is well known that in 1982-1983 the US Administration undertook persistent attempts to secure unilateral advantages at the talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms and on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe. The result of all those attempts is also well known. The White House drove the talks into a blind alley, having set about stationing first-strike Pershing 2s and cruise missiles. Subsequently, it stubbornly refused to begin talks, proposed by the USSR in 1984, on preventing the militarisation of outer space.

In an attempt to prevent the opening of a new channel for the arms race in outer space, which in turn would simply whip up the nuclear arms race on the Earth, the Soviet Union moved, in the fall of 1984, a proposal to start new talks with the United States on the whole range of nuclear and space armaments. The exchange of views resulted in an agreement on a meeting between the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs and the US Secretary of State with a view to resolving the issue of a subject and objectives of the future talks.

That was a difficult and tough talk. Till the very last moment there was no clarity as to whether the sides would reach a mutually acceptable agreement. Today, the world public knows quite well the text of that joint Soviet-American document in which each and every word is carefully weighed as if on the chemist's scales and each and every provision reflects the mutually agreed approach of the two sides to the negotiations. No overstatement or omission is permissible there for otherwise the sense of the agreement reached would change. It is all the more necessary to say this because such attempts still continue. Therefore it is worth reproducing the content of this Soviet-US statement.

During the meeting they discussed the subject and objectives of the forthcoming Soviet-US negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

The sides agree that the subject of the negotiations will be a set of questions concerning space and nuclear arms, both strategic and intermediate-range, all questions considered in their interrelationship.

The objective of the negotiations will be to work out effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on the Earth and limiting and reducing nuclear arms and at strengthening strategic stability. The negotiations will be conducted by a delegation from each side divided into three groups.

The sides believe that ultimately the forthcoming negotiations, just as efforts in general to limit and reduce arms, should lead to the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere.

US Secretary of State deemed it necessary to give his own comments on the text of the Joint Statement (which were circulated by the US Embassy in Moscow on January 9, 1985, as an official document). It is important to note here that even then some of the State Secretary's "clarifications" bespoke a peculiar and, to put it mildly, one-sided interpretation of the Joint Statement.

For instance, he noted that the two sides were in agreement that the problems of nuclear and space arms were interrelated and that both sides attached priority to achieving radical reductions in nuclear weapons as a first step toward their complete elimination. The accents have been clearly shifted in such an interpretation of the meaning of the Statement and the "first step" in comparison with the agreement reached because the idea of interrelationship finds its expression precisely in the fact that the attainment of radical reduction in nuclear arsenals is impossible without the prevention of the arms race in space.

As to the "strategic defense initiative" (SDI) which pursues the goal of militarising outer space, the US Secretary of State jumped to its defence, so to speak, right off the bat and noted that it was fully consistent with the ABM Treaty and that no decisions to go beyond research had been made, nor could they be made for several years. This was not in conformity with the letter and spirit of the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems which says in its Article V, para. 1: "Each Party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based." Since the SDI sets as its goal not some abstract fundamental research but target-oriented scientific and technological development to create space strike arms, the programme is in direct conflict with the ABM Treaty.

No less untenable was the allusion made by the Secretary of State that taking decisions that would go beyond research is allegedly a thing of the future. This is certainly not so. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and the head of the SDI programme, Lt. Gen. James Abrahamson, were not merely more outspoken but seemed to obstruct any other interpretation of the "star wars" plans. They emphasised more than once that research under the SDI programme were inconceivable without testing and that scheduled work was proceeding much faster than intended.

Why do we go into such detail on that issue? Only to illustrate the real military and political process. Judging by many signs, in early January 1985 the US Administration went along with the agreement on beginning the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms without any great desire, forced to do so by a good many circumstances, having no intention, which was borne out by all its actions throughout the past year, to renounce development of space strike arms within the SDI framework. Hence all the subsequent persistent attempts by many a US official to give a suitable interpretation both to the Joint Statement itself and to the SDI and the ABM Treaty. This also accounts for the blunt pronouncements made by US representatives of the top echelons of power, and primarily high-level Pentagon officials, to the effect that under any circumstances they would continue work on developing space arms. And indeed, in this particular matter there is no parting of the ways between the words and the deeds of Americans holding the reins of state power.

In analysing the course pursued by Washington after the agreement was reached on beginning the new talks on nuclear and space arms, a careful observer cannot, therefore, get rid of a dual impression. On the one hand, the US Administration, compelled to take into consideration the antiwar sentiments at home and throughout the world, declares its readiness to search for accords aimed at preventing an arms race in outer space and terminating it on the Earth, at limiting and reducing nuclear

arms, and at strengthening strategic stability. On the other, in its approach to the solution of those problems the selfsame Administration ignores the vital interests of the international community. This sense of duplicity is only augmented by an ever widening gap between the political rhetoric employed, which is called upon to attribute a positive character to the proclaimed foreign policy objectives, and the essence of the real militaristic policy pursued by Washington.

Quite indicative in this regard are, in particular, the policy-making pronouncements of sorts made by the Secretary of State to a Senate Committee in January 1985 and his article in the spring issue of last year's *Foreign Affairs*. In both cases he spoke of "new realities and new ways of thinking". For us those statements were even more interesting because on January 8, on the eve of the US delegation's departure from Geneva, our book *New Thinking in the Nuclear Age* was presented to an aide of the Secretary of State, who promised to read some abstracts therefrom to his boss during the flight.

On January 31, George Shultz started off a series of hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the future of US foreign policy (his speech was circulated by the US Embassy in Moscow on February 8 as an official document).

In the beginning of his Senate statement (and, for that matter, in the beginning of his article in *Foreign Affairs*) he referred to Albert Einstein who, in the words of the Secretary of State, had drawn a conclusion that *after the dawn of the nuclear age everything had changed except our ways of thinking*. Everything would seem to be correct, including the reference to Einstein. Yet, as Voltaire used to say, the God is in details. And here is the "divine detail", namely, the words of Einstein which are alluded to but not quoted in full. Yet, what Einstein said was the following, and this quotation is represented verbatim in our book as one of the epigraphs:

A new way of human thinking is necessary for mankind to survive and to go on developing. Today, the A-bomb has fundamentally changed the world; we know that, and people find themselves in a new situation which their thinking should correspond to.

Every one is certainly free to lay his own accent while expounding an idea of a great man and drawing one's own conclusions from the pronouncements of the latter. But we are also entitled to exclaim just like the boy from one of Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales: "But the king is naked!" A new attire for the king could not be made from the leavings of the quotation. Small wonder, for it has been so much truncated.

Those who would wish to compare the true words of Albert Einstein with those inlaid into the US State Secretary's speech would not fail to notice what has been changed there and to what end. What has been lopped off is the sting of Einstein's thought, the emphasis on the fact that *it was the A-bomb that fundamentally changed the world and this is why a new way of thinking is necessary for mankind to survive*.

It is obviously not fortuitous that such an operation has been carried out. In all likelihood, it was needed to make Albert Einstein's thesis about the need for the "new way of thinking" serve the policy of "new globalism". This is how his thought runs on: "Einstein's observation," he states moulding his interpretation as if from pliable clay, "takes on new relevance: *our ways of thinking must adapt to new realities. We must grasp the new trends and understand their implications.*" This is a surprisingly free approach but it is here for all to see.

But what is, indeed, the gist of "new trends" as George Shultz understands them? Let us listen to himself. "America after Vietnam," he said "retreated for a time from its active role of leadership.... Today, the cycle is turning again... *America has recovered its strength and self-confidence. America is again in a position to have a major influence over the trend*

of events—and America's traditional goals and values have not changed. Our duty must be to help *shape* the evolving *trends* in accordance with our ideals and interests: to help build a new structure of international stability that will ensure peace, prosperity, and freedom for coming generations. This is the real challenge of our foreign policy over the coming years."

But where, if it is permitted to ask, does the new political thinking fit in? For this is nothing but "new globalism" or, in other words, the old doctrine of all-out permissiveness, proclaiming the right of the USA to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and in the developments transpiring in any region of the world. Although occasionally one can come across a commonplace saying that "the new is the well forgotten old", this homely thought can hardly be used as a basis for comprehending the new realities of the nuclear age.

So, having begun with the call for grasping the new realities of the world and adjusting oneself thereto, Washington has arrived at a conclusion that, since the Vietnam syndrome has been "happily done away with" and the USA is once again at the crest, it is time now to begin establishing order throughout the world at its own discretion and in accordance with its own imperial notions of human morality, values and ideals.

In his speech delivered to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in early 1985 George Shultz certainly did not confine himself to simply stating but also "substantiated" the right of the United States to interfere in regional conflicts in any part of the globe. Here, the substantiation is also quite simple, namely, if the socialist countries have given and continue to give support to the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence, then why should the USA refrain from the policy of interventions? Here is an example of old, rather than new, thinking in terms of hackneyed anti-communist clichés based on the primitive concept of the ubiquitous "hand of Moscow" which official Washington sees behind every explosion of social unrest and every upsurge of the national liberation struggle in the world.

Instead of acknowledging the untenability of the old political course at backing, at first, the utterly rotten Somoza dictatorship and, subsequently, Somoza men and other contras, the US Secretary of State expresses his "new way of thinking" in the following way: "With Soviet and Cuban support, the Sandinistas are seeking to consolidate a totalitarian system in Nicaragua and to promote subversion throughout the region... Our nation's vital interests and moral responsibility require us to stand by our friends in their struggle for freedom." Should this really mean that it was not Somoza, the butcher of the Nicaraguan people and a West Point graduate whose dictatorship was prodded by US arms and dollars till its very last days, who tried to foist the totalitarian system upon Nicaragua? What's more, today his myrmidons are portrayed as "freedom fighters" in the United States. It looks incredible but it is a fact.

This is how elevated words about the need for the "new ways of thinking" are transformed into a practice of "new globalism" based on the old thesis that "diplomacy should be backed by force". As a result, not only the year 1985 but early 1986 as well are keynoted by US support for covert and overt subversive operations executed by the contras, armed provocations against Nicaragua, and the stepped-up campaign of blackmail, threats and economic blockade launched by Washington against the courageous people of that country.

The same manifestations of the "new globalism" policy are also in evidence in other regions of the world, in the Middle East, and in southern Africa: provocations against and the trade boycott of Libya, support for the gangs of bandits operating in the territories of Angola and Afghanistan. In the meantime, US leaders persist in stressing in their statements

that from the long-term perspective US policy is geared to most variegated conflicts which hold an intermediate place between a large-scale war and a universal peace. Moreover, it is added by way of explanation that Washington happens to have no plans for "living in the conditions of absolute peace. The reason for such an attitude, evidently, also lies in the "new way of thinking" but in the hawkish style.

Thus, as a result of the analysis of the developments from 1984 to early 1986 and Washington's conduct on the international scene, one is compelled to note the dual trends in US politics. On the one hand, it has shown signs of realism when the realities of the surrounding world and, first and foremost, the growing threat of nuclear war force the US President to take into account, at least partly, the dangerous evolution of the international situation. This trend, naturally, manifested itself in the most tangible fashion at the historic Geneva meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan in November 1985. Although the summit failed to find solutions to the key issues related to the cessation of the arms race, the accords reached at Geneva by the Soviet and American leaders heralded a turn for the better both in Soviet-US relations and in the international situation as a whole.

On the other hand, many foreign policy guidelines issued by Washington still rely on the old power politics and the philosophy of intimidation. Moreover, the opponents of detente across the Atlantic bend over backwards in fanning the sentiments of blatant chauvinism (the USA prefers to speak of "new patriotism"). Believing that they are firmly ensconced in the saddle, the Pax Americana guardsmen are spurring the horse of imperial politics and are blaring the beginning of an expedition "in defense of their vital interests". But where do those interests begin and end? Many people in Washington cynically believe that those interests begin and end where they see it fit. This whole power politics, which rests on the mania of superiority, has already been christened the doctrine of "meglobalism".

Such a duplicity in US politics cannot but inspire natural suspicion. It brings in its wake inevitable miscalculations and dangerous collisions in future. To illustrate the point, let us return to the above-quoted address by George Shultz to the Senate Committee, in which he spoke of "new realities and new ways of thinking". Referring to Soviet-American relations, the Secretary of State, for example, said: "In the thermonuclear age the common interest in survival gives both sides an incentive to moderate the rivalry and to seek, in particular, ways to control nuclear weapons and reduce the risks of war."

This would seem a correct statement and, apparently, a good prerequisite for reaching a conclusion about the need for the "new way of thinking" in the nuclear age. But what follows thereafter? Instead of mapping out, on the basis of the shared interest in ensuring survival and lowering the danger of war, ways for limiting and reducing nuclear arms, the head of the US foreign policy department states literally in the following sentence: "We cannot know whether such a steady Western policy will, over time, lead to a *mellowing of the Soviet system*. Perhaps not." And he adds further on: "We must never let ourselves be so wedded to improving relations with the Soviets that we turn a blind eye to actions that undermine the very foundation of stable relations... Experience shows we cannot deter to undo Soviet geopolitical encroachments except by helping, in one way or another, those resisting directly on the ground."

Not only does George Shultz believe that the safeguarding of international security is possible provided the peoples refrain from the struggle for independence, and not only does he whitewash counter-revolution, no matter where it operates, but, in point of fact the Secretary of State

openly acknowledges that, as he sees it, US diplomacy should strive to "mellow the Soviet system", i. e. US foreign policy should influence Soviet domestic policy. George Shultz is in no way embarrassed by the fact that this constitutes a violation of the fundamental principles of international relations. It would suffice even mentally to put the two countries in each other's place to see the utter absurdity of such an approach. What would happen if the Soviet Union, as a condition for improving relations with the United States, set as a foreign policy goal to seek changes in the American system, for instance, complete elimination of unemployment in the USA, eradication of racism, dissolution of the Ku Klux Klan, or release of political prisoners such as Leonard Peltier, a fighter for the rights of the Indians?

No less senseless is another thing, namely, to see "Soviet geopolitical encroachments" behind any conflicts in the world. According to George Shultz, "neoglobalism" means supporting everyone whom imperialism is interested in, be it the dushmans because they are fighting against revolutionary transformations in Afghanistan or Savinbi's separatists because they are waging a war against the free Angola; or the contras of every hue who are attacking the revolutionary Nicaragua. Even such a "democrat" as Baby Doc (Jean-Claude Duvalier), the bloody tyrant and the US satrap, was taken care of by Washington literally till his very last days when he was helped to flee the country from the ire of the people.

As to arms control and talks with the USSR on this issue, the selfsame antiquated thinking in terms of the arms race is also in evidence there. "It is vital for example," says George Shultz, "to carry through with the modernization of our strategic forces—in particular the MX—to avoid undercutting our negotiators just as they begin the quest for real reductions in nuclear arms." Furthermore, the US Secretary of State has pinned particular hopes on the assumption that the pace of technological advance now opens possibilities for new ways of strategic thinking, whose crowning point, as he sees it, is the death-dealing "strategic defense initiative" when the new "wonder-weapon" will be deployed in outer space.

At the same time, the Secretary of State declares: "A world free of nuclear arms is an ultimate objective to which we, the Soviet Union, and all other nations can agree." Well, at last we hear nice words. As they say, *a moment of truth* has come, the moment when words are verified by deeds.

On January 15, 1986, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, advanced radical and, at the same time, specific proposals, namely, to free our planet from nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000 and to reduce conventional arms and armed forces to the lowest possible level.

Those proposals have produced strong and profound impression and have been rated by the Soviet and the world public at large as the most comprehensive, serious and realistic disarmament plan which has ever been submitted for universal consideration.

We could cite dozens and hundreds pronouncements by prominent statesmen, politicians and public figures from various countries, who lauded Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement. The difference in words and intonations in those evaluations notwithstanding, enthusiasm is the predominant feeling permeating all of them. Symbolic is the statement made by Prime Minister Olof Palme of Sweden, who was villainously assassinated, at the meeting of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, which concluded in late January 1986 in New Delhi, to the effect

that the new Soviet proposals have marked the beginning of a new time in the world, the time of hope for all who cherish peace.

It stands to reason that no one in the USSR has expected that literally everyone in the world, and above all the governments of NATO countries, would forthwith accept the Soviet plan for the complete elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons over the next fifteen years. Yet, the international public has been fully justified in expecting an interested and serious attitude thereto on the part of the United States for the US Administration has repeatedly declared its commitment to the goal of completely extirpating nuclear weapons everywhere. It would seem that now Washington enjoys a practical opportunity to come to grips with this matter.

Alas, nothing of the sort! It is one thing to utter euphonious declarations about a yearning for a nuclear-free world and a need for new ways of thinking in line with the new realities. It is quite another thing to translate those good intentions into reality. The gist of *the moment of truth* is that it makes an individual, a state or the entire world community face an option as to which road to take toward a safer world: either that of further escalation of armaments or that of reductions in their arsenals.

A look at the US reply to the Soviet proposals reveals its unconstructive character. There is no solution contained in it of the main, fundamental question—preventing the arms race in space. As far as strategic and nuclear medium-range weapons are concerned, it is virtually a repetition of the old US proposal based on acquiring one-sided advantages. The openly negative position taken by the White House on the question of prohibiting nuclear weapon tests can only be understood as Washington's desire to continue the nuclear arms race.

In the situation which has taken shape, as is stressed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress "it is not easy at all, in the current circumstances, to predict the future of the relations between the socialist and the capitalist countries, the USSR and the USA. The decisive factors here will be the correlation of forces on the world scene, the growth and activity of the peace potential, and its capability of effectively repulsing the threat of nuclear war. Much will depend, too, on the degree of realism that Western ruling circles will show in assessing the situation. But it is unfortunate when not only the eyesight but also the soul of politicians is blind."

The moment of truth in the nuclear and space age also means not to put off taking responsible decisions. Yet, it is no longer sufficient only to wish to stave off a nuclear war or only to understand whence stems its threat. The time given by history to mankind for pondering is running out. The inhabitants of the Earth face the menace of a nuclear time-press. This is why it is imperative to act, and to act forthwith at that.

The question raised by Mikhail Gorbachev concerning a need for the "new way of political thinking" for the sake of mankind's survival requires an answer to be given not in words but in deeds. And the deeds call for a will, primarily political will.

What is *the essence of the new Soviet approach* to attaining the goal common to all humanity, that of ensuring its survival?

We knew in the past as well that peaceful coexistence and life under conditions of cooperation are the only way for the two different social systems to exist on one planet. But while before peaceful coexistence could proceed in various forms of confrontation, now—only and exclusively in the forms of peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry. At the current stage of civilisation the human community *vitally needs a radical turn for the better, for a stable normalisation of international relations*. In other words, we all need a different level of relations, higher from the perspective of civilization, so that we all could survive.

The current stage in the development of civilisation is characterised by the fact that the quantity and quality of the weapons of mass destruction have reached an almost uncontrollable magnitude. New types of armaments, primarily space weapons, will inevitably plunge the world into the chaos of destabilisation and thus bring it to the edge of a nuclear holocaust. At the same time, the planet is also threatened by other global dangers which, if they are to be overcome, call for gigantic and, once again, concerted efforts by the entire human community. Hence, an important conclusion, namely, that in spite of all differences between the two socio-economic systems, the interrelationship and interdependence between them are so high as to urgently demand that the great art of living in peace with each other be mastered as soon as possible.

The new level of civilised international relations should exclude the approach based on arm-twisting tactics. The confrontation inevitably paves the way for a continuing arms race and heightens the risk of nuclear war. A nuclear war unleashed deliberately (the first strike) or unconsciously (a technical failure or a human miscalculation) can lead to mankind's suicide.

As has been repeatedly stated by the Soviet leadership, new thinking in the nuclear and space age means giving up the desire to impose by force one's ideology, way of thinking, and values upon others. Socialism rejects wars as a means of settling ideological disputes and interstate contradictions. Advantages of the social systems are proven by peaceful coexistence rather than by power politics. If one is to compare the Soviet and American approaches to this matter, attention will be drawn to the fact that the belief of the Soviet people in the communist future of the world (from which our opponents draw a false conclusion about expansionism) rests on a profound and comprehensive analysis of objective and subjective factors governing the world development. The new edition of the Party Programme says that "the CPSU proceeds from the belief that the historical dispute between the two opposing social systems, into which the world is divided today, can and must be settled by peaceful means. Socialism proves its superiority not by force of arms, but by force of example in every area of the life of society" And then it once again makes reference to international relations stating that the CPSU "believes that the extension of ideological differences between the two systems to the sphere of interstate relations is inadmissible".

At the same time, contrary to the declared commitments to pluralism and "freedom of choice", the leading quarters in the United States are trying to channel the evolution of the world in accordance with their own understanding of "their interests" and "ideals". They are viewing force as an instrument to impose their will and convictions on other countries and nations. To prove the point, we are going to quote the policy-making speech delivered by US Secretary of State George Shultz in the Senate, which was ambitiously titled "The Future of American Foreign Policy: New Realities and New Ways of Thinking".

In his words, "the changes in the international system will follow the positive trends only if we—the United States and the free world—meet our responsibility to defend our interests and seek to shape events in accordance with our own ideals and goals... There is, of course, a broader issue here.... This is the basic question of the use of American power in the defense of our interests and the relevance of our power as the backstop to our diplomacy".

This is, of course, a deeply mistaken platform, albeit so typical of the practice of US foreign policy. Elevating it to the rank of a fundamental principle means dooming international relations, through Washington's fault, to continued tensions which could escalate into a war.

According to the Soviet Union's understanding, peaceful coexistence between the two systems, as has been more than once emphasised by Soviet leaders, should safeguard peace and international security while necessarily maintaining the right of the peoples to be masters of their own destinies. Genuine international security means maintaining stability based on the military and strategic parity and abandoning the craving for superiority. Hence, in particular, our fundamental refusal to accept the "strategic defense initiative", and not because the SDI is a US project but because the desire to create the so-called "space shield" is, in essence, a project of developing new types of weapons which will destabilise the military and political situation in the world and whip up the arms race. Experts, and including US experts, acknowledge that the "space shield" can easily be used as a "space sword". And those who will be the first to take it into their possession will be tempted to put it to use. No single government, no single nation can permit that to happen. And this has been clearly declared by the Soviet Union as well.

An important measure of the "new way of thinking" is the ability to rise above ideological disputes and contradictions for the sake of reaching mutual understanding in the interests of human survival. Guided precisely by this principle, the Soviet Union in November 1985 decided to go along with the Geneva summit despite the provoking and demonstrative actions by the ultra-militaristic forces in the United States. The Soviet leadership proceeded from the belief that even the very smallest chance for radically changing the dangerous march of events in the world should not be neglected. The multifariousness of the assessments of the outcome of the Geneva summit notwithstanding, the significance of the agreements reached there on some cardinal issues is very considerable. In point of fact, a strong impetus and a fresh potentially powerful start were given to the cause of peace. This found its expression primarily in the common understanding, recorded in the Joint Statement, that a nuclear war should never be unleashed and that it could not be won, and in the commitment of the Soviet Union and the United States to build their relations on that incontestable truth and not to seek military supremacy.

The agreement reached is also very important because, as is well known, there were no such admissions in the first years of the Reagan presidency. It was only later and as a result of the criticism of the doctrines of "limited" and "sustained" nuclear war on the part of many governments and the world public that the US President was forced to agree that "there can be no winners in a nuclear war". Recording this provision in the Joint Soviet-American Statement and giving up the yearning for military superiority give them a considerable weight of an international accord.

But it is, first and foremost, specific deeds rather than mere statements that undoubtedly constitute the main criterion of an actual position of any statesman. In this connection, it should be emphasised that a new and higher level of civilised relations on the international scene also means a high responsibility of state leaders for their policies proclaimed and translated into life.

This also presupposes, in the words of former US Senator William Fulbright, renunciation of the "power arrogance" which has deeply penetrated the psychology and philosophy of US politics. If one is to look at the President's "strategic defense initiative" from this angle, the SDI is a child born of the blatant psychology of arrogance which is dangerous not only for Americans but for all the residents of the Earth. *No single state leader has the moral right to take a unilateral decision upon which depend the destinies of world civilisation.* At the same time, it is becoming ever more obvious that the SDI has not been proclaimed just as an idea for debating. It is already being carried out in the form of a Pentagon

programme endorsed for implementation and is being put into effect in spite of affecting the vital interests of many a nation and, in the long run, the interests of the entire world community. Furthermore, taking into consideration the fact that many representatives of the top echelon of power in the United States are bluntly linking the SDI programme with plans for reaching military and strategic superiority and with expectations of dragging the USSR into a costly arms race, the "star wars" programme appears before the whole world as an embodiment of the old "way of thinking" in terms of strength and preponderance.

A logical question automatically arises as to why wouldn't Washington, following the Soviet example, take such decisions which would not impinge on anyone's interests but, on the contrary, would meet the interests of all? Why wouldn't Washington, for example, assume an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, or to cease nuclear weapons tests?

The fundamental difference between the two approaches, those of Moscow and Washington, to world affairs is clear to every objectively thinking person.

Moscow proceeds from the historical responsibility of all powers for maintaining international peace, security and strategic stability and strives to manifest its goodwill in practice. This is surely evidenced by such unilateral actions as the Soviet renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons or its moratorium on all nuclear tests, initially introduced for half a year and subsequently prolonged for another three months.

As to Washington, it has been thus far going in a different direction. It does not deem it necessary to reckon with the interests of other countries and independently takes decisions entailing far-reaching negative consequences for other countries because their security is completely discounted. If the US Administration is genuinely interested in doing away with the nuclear weapons as has been declared by President Reagan, it would surely be logical to discuss this problem with those directly concerned rather than make the world face a de facto decision about the SDI.

Today, when people in the world compare the two plans for eliminating nuclear weapons, the Gorbachev Plan and the Reagan Plan, they inevitably stress the fundamentally different approaches of the USA and the USSR to this issue. While Ronald Reagan is dreaming of developing new strike weapons in outer space to be used against nuclear weapons on the Earth, Mikhail Gorbachev proposes to eliminate nuclear weapons without creating space arms. These are two different patterns of political thinking: "going to peace" by chaotically piling up armaments, or achieving peace by eliminating the weapons of mass destruction. Another fundamental difference between these two approaches is that while Ronald Reagan has taken his SDI decision, in fact, unilaterally, Mikhail Gorbachev suggests that all countries discuss and jointly set about eliminating the existing nuclear weapons.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress reads: "In the years to come, the struggle will evidently centre on the actual content of the policy that can safeguard peace. It will be a hard and many-sided struggle, because we are dealing with a society whose ruling circles refuse to assess the realities of the world and its perspectives in sober terms, or to draw serious conclusions from their own experience and that of others."

Many Western, in particular American, politicians and military experts perceive the meaning of the SDI—and this is self-evident to us, Soviet people—in attaining military and strategic supremacy over the USSR with the aid of space armaments. All the talk about the SDI as a "defense shield" is nothing but deception. It is indicative that nowadays as well the United States itself is not reducing but building up its nuclear weapons and is developing, according to Assistant Secretary of Defense

for Atomic Energy Richard Wagner, new warheads with new characteristics. This is yet another reason for the USA's reluctance to give up nuclear testing. Furthermore, Americans themselves acknowledge that nuclear weapons within the SDI framework can readily be used as an offensive weapon. According to *International Herald Tribune* of January 13, 1986, "laser weapons being developed as part of the Strategic Defense Initiative could more easily be used to incinerate enemy cities than to protect the United States against Soviet missiles". This is the gist of a study carried out in the United States.

The Soviet plan for eliminating nuclear weapons, advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986, offers an honest and businesslike approach to doing away with nuclear armaments on an honest and fair basis without inflicting damage on any single country, including the United States, and without creating new problems.

Thus, if the peaceable rhetoric of the US Administration's representatives were to be subjected to a critical analysis, comparing their words and deeds, then their "new way of thinking", as we have been able to see for ourselves, turn into "new globalism" and a most dangerous destabilisation of international relations.

To think in a new fashion in the nuclear and space age does not only mean to proclaim that we are living in an interdependent world. This means to acknowledge in practice that it is not permissible, even behind the screen of most noble intentions, to seek to safeguard only one's own security without due regard for the security of other states. On that score Mikhail Gorbachev has stated in no uncertain terms: "I think that in order to bring about a real turn in our relations, which would meet the interests of the USSR and the USA, the interests of the peoples of the world, new approaches, a fresh look at many things and, what is most important, political will on the part of the leadership of the two countries are needed. The USSR—and I emphasised that in Geneva—has no enmity towards the United States, and respects the American people. We are not building our policy on a desire to encroach on the national interests of the United States. What is more: we would not want, for instance, a change in the strategic balance in our favour. We would not want that because such a situation will heighten suspicion on the other side and also increase the instability of the overall situation."

And surely the selfsame wishes to strengthen stability and security on the European continent motivate the Soviet proposal to eliminate at the first stage of the nuclear disarmament programme all ballistic and cruise missiles of the USSR and the USA in the European zone.

To think in a new fashion means to think not only about oneself and one's allies but to see the interrelationship between disarmament and development and to propose ways for resolving the global problems facing humanity. As has been said by Mikhail Gorbachev in his Statement, "initiating active steps to halt the arms race and reduce weapons is a necessary prerequisite for coping with the increasingly acute global problems, those of the deteriorating human environment and of the need to find new energy sources and combat economic backwardness, hunger and disease".

In accordance with these provisions, the letter of January 27, 1986, addressed by the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, Eduard Shevardnadze, to UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, transmitted the Memorandum of the USSR Government on International Economic Security: an Important Condition for Healthy International Economic Relations. The Memorandum stresses that the "pattern imposed by militarism—arms instead of development—must be replaced by the reverse order of things—disarmament for development".

In advancing its proposals for eliminating nuclear, chemical and any

other type of weapons of mass destruction and reducing the conventional potentials, the Soviet Union draws the attention of all the peoples and governments to the need for specific and prompt actions by all the forces of peace. "The imperative condition for success in resolving the topical issues of international life," the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress stresses, "is to reduce the time of search for political understandings and to secure the swiftest possible constructive action."

The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to check the nuclear arms race. In answer to a joint message sent to the USA and the USSR by the leaders of Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden and Greece appealing to those countries to refrain from carrying out any nuclear testing until the next summit meeting is held, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that the time extension granted to the US Administration, for weighing the USSR's proposals, is running out. We cannot indefinitely extend this offer on a unilateral basis. Having refrained from carrying out any nuclear explosions for 8 months—neither testing nor peaceful explosions—we have already run into a few costs—both militarily and economically. In addition, he continued, "in response to your appeal addressed to the USSR and the USA to refrain from any nuclear tests in the period till the next Soviet-American summit we declare: *The Soviet Union will not carry out nuclear explosions even after March 31—till the first nuclear explosion by the USA*".

Doing everything necessary in order to make the solution of the problem of nuclear testing a reality—and in a broader sense—the elimination of nuclear arsenals—the USSR is consolidating the positions of all the planet's peace-loving forces.

This is all the more important because influential forces of imperialism stand in the way of disarmament, the forces for which new armaments have always been a source of profits, influence and power. The military-industrial complex—and former US President Dwight Eisenhower warned his fellow-countrymen against its dangerous influence in the early 1960s—is a horde of insatiable monsters with multi-billion-dollar assets and with the powerful tentacles of lobbyists, penetrating all the spheres of US society. Using all their influence, power and money, they are poisoning and lulling public consciousness for the sake of developing, manufacturing and deploying wherever possible, be it on the Earth or in air, on the seas, under water, or even in outer space, ever more sophisticated new weapons. The very philosophy of peace without armaments is calimitous to them, which is why they are imposing the philosophy of "peace thanks to new weapons", which is beneficial only to them.

In this tremendous battle between the two opposing systems of views, the proponents of the old arms-twisting methods are prepared for anything in order to justify their policy of "new globalism". They are ready to quote Albert Einstein ignoring his passionate appeal for rejecting the atom bomb. They are donning the mantle of champions of "new thinking" and are capable of any mimicry in the name of procrastinating the cause of real disarmament. They know that so far they have had an ally in the inertness of human thinking and the lagging of the consciousness of still too many people behind the rapid changes in the patterns of life. This phenomenon has always served as an obstacle to refraining from using weapons as a means of settling disputes.

The need for awareness of the global dangers looming over mankind in the nuclear and space age and the objective need for new political thinking are growing to become the urgent imperatives of our time. Mankind should not only ensure its own survival but also to pass to future generations all the spiritual and material riches of our civilisation.

INTER-IMPERIALIST RIVALRY ESCALATES

Professor Yu. S H I S H K O V,

D. Sc. (Econ.)

The last decades of this century have seen new flareups of inter-imperialist contradictions which have taken some new forms and spread to new areas.

Hardly a day passes without the mass media around the world bringing news of scuffles and battles on the fronts of international competition, about the rivalry between auto, electronics, engineering and other interests in the USA, Western Europe and Japan, the active role of major banks in the international struggle between industrial and trade monopolies, etc. These look more and more like reports from the battlefields of the "steel", "automobile", "electronics" and other "trade wars", and wars of interest rates between leading Western powers. Accounts tell of major currency interventions, protectionism sweeping the capitalist world, etc.

Neither common class interests, nor the need to join forces, nor the military, economic and political integration of leading capitalist countries have eliminated contradictions between them. The scientific and technological revolution now sweeping the world has made competition more acute hitting hardest those who lag behind.

As the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress points out, "The considerable complication of the conditions of capitalist reproduction, the diversity of crisis processes, and the intensification of international competition have made imperialist rivalry especially acute and bitter. The commercial and economic struggle in the world market is witnessing ever greater reliance on the power of 'national' state-monopoly capitalisms, with the role of the bourgeois state becoming increasingly aggressive and egoistic."

EVOLUTION OF COMPETITION

To understand the essence of a social phenomenon it is important to follow Lenin's advice "not to forget the underlying historical connection, to examine every question from the standpoint of how the given phenomenon arose in history and what were the principal stages in its development, and, from the standpoint of its development, to examine what it has become today."¹

Competition is one of the cornerstones of the capitalist mode of production. It provides the main mechanism for spontaneous selection of the most viable and effective economic entities and elimination of the less viable ones. The latter, having succumbed in the struggle, become ruined paving the way for more powerful competitors. At the same time competition is, in the conditions of capitalist production, a prime locomotive of technological progress. "Competition", wrote Karl Marx, "compels the manufacturer to produce more and more cheaply and therefore on a constantly increasing scale, i. e. with more capital, with a continuously expanding *division of labour* and constantly increasing use of machinery."²

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 473.

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 266.

In the course of this historical process, however, the very character of competition has been changing. In the early stages of capitalism, and indeed, at the precapitalist stages of commodity production, the markets for this or that kind of commodity saw relatively small producers in competition with one another. For centuries the subjects of competition were *individual enterprises* (workshops, manufactures, factories, and integrated factories). Although social labour gradually became more and more effective within the framework of succeeding types of enterprises, the size of these enterprises by and large remained limited so that they could not, as a rule, exert any substantial influence on the national, let alone international market. In the context of *free competition* the market situation depended on the results of the activities of dozens if not hundreds and thousands of producers of a specific type of commodity, i.e. was a sum total of a multitude of factors and did not depend on the will or wishes of any one individual competitor.

This situation, however, could only persist as long as the scale of individual economic entities did not acquire considerable weight in a given commodity market. And this scale, owing to internal laws of capitalist competition, has shown a steady tendency to grow. "We see how in this way," stressed Marx, "the mode of production... [is] continually transformed, revolutionised, how *the division of labour is necessarily followed by greater division of labour, the application of machinery by still greater application of machinery, work on a large scale by work on a still larger scale.*"³

When such quantitative growth reaches a certain level profound qualitative changes occur in the whole system of capitalist production relations: *competition engenders its antipode, monopoly*. A major enterprise with a streamlined structure of production and turnover of productive capital needs large and stable markets and equally large and stable supplies of raw materials, fuel, various materials and equipment. This constitutes the material basis for the monopolisation of markets.

The trends towards monopolisation go back to the mid-19th century. Cartels and syndicates sprang up in the 1860s and became common in the 1870s. Yet, however great the scope of individual private corporations was, they could not oust competition which forms the basis of the capitalist economic mechanism. "...The monopolies, which have grown out of free competition, do not eliminate the latter, but exist above it and alongside it, and thereby give rise to a number of very acute, intense antagonisms, frictions and conflicts," wrote Lenin.⁴ A complex process takes place of the transformation of free competition into *monopoly competition* which differs from the former, like algebra differs from arithmetics, by sophisticated methods, diversity of means of struggle and the wide range of spheres it involves.

Accordingly the destructive force of competition increases many times over, claiming as its victims not individual, less successful enterprises but often entire branches of industry or agriculture, turning large economic areas into "distress zones". An example in point is offered by the results of the monopolisation of the world oil market by the international oil cartel of five major American corporations, one British, and one British-Dutch (later joined by the French *Compagnie Francaise de Pétrole*) which was formed in 1928. That international octopus gradually seized the bulk of known oil resources, and control of oil extraction, processing and marketing in the capitalist world, which enabled it to dictate prices.

³ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* Vol. One, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 169-170.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 266.

In the 1950s and 1960s the cartel pursued a policy of low oil prices which undercut the market positions of many rival fuels, notably coal. The share of coal in the world energy balance fell from 54.1 per cent in 1950 to 31.6 per cent in 1970. The coal companies in Western Europe, Japan and other countries sustained staggering losses. Coal extraction began to decline, afflicting untold suffering on hundreds of thousands of miners and their families. The development of nuclear power and other alternative sources of energy was delayed by many years because it was made uneconomical by low oil prices.

This is one of thousands of examples which shows that monopoly competition can cause vast economic and social damage, sometimes threatening the national interests of entire countries. Naturally, in this situation the bourgeois state could not confine itself to the role of "night watchman" or at best, policeman, over the general rules of the game in the market, while allowing private companies to "fight it out" among themselves as in the age of free-for-all capitalism. Because in competitive struggle the success of an auto, chemical, electrical engineering or some other national industrial giant quite often sets the pace for a whole range of related industries, determining the level of employment (or unemployment), the state of the country's trade balance and other economic indicators. That in turn affects the social situation in the country, the struggle among various political parties, etc.

The active interference of the capitalist state in economic life began, at first sporadically, in the 19th century. By the 1940s it became part of the capitalist economic system. The power of the monopolies merged with the power of the state within a single mechanism designed to ensure smooth functioning of the country's economic organism and to protect its interests (or rather, the interests of its monopolistic oligarchy) in competition with similar state-monopoly organisms in other countries.

As a result, international competition is elevated to the *interstate* level. Its subjects, along with monopolised and non-monopolised private enterprises, are entire national state-monopoly economic complexes. The state is now not merely a customs officer but a direct participant in international competition both as a consumer of imported goods (state purchases) and as an exporter of products made at government enterprises, but most important, as a regulator of the conditions under which the national economy as a whole can be effective.

The direct involvement of the state in competition lends it a pronounced political character, increasing its destructive consequences many times over as it involves entire national economies and, not infrequently, larger areas of the world capitalist economy.

The initial chances of the rival complexes are unequal, however, because national economies differ greatly in their size and, hence, economic potential. True, the potentials of countries constantly change, which, owing to the law of unequal economic and political development of capitalist states, brings dramatic changes in the correlation of forces between the rivals. Even so, a giant like the USA remains immeasurably stronger than smaller countries, such as Belgium, the Netherlands or Spain, and even large countries, such as Britain, France and the FRG. Therefore, the logic of interimperialist rivalry prompts small and medium capitalist countries to unite their efforts to confront the superior force of their rivals. While in the second half of the 19th century it was private corporations that formed monopoly alliances to meet the challenge of competition, since the middle of the 20th century entire states have been acting likewise.

The most characteristic example is the European Economic Community, despite the fact that there were some other weighty reasons that dictated the creation of the EEC. Since 1958 membership of the EEC has

doubled as competition between the three rival centres (the USA, the EEC and Japan) increased. There are grounds to expect that the trend for a number of national state-monopoly complexes to form alliances to secure their position vis-à-vis imperialist rivals will continue to develop. Measures are already afoot to unite the domestic markets of the USA and Canada into a single continent-wide market which would undoubtedly strengthen the position of giant monopolies in North America. Ever more active steps are being taken to create a "Pacific economic community" with Japan as its focus.

The struggle among major blocs of states naturally raises the forms and methods of competition to a new level, considerably increases the number of states directly involved in it, its fluctuations now affecting virtually the whole world capitalist economy. Writing at the time of pre-monopoly capitalism, Karl Marx pointed out that "everyone of the destructive phenomena to which unlimited competition gives rise within any one nation is reproduced in more gigantic proportions in the market of the world".⁵ Every new, higher stage in the evolution of competition entails growing destructive consequences whose scope increases as the world market and the entire capitalist economy become the arena of struggle.

TRADE WARS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD

International competition in the capitalist world is a complex and multi-tiered system. The development of state monopoly structures has not prevented competitive medium and even small private companies in the non-monopolised sector from breaking into world markets. In the late 1970s, 19,500 small and medium companies accounted for 35 per cent of the total volume of French exports. In the Netherlands, that share reached 37 per cent, and in Italy, the FRG and Japan, almost 40 per cent. Even in the USA, where the dominance of monopoly capital was most dramatically manifested, small business accounted for 16 per cent of the total exports of goods in the early 1980s.⁶

Still, it is the monopolised corporations that provide the bulk of exports at the present stage. The leading place among them in the postwar decades has been occupied by transnational corporations (TNCs), which have dozens of marketing, production, and credit and financial subsidiaries and affiliate enterprises abroad. These private business giants play for high stakes freely crossing state boundaries. The whole world capitalist economy is the board on which they play their chess game.

At the same time private business, in particular monopoly business, involves nation states and even interstate alliances in international competition. As has been noted above, the bourgeois state has never distanced itself from this competition. In the early capitalist era the leading industrial powers of the world (Britain, France, Holland and others) protected their national industry on the one hand, and on the other hand tried to break through the customs barriers of other countries with the help of their armies and fleets. Britain, for example, spent 60 out of 149 years (1641-1790) in wars with France, Holland, and other West European countries to gain access for British goods to their domestic markets and the colonial markets under their control.⁷ The use of crude military force to promote the interests of national capital did not diminish when the policy of free trade replaced harsh protectionism in the 1860s-1880s. In the

⁵ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 464.

⁶ See A. N. Tkachenko, *Non-Monopoly Sector in Present-Day Capitalism*, Moscow, 1985, p. 123 (in Russian).

⁷ I. M. Kulisher, *A History of Economic Life of Western Europe*. Vol. 2. Moscow-Leningrad, 1926, p. 127 (in Russian).

18th, 19th, and 20th centuries bloody wars were waged for territorial division and rediision of the world in quest of higher profits for national capital.

The situation qualitatively changed in the mid-20th century with the emergence of mass destruction weapons on the one hand and the world socialist system on the other. In the new situation armed conflicts between imperialist states in pursuit of economic benefits have become *meaningless in economic terms* because they would be destroying the very economic resources for the sake of which war would be waged. At the same time, interimperialist wars involve *political risk* as they would weaken the class front of imperialism in the face of world socialism and could trigger social upheavals in the belligerent countries themselves.

Owing to these circumstances interimperialist rivalry in the postwar period has taken largely non-military forms. The recent period marked by the worsening of the conditions of social reproduction caused in the 1970s by the crisis of the capitalist economic mechanism has seen a marked escalation of interimperialist "economic wars" which are being pursued by ever more sophisticated methods.

To begin with, *trade and political conflicts* became sharply aggravated. During three years of the last decade (1974-1976) the USA and the EEC, which between them account for the bulk of the world foreign trade, introduced import barriers of various kinds on more than 150 occasions. Unlike in the past, the capitalist states resort not so much to tariff barriers, which have proved to be insufficiently flexible weapons of trade war but to more sophisticated non-tariff barriers. We witness in effect *a new stage of inter-imperialist rivalry, the stage of neo-protectionism*. It is marked by the use of disguised forms of import restrictions. This involves technological and sanitary standards, quantitative import quotas or fixing of high minimum price ceilings for imported goods, and bilateral inter-governmental agreements on "voluntary" export restrictions etc.

According to the GATT Secretariat, about 800 varieties of non-tariff barriers were in use by the late 1970s. In many cases these barriers effectively blocked the access of foreign goods to national markets or set severe restrictions on their volume. Such measures can be very effective and may not only trip up the opponent, but push him out of the game altogether. For instance, the use of anti-dumping procedures and compensatory tariffs has cut the import of certain types of goods to the European Economic Community countries by 32.6 per cent in 1981 and by 37.7 per cent in 1982, while imports to the USA dropped respectively by 56.3 and 15.7 per cent (according to the UNCTAD Secretariat). On the whole, neo protectionist measures covered 40 per cent of the entire world trade by the mid-1970s and from 48 to 60 per cent in the early 1980s, according to some estimates.⁸

Not only means of defence, but means of offensive are being improved. These include various government measures to boost exports ranging from export subsidies, tax rebates, state export credits, to the fostering of promising export areas, financing of research and development, and *the creation of other conditions to make national goods more competitive in the world market*. In recent years, with the profound changes in the sectoral structure of industry in the advanced Western countries, and transition from energy-material- and labour-intensive production to science-intensive, energy- and labour-saving methods, the rivalry has gradually contributed to scientific and technological progress, the development of national electronics and laser technology, computer science and robotics, biotechnology and genetic engineering.

⁸ Intereconomics, May/June 1980, p. 144; F. David, *Le Commerce international à la dérive*, Paris, 1982, p. 226.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress stresses that "The economic, financial and technological superiority which the USA enjoyed over its closest competitors until the end of the 1960s has been put to a serious trial. Western Europe and Japan managed to outdo their American patron in some things, and are also challenging the United States in such a traditional sphere of US hegemony as that of the latest technology."

Total spending on research and development (in constant prices) increased by 50 per cent in the USA and 260 per cent in Japan between 1974 and 1984. Spending in West European countries is also soaring. In the USA and Western Europe the state underwrites the lion's share of the research and development bill: 43.1 per cent in the FRG, 47.2 per cent in the USA, 48.1 per cent in Britain, and 57.6 per cent in France in 1982-1983. These measures may look domestic but in fact they provide the heavy guns designed to destroy the protectionist barriers carefully erected by trade rivals.

THE STRATEGIC WEAPON OF COMPETITION

All the above-mentioned methods apply, so to speak, to operative-tactical types of competition weaponry intended for dealing with rivals on certain commodity markets. But, in addition, in the last years the systems of a completely different class, which could be called strategic weaponry, have come into extensive use.

Chief among them is *the use of the exchange rate of the national currency to undermine the competition positions of the principal trade rivals*. Artificial lowering of the exchange rate yields to national exporters tangible, if short-lived, advantages in the markets of those countries whose currencies remain relatively stable or are revalued upward. In this way a strike is delivered not on individual goods, but on the whole mass of goods and services in the said countries. Large-scale use of the monetary weapon became possible after the collapse of the Bretton-Woods monetary system and legalisation of "floating" currencies.

This weapon is readily used by all major imperialist powers. For understandable reasons, the possibilities of small countries in this respect are limited. But it is the USA which takes the most frequent recourse to this weapon because the dollar preserves its dominance in the world monetary system. The prolonged and deliberately unchecked fall of the dollar by about 25 per cent, compared to the "basket" of the currencies of the principal trade partners, from 1970 to the mid 1980s has greatly facilitated the penetration of American goods into most West European markets and, conversely, hindered the exports of West European and Japanese goods to the domestic market of the USA. An indirect measure of the damage caused by this manoeuvre to the EEC countries is the growth of their deficit trade with the USA from \$200 million in 1972 to \$17,700 million in 1980.

From the mid-1980 Washington reversed its strategy and launched the policy of the "expensive" dollar, a shift prompted by the huge federal budget deficit and the concomitant high interest rates. By mid-1985 US dollar rose by 70 per cent.

The dramatic rise in the value of the dollar occurred because the USA borrowed heavily in the lending capital market to cover its growing budget deficit (\$222,000 million in 1985). It gets these loans in bonds expressed in dollars, with a high interest rate. Actually, the huge volume of annual government borrowing leads to a credit squeeze. As a result, converting free capital into such bonds in the US credit market has become more lucrative than investing it in production or in bonds of other Western countries. However, only dollars and not any other

currency can buy these bonds and other securities in the American market (i. e. make it possible to invest capital in that market). Hence the run on the dollar in the money markets of London, Paris, Zurich, Milan, etc. And when demand for this or that currency outstrips supply, its price (i. e. exchange rate) naturally rises. This then is the chain of cause-and-effect links between the budget deficit of the USA, caused first and foremost by the Pentagon's astronomical military expenditure, and the rate of the dollar.

In recent years the *currency weapon* has been used in combination with the *credit weapon*. The combined effect proved to be immeasurably more destructive for the economies of the main rivals of the USA. The high rates in the vast American capital market undermine the financial basis of economic growth in the West European and other capitalist countries by siphoning off their investment funds. In 1983 \$150,000 million worth of capital was drained to the USA from West European and other states. And the figure for 1984 was \$100,000 million. To prevent the flight of national capital to the USA, these countries have to maintain a very high level of interest rates in their own markets which makes credits more expensive and is a disincentive for investment in production.

In addition, the inflated rate of the dollar (it was estimated at 30 to 40 per cent above its real buying power in 1985) means a corresponding rise in the price of imported oil and many other fuels and raw materials for all the other countries because the prices for these commodities have traditionally been quoted in dollars.

Finally, the inflated rate of the dollar paves the way for monetary speculation which artificially lowers the exchange rates of some currencies. As a result the FRG, France and other countries have to pay exorbitant prices (in national currency) for the import, notably of manufactured goods not only from the USA but from many other countries.

All this does not only burden the trade balances of the said countries, but aggravates inflation in them (with all the negative economic and social consequences that entail). "Just as the stronger dollar has brought reduced inflation to the United States during the past several years, the consequent fall in the values of the French franc, the German mark and the British pound put upward pressure on prices in those countries," writes American economist Martin Feldstein. "To prevent that pressure from initiating a new round of domestic inflation, the government in each of those countries was forced to pursue tighter monetary and fiscal policies than it would otherwise have chosen. These tighter monetary and fiscal policies have prevented a stronger recovery in [Western] Europe and have contributed to the continually rising rate of unemployment."⁹

To be sure, it was not the US Administration's deliberate aim to increase the federal budget deficit in order to damage the West European and other rivals. There is no doubt, however, that the budget and monetary situation in that country has been used and continues to be used by its ruling circles as a most powerful strategic weapon in competition with its imperialist rivals. One piece of evidence of this is that for a number of years Washington has turned a deaf ear on the urgent pleas of the other six members in the Big Seven summit meetings to take measures to cut the US budget deficit and bring down interest rates.

The self-seeking line followed by US imperialism has caused vast damage to many West European countries by greatly delaying their recovery from the cyclic crises of 1980-1983 and, even more important, by gravely undermining their basis for new investment in advanced science-intensive

industries on which their competitiveness in the near future would depend. While in 1971-1980 the USA's gross national product grew on average by 2.9 per cent and Western Europe's by 3 per cent a year, the corresponding figures for 1981-1985 were about 2.8 and 1.3 per cent. Thanks to the influx of foreign capital the growth of investment in industrial plant in the USA in 1981-1984 was on the average 8 per cent higher than in 1980, whereas in France and Britain it dropped by 5.1 per cent, in the FRG by 5.3 per cent, and in Italy by 8.6 per cent. As a result, the unemployment situation in the USA has eased somewhat in the last two years. In 1984 it stood at an average 8.7 million (against 6 million in 1978 and 10.7 million in 1982), while the European Economic Community has registered a steady uptrend (from 6 million in 1978 to 10.4 million in 1982 and 12.4 million in 1984).

Washington's recourse to the monetary credit weapon in the struggle against rival imperialist centres causes heavy damage to other countries, notably the developing countries. The revalued dollar takes its toll most on those young states which import oil and other raw materials priced in dollars. Their meagre dollar resources are not enough to cover growing prices of fuel, grain and other vital commodities. True, those developing countries which export oil and some other minerals have stood to gain. However, this gain is often obliterated by another scourge, namely, the growing absolute volume of their foreign debts and interest on them. In the last 15 years the developing world's today indebtedness to Western banks and financial institutions has grown from \$58,000 million to \$1 trillion, with three fourths of the debts in US dollars. So, a 1 per cent rise in the value of the dollar increases the dollar debts by thousands of millions dollars, tightening the financial noose.

One must, however, take into account another side of the "monetary credit war". The high dollar rate has boomeranged against US exports which were 12.8 per cent less in 1984 than in 1980, while imports grew by 50 per cent in the same period. As a result, the US trade deficit rose from \$36,000 million in 1980 to almost \$150,000 million in 1985. This caused angry protests among American monopolists who provide goods both to foreign and domestic markets. They demand a sharp rise of the customs barriers protecting their markets (up to one-fifth of the cost of the imported goods). By the autumn of 1985 there were more than 400 bills pending before the US Congress that envisaged tougher protectionist measures. Unless the US Administration manages to cut the budget deficit and dramatically bring down the rate of the dollar soon, this avalanche of bills may turn into laws and a chain reaction of protectionism threatens to spread all over the capitalist world.

The leaders of the main capitalist states are taking frantic measures to prevent events from taking such a turn. As of late September 1985 the central banks of the USA, Japan, the FRG, France, and Britain have been acting together to bring down the exchange rate of the dollar. The rate has indeed been going down in recent months. By the same token the US Administration is trying to cut federal spending, mainly by cutting social spending. It is hard to say whether a new catastrophe in the world capitalist economy could be averted in this way.

The intensified arms race imposed on the USA's principal rivals is yet another type of strategic weapon in its competitive struggle against these countries. The USA, by obtaining increased military expenditure from its partners in that way plans, apart from everything else, to weaken their economy and at the same time use their achievements in the sphere of science and technology to realise its own hegemonistic goals. This is vividly demonstrated by US efforts to harness the West European countries and Japan to the "star wars" programme, thereby not only shifting a portion of the financial costs onto the allies but also making use of the

scientific and technological potentials in the name of realising its dangerous plans to create space strike weapons.

It is evident that world capitalism is becoming more and more deeply enmeshed in the contradictions of its economic system. "The dialectics of development are such," reads the new edition of the Programme of the CPSU, "that the very same means which capitalism puts to use with the aim of strengthening its positions inevitably lead to an aggravation of all its deep-seated contradictions." Not only economic, but also political contradictions between the leading Western powers are aggravated. No matter how much their class interests with regard to the socialist community and the developing world have in common, there are divergencies between the positions of Western countries, "gaps" stemming from the difference of their economic interests. Each time interimperialist rivalry sharpens, these "gaps" widen and cracks in the West's political unity deepen. This happened, for example, in the early half of the 1970s when the energy crisis broke out and Washington tried to organise a united anti-Arab front. At that time West European countries' and Japan's position on the Middle East diverged from that of the USA's. An acute political conflict flared up in 1982 when the White House tried to ban supplies of West European pipes and equipment for the Soviet gas pipeline from Urengoy to Uzhgorod. We are currently witnessing a new flare-up of differences over the provocative US policy with regard to Libya.

As the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress has pointed out, "The clash of centrifugal and centripetal tendencies will, no doubt, continue as a result of changes in the correlation of forces within the imperialist system. Still, the existing complex of economic, politico-military and other common interests of the three 'centres of power' can hardly be expected to break up in the prevailing conditions of the present-day world. But within the framework of this complex, Washington should not expect unquestioning obedience to US dictation on the part of its allies and competitors, and especially when this is to the detriment of their own interests."

IMPROVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS: AN IMPERATIVE OF OUR DAY

E. M A K E Y E V

The main task of the United Nations, set up more than 40 years ago as a result of the peoples' Great Victory over fascism and Nazism in the Second World War, is to save mankind from the scourge of war, to ensure lasting peace and international security through joint efforts on the part of the states. Another purpose of the United Nations, as recorded in its Charter, is to create conditions for economic and social progress and development, promote a solution of international economic problems, and improve international cooperation.

Soviet diplomacy has always devoted much attention to that line of UN activity, since there is a close and indissoluble interconnection between the problems of establishing lasting peace, the struggle for disarmament and the development of international economic cooperation, a solution of global economic problems.

As it is noted in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "when vast resources are no longer used for military purposes, it would be possible to use the fruits of labour exclusively for constructive purposes... Favourable opportunities would also arise for solving the global problems by the collective efforts of all states."

At the same time, equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation between states in the trade, economic, scientific, technological and other fields, and an improvement and democratisation of international economic relations are a major material prerequisite for the normal functioning of international relations, for peaceful neighbourly ties and contacts between peoples.

Economic factors are crucial to elaborating the main lines of states' foreign policy. The practice of international affairs, including the activity of the United Nations, fully confirms Lenin's idea that economic interests and the economic position of the state lie at the root of both its home and foreign policy.¹ That is precisely why international politics and diplomacy, as an integral part of state foreign policy, are always closely tied in with economic problems, both domestic and global, with the development of international economic relations. At the present stage, the interconnection between politics and economics is particularly pronounced. One of the main reasons for that is the diversity and multiformity of the lines of international economic cooperation in the present conditions of struggle between the two opposite economic systems, the disintegration of the colonial system, the efforts to root out the aftermath of colonial dependence, and the present stage of the scientific and technological revolution.

Such an interconnection is evident in the activity of the United Nations, which is working on a wide range of problems relating to economic, scientific and technological cooperation. Such problems are within the competence of a fairly wide and ramified system of functional and regional organs headed by the Economic and Social Council, and also a num-

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 365.

ber of specialised agencies which deal with matters relating to the economic and social situation in the world as a whole, in separate sectors or regions, with global problems, and also with specific trade, economic, scientific and technological problems.

In deciding to mark the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly noted in its resolution of December 17, 1984, that the anniversary should be marked under the slogan of "United Nations for a better world", and should usher in a new "era of durable and global peace and justice, social and economic development and progress and independence of all peoples". The General Assembly's appeal in connection with the UN jubilee is quite natural. In its four decades, that unique instrument of international intercourse has done a great deal, including in the economic field, but even more remains to be done in order to solve the urgent problems of our day, including those of the world economy and international economic relations.

Looking back on the 40-years record of the United Nations, one should primarily emphasise that it has fully borne out the proposition being consistently upheld by the USSR and other socialist countries that in order to resolve such vital tasks as those of ensuring the states' socio-economic progress and developing international trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation, it is necessary to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, adopt concrete measures to reduce armaments and military spending and to bring about disarmament, prevent an extension of the arms race to outer space and stop it on the Earth. That principled standpoint of the socialist countries was reaffirmed in the Declaration on the Maintenance of Peace and International Economic Cooperation adopted at the Economic Summit Conference of the CMEA Countries (Moscow, June 12-14, 1984), which said that "there is no more important task today than that of safeguarding world peace and averting nuclear catastrophe. Top priority tasks are: ending the arms race, going over to reduction of armaments, and maintaining military-strategic equilibrium at progressively low levels. This is the most important condition for improving the world economic situation as well".²

As it was noted in Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement of January 15, 1986, in which a concrete programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world by the year 2000 was proposed, "the pattern imposed by militarism—arms instead of development—must be replaced by the reverse order of things—disarmament for development". Implementation of that general idea is one of the main goals of Soviet diplomacy, notably, in the economic agencies of the United Nations.

Emphasising the indissoluble interconnection between development and disarmament, the socialist countries are in favour of elaborating and implementing tangible, concrete measures to limit armaments and so to release funds for the progress of all countries, including the developing ones. The UN General Assembly's Resolutions 38/188 and 39/151E on development and disarmament, adopted at the 38th and 39th sessions, are aimed at putting that approach into effect.

Practice shows very well that an improvement of the international climate and political detente give a powerful positive impulse to the development of normal relations between countries. At the same time, as it was noted at the ceremonial meeting to mark the 40th Anniversary of the Soviet People's Victory in the Great Patriotic War "peace will be durable if peaceful constructive coexistence, equal and mutually beneficial

² *Economic Summit Conference of the CMEA Countries, June 12-14, 1984, Documents and Materials*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, p. 33 (in Russian).

cooperation between states with different social systems become supreme universal laws governing international relations".³

Thus, it was only natural that in the 1970s, when international detente was gathering momentum, it became possible to raise to a qualitatively new level the UN debate on the problems of the world economy and interstate economic relations.

In that period, broad and mutually beneficial cooperation developed against the background of a general improvement of international relations. As the military threat was reduced and international tensions relaxed, it became possible to increase economic assistance to the newly free states. It was no accident that in the 1970s, relying on active political support from the socialist community states, the developing countries came out with a programme for a new international economic order, which incorporated many of the essential propositions on a fundamental restructuring of international economic relations on a just, equitable and democratic basis formulated in the very first documents of the Soviet state and consistently pursued by it throughout its history.

From its very first steps in the international arena, this country came out against the imperialist system of relations based on economic inequality and dependence, and for the assertion of new basic principles in international intercourse. In his concluding speech on the Report on Peace at the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies on November 8, 1917, the second day of Soviet power, Lenin declared a readiness to "welcome all clauses containing provisions for good-neighbourly relations and all economic agreements".⁴ Shortly after that, the Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People announced a "complete break with the barbarous policy of bourgeois civilization, which has built the prosperity of the exploiters helonging to a few chosen nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of working people in Asia, in the colonies in general, and in the small countries".⁵ On the strength of these essential provisions, the USSR has always sought, both before and after the war, to improve and democratise international economic relations, to purge them of exploitation, inequality, discrimination and diktat.

In its activity at the United Nations, the USSR has always assumed that with the consolidation of the socialist forces and the emergence on the world scene of a large group of newly free states, whose major task upon winning political independence is to effect an economic decolonisation, a just restructuring of international economic relations is inevitable. As it was noted in a Statement on that matter issued by the Soviet government on October 4, 1976, the present character of international economic relations, which took shape under a totally different balance of world forces and which meets the selfish interests of the imperialist states and their monopolies alone, has come into contradiction with the vital interests of a vast majority of countries and the development of the overall international situation.⁶

The favourable international situation of that period, which resulted from the socialist countries' vigorous policy of peaceful coexistence and the development of broad and equitable cooperation with all countries, enabled the newly free states to launch a struggle for economic independence, a struggle to eliminate the system of their inequitable economic relations with the industrialised capitalist countries. That was when the joint efforts of the socialist and developing countries aimed at democratising international economic relations enabled the latter to advance a

³ *Pravda*, May 9, 1985.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, 1964, p. 255.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

⁶ *Pravda*, Oct. 5, 1976.

programme for establishing a new international economic order. That programme, which envisages a fairly wide complex of measures in the field of international economic relations and is aimed at their development and democratisation, has incorporated many of the fundamental essential propositions put forward by the USSR and other socialist countries at the United Nations in the postwar period and aimed at a radical restructuring of international economic relations on the principles of equality and justice.

Alongside the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO), a special place among the basic documents promoting UN activity to realise the NIEO idea belongs to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, adopted at the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly by an overwhelming majority. The Charter not only contains a wide range of measures aimed at improving and democratising international economic relations, but is also a code of rules for equitable international intercourse. Thus, largely owing to the efforts of the socialist and progressive developing countries, the Charter enshrines such major principles of international relations as the principle of peaceful coexistence of states, the connection between development and disarmament, the duty of all countries to promote the attainment of general and complete disarmament, the principle of inherent sovereignty over natural resources, the mutual extension of the most-favoured-nation treatment in international trade, and the inadmissibility of discrimination in trade and other forms of economic cooperation based on differences in political, economic and social systems.⁷

From the very outset, the USSR and the other socialist countries supported the idea of a Charter, its elaboration and adoption, regarding it as a document that would assert progressive norms of interstate economic ties and international relations as a whole. The Soviet Union's stand on that issue was a logical continuation of the long years of consistent effort by Soviet diplomacy to improve international economic relations. Suffice it to recall that in 1964, ten years before the adoption of the Charter, the First Session of the UN Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva adopted the Soviet-initiated General Principles to govern international trade relations and trade policies conducive to development, in which the special needs of the developing countries in the external economic sphere were recognised for the first time.

The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, together with the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order constitute a kind of platform for anti-imperialist and anticolonial actions by the developing countries at the United Nations in the economic sphere. Among these one should primarily single out their struggle to strengthen the national sovereignty of states over their natural resources, to develop equitable international trade and mutually beneficial economic cooperation between states with different socio-economic systems, to eradicate any forms of discrimination against sovereign states in the world economy and international economic relations, to limit the activities of the transnational corporations (TNCs), notably, by elaborating a Code of Conduct for the TNCs, and so on. In pursuit of these goals, the non-aligned and developing countries advanced in 1979 the idea of holding "global negotiations" on the most burning problems of the world economy, a call for whose earliest convocation is contained in the UN General Assembly's Resolution 34/138.

Since then, the economic activity of the United Nations has been focussed on realising the tasks and goals formulated in these documents.

⁷ For details see N. Yevgenyev, V. Igorev, "An Instrument of Major Significance", *International Affairs*, No. 10, 1984, pp. 57-62.

That activity has been marked by intense political and ideological struggle, which has brought out two essentially different approaches to a solution of the problems of international economic relations: socialist and imperialist.

The leading imperialist powers, the USA above all, which reject the very idea of restructuring international economic relations on just and democratic principles and ignore the UN documents on these matters, have in recent years launched a real offensive against all that has already been achieved by the United Nations in this field. The USA and its allies question the UN's ability to promote the solution of urgent problems of the world economy and international economic relations. These attacks upon its economic activity are backed up with Western deniagogic rhetoric about a so-called crisis of multilateralism allegedly caused by the political diversity of the states. Those who advocate such ideas are in effect trying to bar the United Nations from considering the most imperative economic problems of our day, and to turn it into a kind of debating society for discussing secondary problems. The main goal of the fierce attack launched by the USA and its allies against the economic agencies of the UN system is to nullify all the achievements in improving and democratising international economic relations brought about over the years by the efforts of the socialist and developing countries, to dismiss the policy-making UN documents in this field, to excise from UN economic activity the very idea of establishing a just NIEO, and subordinate the UN to their own ideological interests.

The activities of the Western delegations at the sessions of UN economic agencies in recent years make it perfectly clear that the rhetoric on a crisis of multilateralism is meant to cover up their course for undermining and discrediting the United Nations and barring it from the solution of crucial socio-economic development problems, which the West would like to confine to agencies under its own control, such as the IMF or the IBRD.

Alleging an inability of the UN economic agencies to carry on effective multilateral talks and attain concrete results in this field, the West calls for an attainment of a "new international economic consensus". But that call does not tally with Western diplomatic practice in UN economic agencies. Thus, the USA and some of its allies put an open and flagrant boycott on the UN Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole to Review the Implementation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, whose First Session was held in March and April 1985.

For several years now, they have openly sabotaged the review and appraisal process of the UN international development strategy for the 1980s, which is seen by an overwhelming majority of UN members as a major document aimed to accelerate socio-economic development, primarily in the newly free countries, to democratise international economic relations and establish a NIEO.

As the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly showed, the USA and its allies, which keep plugging their thesis on a "new economic consensus", have been voting against essentially important resolutions supported by an overwhelming majority of UN member states, notably, resolutions denouncing economic coercion, urging the need to ensure the economic security of states, and so on. It is no accident that the imperialist countries have adopted a more aggressive stance in UN economic agencies against the background of a sharp worsening of the overall international situation, for which imperialism is to blame, against the background of its arms drive and the implementation of its sinister "star wars" programme. As it was noted at the CMEA countries' Economic Summit, "the escalation of the arms race by those forces constitutes one of the main causes of the aggravation of political and economic instability in the

world, increases the threat of nuclear war, jeopardises the very existence of mankind and puts an ever heavier burden on the peoples of the world by diverting huge material and financial resources and slowing down economic and social progress".⁸

In the 1980s the USA and its NATO allies have toughened their line for using international economic relations in their own political interests. In defiance of generally accepted norms of interstate relations, they break off agreements, organise trade, credit and technological blockades, and make ever more frequent use of economic strong-arm methods, embargoes and sanctions with regard to many countries, socialist and developing countries above all, imposing that line on their closest allies.

As the socialist countries noted in their joint statement at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly, "Forty Years of International Economic Cooperation at the United Nations", the negative consequences of such a line in economic relations between states primarily affect the developing countries. Using every instrument of political and economic pressure, the imperialist states shift the consequences of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the peoples of the developing countries, and keep intensifying their neocolonialist exploitation, primarily through the transnational corporations.

Taking advantage of the grave economic problems of Asian, African and Latin American countries, the West seeks to intensify its neocolonialist plunder of these countries. Thus, according to the Report of the UN Secretary-General, *International Cooperation in the Fields of Money, Finance, Debt, Resource Flows, Trade and Development*, in 1985 the developing countries were to have remitted to Western banks \$70,000 million worth of interest payments alone.⁹ While siphoning off financial resources from the developing countries, the West has also been reducing its "aid" to these countries. Thus, in the 1980-1984 period, the real growth rate of "aid" was halved as compared with that of the 1970s.¹⁰

According to a London magazine, the 1984-1985 fall in the prices of metallic ores and oil being exported by the developing countries means that in that period the "poor" countries presented \$65,000 million to the "rich" countries.¹¹ An interesting point to note is that the "gift" comes to 0.7 per cent of the gross national product of the Western countries within the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which is precisely as much as the latter should remit to the developing countries by way of economic aid in accordance with the target set by the UN international development strategy for the 1980s. The London magazine applauds the unexpected gift, which helps the West to hold back inflation, but what actually lies behind that fact is a whole system of neocolonialist exploitation, which the imperialist powers are trying to keep intact.

The sharply intensified neocolonialist exploitation of the developing countries and also the worsening food crisis in a number of African and some other countries have led to economic stagnation or have markedly slowed down the general economic development of the newly free countries, showing the economic vulnerability of that large group of states as the periphery of the world capitalist economic system.

The Foreign Ministers of the developing countries emphasised in a declaration adopted at their ninth annual meeting, held in October 1985

⁸ *Economic Summit Conference of the CMEA Countries, June 12-14, 1984. Documents and Materials*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, p. 29 (in Russian).

⁹ UN Doc A/40/708, p. 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹¹ *The Economist*, Nov. 30, 1985, p. 13.

in the course of the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly, that unfavourable external conditions affecting their development have not only raised an insurmountable barrier to their economic and social development, but have also jeopardised their economic, political and social stability.¹²

In recent years, the developing countries have been particularly worried by their gigantic foreign debt, which is a direct consequence of the glaring inequality in the system of capitalist division of labour and the existence of an unjust international economic order imposed by imperialism. By the end of 1985 the debt had exceeded \$900,000 million (with \$370,000 million being owed by Latin American countries and \$170,000 million by African countries); according to some estimates, it is close to \$1 trillion. The huge interest payments swallow up a considerable part of the developing countries' export earnings, lead to cutbacks in the outlays on socio-economic programmes and to a disastrous shortage of internal financial resources for the needs of development.

In that context, the Colombian delegate said at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly that Latin America is due to pay out to its creditors \$800,000 million over the next 15 years. The bulk of its domestic savings and foreign-exchange earnings will be used up for this purpose, so making it impossible over the next 15 years to increase per head income for 380 million Latin Americans or to promote economic development on the continent.

In matters of external indebtedness and other international economic problems being heatedly debated at the United Nations, the socialist states support the developing countries in their just demands addressed to the West. In a joint statement at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly on December 15, 1985, the socialist countries came out for an earliest start to concrete businesslike talks within the UN framework with the participation of all states in order to attain a just and global solution of the most important international economic problems, including that of external indebtedness.

Soviet diplomacy devotes much attention in UN economic agencies to exposing Western policy, which lies at the root of most international economic problems.

As it was noted at the CPSU Central Committee's Plenary Meeting in April 1985, "manipulation of interest rates, the plunderous role of the transnational corporations, political restrictions on trade, diverse boycotts and sanctions create an atmosphere of tension and mistrust in international economic relations, disrupt the world economy and trade, and undermine its legal foundations. The exploitation of the newly free countries is being intensified, and the processes of their economic decolonisation are being blocked".¹³

"In these conditions," it was emphasised at the Plenary Meeting, "there is ever greater interest throughout the world in the idea of elaborating and implementing measures to normalise international economic relations, to ensure the economic security of states".¹⁴

The actual state of affairs in world politics and international economic relations dictates the need for urgent action to realise these ideas as soon as possible. Soviet diplomacy has done much to help a majority of UN members become aware of these ideas.

At the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly, the world community adopted a number of important resolutions on these matters. Among these are resolutions denouncing the US trade embargo against Nicaragua.

¹² UN Doc. A/40/762.

¹³ *Pravda*, Apr. 24, 1985.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

gua, the imperialist powers' use of economic coercion against the developing countries, and so on. Characteristically, when the General Assembly was passing its resolution on the US trade embargo against Nicaragua, the USA found itself in virtual political isolation: none of the Western countries ventured to vote against that resolution. On seven occasions the USA voted all alone or together with Israel on the most important and trenchant resolutions on economic issues adopted at the 40th Session.

Soviet diplomacy has countered the destructive course of the USA and its allies with a line of democratising and improving international economic ties. That line was reaffirmed at the CMEA countries' Economic Summit in Moscow in June 1984, where the socialist countries thoroughly analysed the situation that had taken shape in the 1980s in world politics and world economy and interstate economic ties, and put forward a concrete programme of action to improve international economic relations, ensure economic security and strengthen confidence in that most important area of interstate contacts.

In putting that programme before the world community, the CMEA countries maintain that it meets the interests and aspirations of all states and peoples. Its aim is to help them resolve the most burning problems of the world economy and international economic relations, develop equitable trade, economic, scientific and technological ties, and establish a new international economic order on a just and democratic basis.

Much attention is devoted in the programme to the urgent need to overcome the economic backwardness of Asian, African and Latin American countries, which are faced with the grave problems of poverty, hunger, unemployment and external indebtedness.

In that programme, the socialist countries emphasised their invariable course towards increasing the role of the United Nations in the solution of vital economic problems facing mankind, primarily the developing countries.

In recent years, when the situation in the world, notably, in the field of international economic relations made it necessary for the United Nations to take effective decisions in order to normalise these relations, the USSR and other socialist countries put forward a number of initiatives aimed at improving and democratising the whole system of interstate economic ties. Among these are the resolutions on confidence-building measures in international economic relations (Poland), on strengthening the role of the United Nations in the field of international economic, scientific, technological and social cooperation (GDR), on studying the long-term trends of world economic development (initiated by Poland), on the role of skilled national personnel in economic development (Mongolia), on measures of economic coercion with regard to the developing countries (whose idea was suggested by the GDR), and so on.

A Resolution on International Economic Security, adopted at the 40th Session on the USSR's initiative, marked an important step towards realising the socialist countries' consistent course for an improvement of international economic ties and their restructuring on a just and democratic basis. That Resolution, which is a major contribution by Soviet diplomacy to the development of international economic cooperation, asserts one of the basic principles of economic intercourse between states and inaugurates a new and important line in UN economic activity. In advancing its Resolution, the Soviet Union assumed that in order to ensure the normal socio-economic development of all states and resolve such a global problem of our day as that of overcoming the economic backwardness of many developing countries, it is necessary to create favourable external conditions protecting the economy of all countries against the adverse effects of the economic policy of the imperialist powers, against acts of economic aggression. The Soviet Resolution is

aimed at attaining that goal. In particular, it emphasises the urgency of improving international economic relations and ensuring international economic security in order to promote each country's socio-economic development and progress, and expresses the conviction that joint efforts to create just and mutually beneficial international economic relations would be conducive to the economic prosperity of each state, and that a solution of the grave economic problems of the developing countries and the bridging of the gap between economic development levels are a factor of international economic stability and of improvement of the political climate.

So, at the jubilee 40th Session of the UN General Assembly, the USSR and other socialist countries continued the constructive and consistent course they had followed throughout the 40 years of the United Nations, reaffirming their resolute support for all those who are fighting for independence and social progress, their undeviating course for normalisation of trade, economic, scientific and technological ties between states, for a removal of any artificial obstacles and discriminatory restrictions, for greater confidence in international economic relations, for their reconstruction on a just and democratic basis, and for the establishment of a new international economic order.

Yet another indication of that principled line was the Soviet government's Memorandum, International Economic Security: An Important Condition of Healthy International Economic Relations.¹⁵

The Memorandum contains a comprehensive analysis of the present state of international economic affairs and notes the main obstacles in the way of normal, civilised international economic relations. It also points out concrete ways of freeing international economic relations from the present tensions and mistrust, which actually undermine the economic security of states. As was emphasised at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet Union sees the struggle for ensuring international economic security as one of its most important foreign policy tasks. It is an integral part of the comprehensive system of international security advanced by the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress. It is emphasised in the Report that "alongside disarmament such a system can become a dependable pillar of international security generally". Mikhail Gorbachev proposed at the 27th Congress to convene in the future a World Congress on Problems of Economic Security, at which it "would be possible to discuss as a package everything that encumbers world economic relations."

Economic security is inconceivable without lasting peace, without an end to the imperialism-imposed arms race on the Earth and its prevention in outer space, and a decisive improvement of the international situation as a whole. The economic agencies of the UN system should also help to resolve that crucial task of our day by working to strengthen confidence and good-neighbourhood between states and peoples, to foster the spirit of cooperation, bring about an improvement and democratisation of international economic relations, and ensure the normal socio-economic development of all nations.

¹⁵ *Pravda*, Jan 28, 1986

REVOLUTIONARY AFGHANISTAN: EIGHT YEARS LATER

V. S E M Y O N O V

Afghanistan, Kabul, April 27, 1978, 9.00 A. M. Major Aslam Watanjar, appointed Commander of the country's ground forces by the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), announces the beginning of the armed uprising against Mohammad Daud's bourgeois-landowner regime before the ranks of his fellow tankmen. At 11.30 A. M. the first tank, carrying A. Watanjar, leaves the positions of the armoured brigade and heads for the government quarters. At noon the tank fires its first shot at the Ministry of Defence, one of the government's strongholds, and the fighting begins. The uprising embraces the entire city. At 16.00 P. M. fighter planes manned by revolutionary officers under the command of Col. Abdul Kadyr, who has been appointed Commander of the Air and Air Defence Forces, strike a missile blow at Daud's headquarters. At 17.00 the patriots take hold of Radio Kabul. At 17.30 they set free Nur Mohammad Taraki, Babrak Karmal and other PDPA leaders who were seized by Daud's secret service on the eve of the uprising. At 19.00 P. M., Watanjar and Kadyr read the communique of the Military-Revolutionary Council of National Armed Forces on the victory of the uprising and the downfall of Daud's regime over Radio Kabul.

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That was the beginning of the Afghan Revolution which was essential for ensuring the vital national interests of the Afghan people. This was the turning point that had been eagerly sought for by the best representatives of the Afghan people and for which they had been fighting for many a generation. For a revolution to take place, noted Lenin, "it is usually insufficient for 'the lower classes not to want' to live in the old way; it is also necessary that 'the upper classes should be unable' to live in the old way;... when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual."¹ That was precisely the situation that took shape in Afghanistan in the mid-1970s, the world's most backward country: in 1975 its per capita national income amounted to \$160, putting it at the 108th place among 129 developing countries. The average life expectancy did not rise above 45 years. There was one doctor for every 12,000 people. Mohammad Daud who was swept into power following the palace revolution of 1973 and was linked by class and blood kinship with the feudal and landowner aristocracy that had ruled Afghanistan for centuries, was incapable of introducing any radical changes, which were called for, objectively, by the entire course of the country's socio-economic and political development.

It was also natural that the PDPA stood at the head of the armed uprising against the Daud regime. Despite its small size (18,000 mem-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, pp. 213-214.

bers), an incomplete organisational structure and lack of experience of political work among the masses, by the mid-1970s the PDPA was the only political force in Afghanistan that had every reason to claim power. Every unbiased foreigner who had been in those days of April-May 1978 in Kabul could not help noticing the people's elation and enthusiasm, the joy and hope reflected in their faces.

On April 29, 1978 the Military-Revolutionary Council issued a decree transferring all power to the Revolutionary Council. On April 30 the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was proclaimed. The following goals were set by the new state: to defend its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, consolidate the gains of the April Revolution, implement its goals and ideals, ensure the large-scale and active participation of the country's working people and all its patriotic forces in the national democratic changes which should be objectively anti-feudal and anti-imperialist, turn Afghanistan into a developed, prosperous state.

In its first official declaration The Guidelines of Revolutionary Tasks the DRA government confirmed its firm resolve to fulfil the promises made by the People's Democratic Party to the Afghan people to implement the Party's goals—to introduce radical democratic changes in the political, socio-economic and other spheres of life. In terms of social and political importance pride of place belongs here to the land and water reform which has a direct bearing on the vital interests of the Afghan peasants who make up the bulk of the population. Other reforms concern the democratisation of public life and the state apparatus; guaranteeing fundamental political rights and freedoms; the democratic solution of the nationalities question and the tribal problem; ensuring equal rights to women and men in all the spheres of public, economic, political, cultural and civil life; introducing universal free elementary education for all children of school age and effective measures against illiteracy; enhancing the state sector in the national economy in line with scientifically-grounded planning; establishing effective control over national material and manpower resources.

The Decrees Nos. 7 and 8 issued by the DRA Revolutionary Council were of great significance from the view point of the class nature of the country's domestic policy. The first decree endorsed on July 13, 1978 annulled the peasants' debt to landowners and usurers. It was meant to deliver 11 million peasants from debt to the tune of some 30,000 million afghanis (The rate then was one US dollar to 47 afghanis). On November 28, 1978 the Revolutionary Council endorsed Decree No. 8 On Land a major legislative act in the sphere of socio-economic transformations dealing with agrarian changes.

As in 1919, when the Afghan state had regained independence and Soviet Russia was the first country to recognise its state sovereignty and independence, in 1978 the Soviet Union was again the first to recognise the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as it did on April 30, the day it was officially proclaimed.

Eight years have gone by. The major political result achieved by the DRA during the time is that the Afghan revolutionaries with comprehensive internationalist support and assistance from the Soviet Union have succeeded in defending the gains of the April Revolution, the freedom, honour, independence and state sovereignty of their country.

Socio-economic changes, especially the land and water reform, are in progress. By the end of 1985 a total of 313,000 landless and peasant families with very small land holdings received gratis 340,000 hectares

of land (first-grade land, that is, irrigated land yielding two crops yearly). Hundreds of peasant committees have been set up for redistribution of land and irrigation water. Some 566 peasant credit and supply-and-market cooperatives, and cooperatives of state employees and artisans were in operation.

The fact that the latifundium-owners have been eliminated as a class is the most important result of the agrarian reform carried out in the country. There have been created prerequisites for setting up a non-capitalist agrarian sector in the Afghan countryside.

Democratic changes in political and public life are gaining momentum. In this respect a great role is allotted to elections to local government bodies—*jirgah* (councils) which have already been held in seven provinces: Kabul, Badakhshan, Nisrooz, Balkh, Nangarhar, Kunduz, Jawzjan, and in the capital. Over half the elected deputies do not belong to the PDPA and represent all classes and strata of the population: workers, peasants, the clergy, intelligentsia, petty bourgeoisie as well as influential tribe representatives, a fact showing the growing links between the revolutionary-democratic state and the people at large. New bodies of government—*jirgah* of provinces, cities, regions, districts and villages, have started working in the above-mentioned provinces. A plan of measures to extend the elections to all of the Republic by the end of this year was adopted in early January in Kabul by the preparatory commission for elections to local government bodies. Mass public organisations are steadily consolidating their ranks.

Concrete results have been achieved in the sphere of economic and cultural development. The national income has topped the pre-revolutionary level in total and per capita. In the last five years alone the GNP increased by over 11 per cent, while aggregate state investments in the national economy increased by 67,000 million afghanis (100 afghanis = 1.56 rubles as of January 1986). Industry is also making good headway: in the five-year period production of electricity has gone up by 48 per cent, cement—10 per cent, natural gas—11 per cent. Owing to unfavourable weather conditions, lack of sufficient snow in the preceding winter, absence of rain in the spring and summer, in 1985 agricultural yields remained at the mean annual level of the last five years. Nevertheless the people's food requirements are satisfied chiefly by domestic resources. To help the peasantry, the government has increased allocations for irrigation development by 18 per cent which has allowed large-scale repair and restoration work in this sphere to be carried out. Meadows were irrigated, wells were drilled, dams and water-distributing devices were built. In 1985 state farms, peasant cooperatives and individual landowners received over 145,000 tons of mineral fertiliser and 15,000 tons of high-grade wheat seed. Their requirements for cotton and sugarbeet seeds were fully satisfied.

In 1985 the DRA's foreign trade turnover was more than double that of pre-revolutionary Afghanistan and reached the value of \$1,600 million. The wages of state enterprise workers increased on average 2.5-fold. Nearly 1.2 million people have learned to read and write.

Nevertheless, as noted on November 21, 1985 by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, President of the DRA Revolutionary Council, at the 16th Plenum of the CC PDPA, "if we compare our achievements with the revolutionary tasks, which we had put before us a few years ago, it would obviously be seen that our successes are not eye-catching in some spheres of life".

A principal task still facing the Afghan revolutionaries is to achieve an all-round expansion of the mass social base of the national-democratic revolution and revolutionary-democratic system. The extraordinary extended session of the DRA Revolutionary Council of November 9, 1985

unanimously approved the theses On the National and Democratic Character of the April Revolution and Its Undelayable Tasks Under the Present Conditions. Several days later a declaration with the same title was adopted. The theses and declaration confirmed the fundamental principle that the national-democratic revolution was developing in the interests of all the working people, of all nationalities and all tribes, and patriotic strata of the Afghan society. Babrak Karmal said: "In our big and common home, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, there is large and sufficient place for all Afghans. The revolution brings for every social group and Afghan individual what they are in need of, that is, peace, security, work and welfare, honorable and prosperous life." At the same time, speaking at the Plenary Meeting of the PDPA Central Committee Babrak Karmal said that not all people had access as yet to the achievements of the revolution, that much too little had been done to draw a part of workers, peasants and representatives of other social layers away from the counter-revolution to the side of the revolutionary-democratic government. For instance, if one takes the major revolutionary socio-economic achievement—the agrarian reform, the benefits of just distribution of land and water resources have not yet become accessible to all peasants. Free land has been handed over to less than half the country's landless peasant families and families possessing small land holdings. It is obvious that one can hardly reckon on a peasant's support if he lacks sufficient land and water to provide for his family. Land-starved and middle peasants need land and water, financial and material and technological aid, they need cooperatives.

Other transformations that were proclaimed by the revolutionary government and welcomed by the working people have not been introduced in full. Much remains to be done to improve the material conditions, housing and other conditions of life of workers, specialists and employees, and above all those employed in the state sector in industry, building and transport.

A special place belongs to the relationship between the people's government and national proprietors and traders who play a notable role in the production sphere, trade and transport, and who must make their contribution to normalising the country's situation and its economic development. The PDPA leadership demands that government bodies conduct a strictly consistent policy with regard to this part of society, one that will ensure them a worthy place in economic life, and provide credit to petty and middle traders.

Serious attention should be devoted to the position of the Moslem clergy, especially in rural areas. Measures are taken, despite the country's strained financial circumstances, to transfer all representatives of the clergy, including those doing military service, to state maintenance. The prestige of High Council of Religious Scholars and Clergymen must be raised, and patience and respect must be shown while drawing the clergy to the side of the revolutionary-democratic government.

There are also problems in relations with tribes: the existing contacts and agreements with them are often broken off due to the failure by the ministries and departments to fulfil their pledges. This undermines the prestige of the revolutionary government in the eyes of the tribes, reducing to naught all that has been previously achieved. This is often due to the absence of precise coordination between government bodies dealing with the frontier Pushtu and Beluchi tribes, where it is necessary to show political foresight, circumspection and realism, bearing in mind the complicated military-political situation and the traditional life style of the tribes.

Under the leadership of the PDPA and with the internationalist aid of the Soviet Union the DRA Armed Forces have made their combat ope-

rations more successful. The Afghan Army is becoming the main force in combatting the counter-revolution. The number of its Party members is growing; the composition of its political bodies and Party organisations is improving. Babrak Karmal said: "But we should draw this bitter, but objective conclusion with full explicitness that despite the comparative superiority of our Armed Forces over the enemy both from the view points of man and arms and war means, our armed forces have not yet brought a drastic turning in the struggle against the armed counter-revolution." Hence the task set by the PDPA and the DRA government: to do their utmost to make the Armed Forces capable to solve the problems connected with the defence of the DRA, the routing of the gangs infiltrating the country from without, and to turn the Army into an invincible revolutionary force.

Such are the main problems and the ensuing tasks at the present stage of the national-democratic revolution, which were covered in detail in Babrak Karmal's speech at the 16th Plenary Meeting of the PDPA Central Committee. Yet, as evidenced by an analysis of these tasks, the greatest importance is attached to the most radical task of them all, that of extending the social base of revolutionary changes, which should be solved as soon as possible by the joint efforts of the PDPA, the DRA government, the National Fatherland Front, the country's mass organisations and all its patriotic forces.

The new approach envisages further improvement and activation of work among population groups adhering to a neutral stand, establishing contacts and cooperation not only with non-revolutionary forces and organisations but with some of those that are still hostile to the revolution. The PDPA takes into consideration the fact that disagreement is not only possible but often inevitable in this situation. However, the revolutionary government intends to do away with such disagreements not by force but by constructive dialogue that would be acceptable to the other party and would be based on loyalty to their homeland, the task of ensuring the country freedom and independence, preserving the Afghan people's honour and dignity, defending the people's right to life, the principles of humanism and Islam.

Putting an end to bloodshed, establishing stable peace and security in the country, creating as quickly as possible conditions for the unification and broad nationwide cooperation of all patriotic forces in the name of peaceful labour, building a new, democratic and prosperous society for all the Afghan people—such is the strategic aim of the PDPA and the DRA government.

To implement the Party and government decisions on extending the social base of the revolution, last December a group of non-Party leaders was introduced into the DRA government. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the National Fatherland Front held this January 33 candidates were approved for the posts of vice-presidents of the NFF Central Council and members of the Executive Committee. At a meeting of the DRA Revolutionary Council held the same month 79 new members were introduced into this supreme legislative body. Among the new leaders of the National Fatherland Front and the Revolutionary Council there are representatives of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, clergy, traders and other population groups. Most of them are non-Party people. A decision was taken to map out a draft constitution and a commission has been set up to this end.

It should be emphasised that the complications encountered by the Afghan revolution cannot be attributed wholly to the country's grim heritage—backwardness, poverty, ignorance—or to the mistakes made at the

initial stage of the revolution. The gains of the new Afghanistan would have been even more obvious had it not been for the armed interference in the country's affairs, an undeclared war against the Afghans started in 1978. The USA is the instigator and organiser of this war. Washington renders massive financial, military, material-technological, political and propaganda aid and support to the counter-revolutionary rabble. Immediately after the DRA was proclaimed, US special agencies set down to working out and then carrying out large-scale subversive acts against revolutionary Afghanistan, which became, according to the US mass media and Congressmen, the biggest secret operation conducted by the USA since the Vietnam war. The USA has turned neighbouring Pakistan into a bulwark of aggression against revolutionary Afghanistan. In the vicinity of the Pakistani cities Peshawar, Quetta, Nasir-Bagh, Landi Kotal, Parachinar and the Hadji and Laverlai-Zargun districts more than 100 camps training saboteurs and terrorists for infiltration into the DRA have been set up with US finances.

In 1985 alone the US Congress allocated \$470 million for interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, for overt aggression against a sovereign state, a member of the UN and the non-alignment movement, for an undeclared war against the Afghan people. The USA has spent over \$1,500 million for the massacre of Afghan civilians, the destruction of peasant cooperatives and farms, roads and communication lines, hospitals and clinics, for setting fire to and blowing up cinemas and airport buildings, schools and mosques, institutes and shops. In the country where approximately 90 per cent of the population was illiterate before the revolution the counter-revolutionary gangs destroyed nearly 2,000 schools. They razed 900 peasant cooperatives and nearly half all hospitals, 14 per cent of state-owned motor-vehicles, and three-fourths of all the communication lines. Direct damages inflicted by the subversive acts of the mercenary gangs on the country's national economy alone top \$1,000 million. Such is the price paid by the Afghan people for the US concept of "low-intensity" conflicts.

But who will name the price paid by the workers and peasants, teachers and drivers, doctors and tractor-drivers, activists of Party, TU, youth and women's organisations, the hundreds and thousands of men and women, old people and children who have been killed or maimed only because the USA finds it convenient to attribute every victory scored by the forces of democracy, national and social emancipation to the alleged "hand of Moscow"? The implementation of the doctrine of "new globalism" with regard to the DRA means the further escalation of the bloody war against the Afghan people. Already in January this year the US Administration made haste to supply the dushmans with another \$250 million. Regardless of what the USA may say of its alleged endeavour to achieve political normalisation of the situation in Afghanistan this fact confirms the essence of US policy towards the DRA.

In his speech before heads of diplomatic missions accredited in the Soviet Union on December 27, 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev said: "The endeavour to extinguish the hot-beds of tension, or at any rate to dampen them, is hindered by the habit of regarding conflict situations through the prism of political and ideological confrontation between the East and the West. Policy based on erroneous concepts is fraught with short-sightedness and danger. Conflicts take shape on local social, economic and political ground. That means they have to be settled without infringing on the peoples' legitimate interests, on their right to choose their way of life without outside interference, as well as on their right to protect their choice."

The DRA government, true to the principles of peace and friendship with all peoples proclaimed at the outset of the April Revolution, and in

full keeping with its well-known statements of May 14, 1980 and August 24, 1981, spares no effort to normalise the situation around the DRA in the interests of peace and security of all the peoples in the area. In the course of the Afghan-Pakistani talks held in Geneva through the personal representative of the UN Secretary-General the Afghan side applied every effort to achieve progress in this sphere, it has displayed goodwill and the most earnest intentions. A general agreement has been reached on the question of non-interference, international guarantees and the voluntary return of refugees. There remain a few details that could be settled by direct negotiation. However the USA is doing everything to hinder the completion of the Geneva talks.

In the Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress Mikhail Gorbachev said that counter-revolution and imperialism had turned Afghanistan into a bleeding wound. He stressed the following: "The USSR supports that country's efforts to defend its sovereignty. We should like, in the near future, to withdraw the Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan at the request of its government. Moreover, we have agreed with the Afghan side on the schedule for their phased withdrawal as soon as a political settlement is reached that ensures an actual cessation and dependably guarantees the non-resumption of foreign armed interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan".

In the past eight years Soviet-Afghan traditional friendly relations, which were initiated by the Treaty between the RSFSR and Afghanistan of February 28, 1921 and which was called by V. I. Lenin a "treaty of friendship", were further developed and cooperation between the two countries was strengthened and increased in virtually all spheres of life: political, social, economic, scientific and cultural, as well as in the sphere of training national cadres for the DRA. Over 30 national economic facilities have been put into operation in Afghanistan with Soviet assistance, and 90 more are under construction. All in all, beginning with the mid-1950s the Soviet Union has contributed to the building of over 200 projects. Over 60 per cent of all of the country's industrial output, 75 per cent of industrial output manufactured in the state sector, and two-thirds of all electricity comes from facilities built with Soviet assistance. In February 1986 a trade agreement for 1986-1990 was signed by the Soviet Union and the DRA in Moscow. Last December a programme on scientific and cultural cooperation was signed.

The Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation is geared to creating a certain production potential and a corresponding infrastructure, developing natural resources, resolving the food problem, increasing employment and raising the DRA export resources. Nowadays, this cooperation is a vital factor in upgrading the economy of Afghanistan and creating favourable conditions for carrying out progressive socio-economic transformations in the interests of the broad strata of the population. The Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Cooperation of December 5, 1978 serves as a legal basis for developing Soviet-Afghan cooperation.

The time-tested Soviet-Afghan friendship is an invaluable treasure of the two peoples. In his speech at the 27th CPSU Congress Babrak Karmal said that the Afghan people would never forget the tremendous, incomparable assistance rendered by the USSR. He said that only the birthplace of Lenin was capable of establishing such relations with a developing country.

As the young Afghan Republic enters its ninth year, its revolutionaries and all the true patriots of a free and independent Afghanistan may be sure that the sympathies of the Soviet people and their internationalist solidarity are on the side of the Afghan people's righteous cause.

Lack of Prospects for Imperialist Policy of Credit Discrimination Against the CMEA Countries

Professor Yu. K O N S T A N T I N O V,

D. Sc. (Econ.)

One of the imperatives of international life in our day is to revive the process of detente, and that calls for broad development of mutually beneficial economic cooperation between states with different social systems, which is inconceivable without normal monetary-financial and credit relations. Such relations can either help to create conditions for the development of trade and economic ties and scientific and technological exchanges or, if they are made to serve the policy of trade and political discrimination, considerably slow down the process of the global division of labour. The most reactionary circles of the imperialist powers are trying to follow such a discriminatory policy with regard to the socialist countries.

Here one can see a set of contradictions connected with relations between states belonging to the two systems, two formations, contradictions of long standing. As it was noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "Capitalism regarded the birth of socialism as an 'error' of history which must be 'rectified'. It was to be rectified at any cost, by any means, irrespective of law and morality: by armed intervention, economic blockade, subversive activity, sanctions and 'punishments', or refusal of any and all cooperation."

The CMEA countries believe that economic partnership, in particular between states with different political and social systems, is not only a major instrument for a solution of their national economic problems, but also a reliable factor of strengthening the security of the peoples and materialising detente. The detente of the 1970s showed very well that East-West trade and economic ties and exchanges of new technology are mutually beneficial. The rapid development of such ties involves an extension of monetary-financial and credit relations between socialist and capitalist states.

In that period, many monetary and credit transactions, in particular with US banks, were concluded and realised in the interests of the East and the West. Thus, the Bank of America, the capitalist world's largest bank in terms of assets, provided credits for the operations of the Italian company Fiat connected with the building of the Togliatti Automobile Works in the Soviet Union. After that, it gave credit cover to the deals between the Occidental Petroleum Company and Soviet organisations. The Chase Manhattan Bank, the USA's second largest financial institution, took part in crediting the purchases of machinery and equipment for the Kama Motor Works and the Soviet oil industry.

Monetary and credit deals considered to be traditional in international practice were developed on a particularly large scale. These included

funding under inter-governmental agreements on the terms of export credits, commercial bank credits (bank-to-bank and consortium credits), company, financial and other credits. In order to ensure timely payments in freely convertible currency, the banks of the CMEA countries actively bought and sold currency on the international market, took in and placed deposits, and carried out other monetary operations. The growing scale and long-term character of East-West cooperation also called for long-term bank credits, which helped to realise large-scale economic projects in the mutual interests of the socialist and the capitalist countries.

The US Administration which came to office in the early 1980s took an open line towards confrontation and socio-political revenge. As a result, many of the positive achievements of the 1970s were soon destroyed.

Western reactionary circles also geared their international monetary policy to the purposes of confrontation. In accordance with the specific conditions of individual socialist countries, imperialism adopted a dual monetary policy: in some instances, a policy of "cheap" money, and in others, a credit blockade. The "cheap" money policy was meant to tie the economy of an individual socialist country as closely as possible to the economy of the capitalist states, so that the imperialist circles could then switch over from the policy of encouraging economic ties with the West (through credits) to an international monetary blockade. The imperialist circles expect that, in view of the growing indebtedness of the socialist country involved, such a switch could have an adverse effect on its economy and financial standing. In other words, the policy of lending "cheap" money is nothing but a credit trap.

Since the early 1980s, the US reactionary circles, confronted with the strengthening cohesion of the socialist countries and the growing role of economic cooperation in the development of their national economies, have taken the road of trying to organise a credit blockade against them. The US Administration began to put pressure on private banks in the capitalist countries, urging them to scale down their credit relations with the CMEA countries, to extend fewer credits and toughen their terms.

The USA initiated the coordination of the Western countries' international monetary policy with regard to the CMEA countries. It was under US pressure that the 1982 Versailles summit of the seven leading capitalist states pledged a differentiated approach to economic relations with the socialist countries. It was decided to toughen control over the export of "strategic goods", and to exchange information on matters of economic, trade and financial ties with these countries. The summitters also agreed jointly to toughen the terms of credits to the socialist states. The USA, which had virtually stopped giving credits to the CMEA countries, demanded that the other countries of the Big Seven should also stop extending long-term credits under East-West trade and economic contracts.

The USA urged its allies to sign an agreement on limiting the volume of credits being extended to the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries, shortening maturity periods and raising interest rates. With that aim in view, the US Administration began putting direct pressure not only on the governments, but also on the private banks that continued cooperating with the socialist community countries. In that way, the United States intended to knock together a united credit front as an integral element of the economic war against the CMEA countries. Its purpose was perfectly clear: to create economic difficulties in the countries of existing socialism, to isolate them from the achievements of world science and technology.

The US Administration's credit policy is being coordinated by the treasury, economic, commerce and state departments. The leading capitalist countries have stepped up the coordination of their international monetary policy.

The reactionary imperialist circles are also pursuing the line geared to impede the independent economic and social development of the newly-free countries and to intensify their exploitation by transnational corporations and banks. This is one of the main causes of the foreign indebtedness of the developing world running into a trillion of dollars. The necessary conditions for solving this problem are, in particular, the lowering of the interest rates on loans and credits, the stabilisation of exchange rates.

The CMEA member countries are resolutely coming out for the normalisation of the international economic situation and the monetary-financial and credit relations. In January 1986 the USSR government forwarded to Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, UN General Secretary, a memorandum International Economic Security: An Important Condition of Healthy International Economic Relations. As it is stressed in the document, intercourse between states should be free from arbitrariness and illegal embargoes, boycotts, trade, credit and technological blockades and the use of economic ties as an instrument of political pressure.

It is no secret that the USA's swing from detente to confrontation was due not only to the antisocialist strategy of its ruling circles, but also to their hegemonistic striving to assert its domination over the other capitalist states, whom they regard not only as allies, but also as rivals. To reduce the latter's trade and economic competitiveness, the USA has resorted to such tools as manipulations with discount rates and the dollar exchange rates.

The mass media are being widely used by Western reactionary circles in their policy of economic confrontation with socialism. Slander and crude falsehoods, which are a favourite ideological weapon of imperialism, have been brought into play.

In particular the opponents of normalising the financial side of East-West trade have been plugging their thesis on the CMEA countries' allegedly big debts to the capitalist states, on their "overindebtedness". In the summer of 1985, for instance, the US magazine *International Reports* ran an editorial in which certain US banking circles expressed their scepticism over the state of the CMEA countries' economy and their foreign debt service payments.

In actual fact, even according to bourgeois sources the CMEA countries' external debt does not exceed three per cent of the total world debt and has gone down markedly over the past few years. There is nothing extraordinary about their indebtedness. It is due primarily to their imports of machinery and equipment from the capitalist countries, and these are now being sold on credit throughout the world.

The business and banking circles of the capitalist countries take a positive view of the socialist countries' creditworthiness. Special note is taken of the high creditworthiness of the Soviet Union, a fact admitted by the Western press as well. Thus, *The Wall Street Journal* has quoted an Italian banker as saying that the West would never have any problem with Soviet debt-service payments. And the British *Times* noted that West European and Japanese banks were competing with each other for the right to extend credits to the USSR, the most reliable borrower.

The other CMEA countries are also reliable partners in matters of credit. The conclusion drawn by the experts of such a prestigious body

as the UN Economic Commission for Europe is characteristic in this respect. They believe that the state of the CMEA countries' payments balances has markedly improved and their positions in trade with the West have strengthened.

At the same time, one is bound to see that the so-called debt problem of some socialist states is often engineered by the capitalist countries themselves, in particular, through discriminatory measures that prevent the socialist countries from exporting their goods to the West as a source of foreign-exchange earnings.

That is particularly evident with regard to Poland, when some creditors deliberately stimulate a situation which hinders debt service payments. For a long time now, the financial and economic circles of the capitalist countries have in effect been blocking Poland's imports, so holding back the growth of production, including growth in the export industries. In speaking at the Kora enterprise in Warsaw in October 1985, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee and President of the PPR Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski noted that "the West has continued its policy of sanctions against Poland, which hinders the fulfilment of some of its economic development tasks".

It is primarily the capitalist world itself that is threatened with the consequences of indebtedness. In the 1980s, many capitalist states have been hit by an unprecedented world-wide crisis of indebtedness. In 1985, the total debts of the capitalist world exceeded the total gross national product of all the capitalist countries. Estimates show that the internal and external indebtedness of the capitalist countries has been going up on average by 15 per cent a year and is growing several times faster than their gross national product.

Antisocialist propaganda has also frequently alleged that East-West credit relations meet the interests of the socialist countries alone. Meanwhile, credits are as old as international trade itself. Payment by instalment and financing of export-boosting programmes are a traditional practice. Moreover, credit is not a charitable gesture on the part of the creditor, but a mutually advantageous deal, a two-way street. And it is not only that the creditor receives interest. In our day, a sizeable batch of machinery or equipment, to say nothing of whole plants, can hardly be sold on any market without a commercial credit to the importer. That is a normal process in the sphere of international economic relations.

In implementing its energy programme, the Soviet Union, for instance, takes due account of the Western countries' interest in buying Soviet natural gas. Since it has a reciprocal interest, it has concluded long-term agreements with a number of foreign partners for the supply of machinery and equipment for main gas pipelines in the Soviet Union. Under these agreements, the USSR Foreign Trade Bank is being given long-term special-purpose credits, to be repayed from the gas revenues.

In developing mutually advantageous trade and economic ties with the capitalist states, the CMEA countries extend credits themselves. Thus, in terms of the balance between the volume of credits given and received (including credits to socialist, developing and industrialised capitalist countries), the USSR operates on the international money market as a creditor with regard to its foreign economic cooperation partners.

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The socialist community states act on the assumption that the future of trade and economic ties is one of the vital questions of our day which are pivotal to the historical dispute between the forces of progress and reaction. The CMEA countries are convinced that life will decide that question in favour of the former. Even in the capitalist countries,

the idea of "economic warfare" meets with ever greater resistance. The non-aligned movement, progressive public opinion throughout the world, realistically minded politicians and businessmen have been coming out against the attempts to block mutually advantageous cooperation and to prevent a restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

The policy of holding back the development of East-West economic relations inevitably clashes with reality. Even at the time when world economic relations were deformed by the capitalist crisis and the policy of boycotts, the annual volume of the CMEA countries' trade with Western countries exceeded \$100,000 million. In the final count, many Western countries upheld their national interests and did not actively support the US policy of bans and sanctions, realising that it was fraught for them with grave negative consequences. As a result, the CMEA countries' trade with the Western countries has continued to expand, in spite of US pressure and resistance.

The mutually advantageous trade and economic deals between the East and the West went hand in hand with the development of credit operations between the West European and CMEA countries, even though the US Administration kept pressuring the former to mount a credit blockade against the socialist community. Realising that the CMEA countries are reliable borrowers, many West European banks have resisted that pressure and resumed the extension of sizeable credits to the socialist community states on relatively favourable terms.

A return to detente is actively promoted by many large-scale initiatives launched by the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries on the world scene and primarily in the sphere of security. Their moves have met with approval on the part of world public opinion and have been highly appreciated by the governments of many countries.

At the same time, the social ageing of the capitalist society reduces the chances of major changes in the policy pursued by the ruling circles and elevates the degree of its senselessness. As it was noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "that is why it is not easy at all, in the current circumstances, to predict the future of the relations between the socialist and the capitalist countries, the USSR and the USA." Meanwhile, the state of affairs between the latter is of great significance for the development of a normal international economic cooperation as a whole. And that is only natural, for, in virtue of their military, economic, scientific and technological potential and international weight, the Soviet Union and the United States bear a special responsibility for the state of international relations and the character of world development.

Of course, the two economic giants are able to develop without mutual trade, and that is what they actually do. Thus, the USA, the biggest trading power in the world, is only 13th in Soviet foreign trade and is far behind Finland, Belgium and Austria, while the USSR is 16th in US trade.

In view of their large economic potentials and numerous other trading partners, the USSR and the USA can in principle do without each other economically in the future as well. But that is not normal, primarily from the standpoint of politics. Indeed, lasting and stable relations capable of ensuring reliable peace should rest on a foundation of developed business relations.

Realising that political and economic detente in the present-day world is directly dependent on the development of relations between the USSR and the USA, each of which has many allies, the CPSU has taken a principled stand on this issue, spelling it out in the new edition of the CPSU Programme. It says: "*The CPSU stands for normal and stable relations*

between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.... Differences between social systems and ideologies should not lead to strained relations. There are objective prerequisites for the development of fruitful and mutually beneficial Soviet-US cooperation in various fields."

In the joint Soviet-US statement adopted as a result of the Geneva Summit in November 1985, the sides expressed their intention to extend the programmes of bilateral cultural, educational, scientific and technological exchanges, and also to develop trade and economic ties.

The Soviet Union's constructive stand was set forth in detail in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech on December 10, 1985, before the annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council (ASTEC). He emphasised that the development of trade and economic ties between the USSR and the USA is a political problem, notably because the main obstacles in their way are political rather than economic.

The annual ASTEC meeting showed the striving of the Soviet and the US business circles to deepen and develop their cooperation on a mutually advantageous basis. Thus, members of the committee on small business emphasised the significant role played in the development of Soviet-US trade by small- and medium-sized US companies, which have potentialities for buying Soviet goods and supplying equipment for the USSR's agro-industrial complex, the engineering and chemical industries. The Financial Committee came out for an extension of the most-favoured-nation treatment to the USSR in its trade with the United States, including commercial credits.

Such a position is of essential importance, for one of the obstacles to business ties is the USA's refusal to give the USSR most-favoured-nation treatment, which implies non-discrimination, primarily in custom tariffs. Meanwhile, about 120 countries now enjoy such treatment from the USA. As for the Soviet Union, the USA has been raising diverse barriers against the export of many Soviet goods to the US market, and that deprives the Soviet Union of the foreign-exchange earnings that are necessary to buy US goods. But the USSR cannot endlessly keep getting foreign exchange, say, from Western Europe and spending it in the USA.

The barriers being erected by the USA in the matter of credits put another brake on the development of Soviet-US trade and economic ties. Even during the run-up to the Geneva Summit, although the credit blockade against the CMEA countries had in effect collapsed, the US reactionary circles continued to insist on its organisation. A bill was put before the US Congress empowering the President to ban private bank credits to the socialist states. This bill has not been approved so far, but it remains among the as yet unrealised projects with the help of which the reactionary circles hope to talk to the socialist countries from a position of strength, notably, by intimidating them with credit sanctions.

Playing up to those reactionary circles in the West which seek to wind down its credit relations with the CMEA countries, some bourgeois periodicals are trying to question the strength of the socialist community's foreign-exchange potential. Their argument is an alleged inefficiency of the socialist economy, its lag in the field of scientific and technical progress.

But how can one say that the CMEA countries have a weak foreign-exchange potential if their overall economic potential is so strong? Their aggregate economic potential is now larger than that of the USA or that of the West European countries taken together. The CMEA countries' share in the world total now comes to 25 per cent of the national income, 33 per cent of industrial output, and 20 per cent of agricultural output.

The perspectives of the CMEA countries are even brighter. At the CMEA's 41st (extraordinary) Session, held in Moscow on December 17-18, 1985, they unanimously adopted a Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress in the CMEA Countries up to the Year 2000. The Programme provides a solid basis for consistent growth of the economic efficiency of their social production, and thus of their financial and foreign-exchange potential.

Any monetary-financial discrimination against the CMEA countries primarily goes against the interests of its organisers. Life shows that a policy of blockade with regard to the CMEA countries often serves to turn East-West economic, trade and monetary-credit problems into grave problems of East-West relations. And that is particularly noticeable in conditions when the rivalry between the main economic centres of the world capitalist system has been developing into an undeclared trade war, into a battle for resources and a currency war. In such a situation, the West European countries and Japan are bound to suffer huge losses if they give up their trade and economic ties with the CMEA countries; the contradictions between them are bound to increase.

Heavy losses are also suffered by the inspirer of the "economic war" against the socialist countries—the USA itself. Thus, at the height of that war (1980-1982), US firms lost a total of about \$25,500 million. Japan, which (in contrast to the West European countries) vigorously supported the USA in the "economic war" against the socialist community, also met with considerable losses. In 1980, for instance, Japan lost at least 10 long-term Soviet contracts valued at around \$100 million each. By 1983, its estimated losses resulting from its accession to the US sanctions against the USSR had reached \$4,000 million.

One should also bear in mind that if the organisers of the credit blockade venture to expand it, the consequences for them could be highly adverse. To break off the traditional credit ties with the CMEA countries is to weaken the business activity of the capitalist blocs, for the Soviet Union alone now maintains links with 1,840 banks in 131 countries of the world, including capitalist countries. A curtailment of credit ties with the CMEA countries could weaken the financial position of the Western banks, some of which are already sliding towards the brink of a financial collapse.

Moreover, it is not only in the sphere of finances that the capitalist countries feel the adverse effects of the erosion of credit ties with the CMEA countries. That erosion has led and continues to lead to a downturn in international trade and, consequently, to a curtailment of production.

The socialist community has all it needs to ensure economic growth. Besides, there is nothing essentially new about the policy of international monetary blockades against the socialist community states. The Soviet Union, for instance, has long been the target of such blockades, which are an integral part of economic blockades. In the past, Western reactionary circles resorted to two forms of monetary blockade: gold and credit. Owing to its major economic achievements, the USSR successfully overcame one form of monetary blockade after another. But at that time, Lenin said, "the blockade was in fact the principal, really strong weapon with which the imperialists of the world wanted to strangle Soviet Russia".¹ In the 1980s, it has no power at all, for the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries now have a large potential. Their industry is now able to produce all they need. As US experts have estimated, a cut in the export of industrial goods from the developed capitalist countries to the USSR projected for 1982-1983 could have cost the

Soviet economy \$4,500 million, while the total GNP of these countries themselves would have decreased by \$30,000 million.

Naturally, the socialist community countries have never forgotten that the capitalist countries are not only their economic partners on the lines of coexistence, but also their class adversaries. In order to service their mutual economic cooperation, the CMEA countries have their own international monetary-credit mechanism, with two successfully operating collective banks: the International Bank for Economic Cooperation (IBEC) and the International Investment Bank (IIB). These have their own socialist international currency: the transferable ruble. The CMEA countries international monetary-financial system stimulates the steady and dynamic development of their economic, scientific and technological cooperation and enables them to effect mutual trade and economic deals without resorting to the dollar or other capitalist currencies or to outside credits. Since the CMEA countries have their own monetary-financial mechanism, they are "insured" within their own region against the imperialist strategy of blackmail and the US policy of high interest rates.

Crediting-settlement services of the IBEC extended to the CMEA countries helped to expand intra-CMEA trade. To ensure smooth commercial payments, the Bank has granted about 66,000 million transferable rubles' worth of credits in the 1981-1985 period, including more than 15,000 million in 1985. The aggregate volume of mutual settlements through the IBEC in the 1981-1985 period has topped 885,300 million transferable rubles, including 211,000 million in 1985.

As for the CMEA countries' monetary-credit relations with the capitalist states, which have to be serviced with the use of their currencies, a credit blockade in this area could in principle have a negative effect on the development of East-West trade and economic relations. But, in view of the priority of the CMEA countries' mutual economic cooperation, that cannot disrupt their reproduction patterns.

The CMEA countries' ever stronger economic potential and technico-economic independence from the West provide a reliable basis for their exchange stability, making them invulnerable. In accordance with the decisions of the Economic Summit Conference, the CMEA countries have been consistently deepening their mutual economic cooperation, accelerating the development of production and the mutual supply of goods whose import is obstructed by Western discriminatory measures.

If the destabilisation of the political atmosphere continues, it is bound to hinder the development of economic ties and, consequently, of monetary-credit relations between the East and the West. East-West trade, economic and monetary-credit relations cannot flourish in a hostile political climate. So long as there are no positive changes in the political field, the general state of such relations will remain well below its potential level. But these relations themselves are also in need of improvement, something that would intensify the internationalisation of economic life. Such internationalisation is a natural process, for the present-day world is marked by ever greater interdependence.

Following a realistic international monetary policy, the CMEA countries do not shut their eyes to the possibility of new discriminatory moves in the field of credits, primarily on the part of the United States and, under US pressure, on the part of other capitalist countries as well. The socialist community states know that they have a reliable antidote to these intentions of the reactionary circles: it is their ever stronger planned socialist economy and their ability to multiply their strength through mutual economic, scientific, technological and monetary-credit cooperation.

THE USSR FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN ASIA

M. P E T R O V

The tension that persists in a number of areas of the Asian continent and in the waters of the Pacific and Indian Oceans adjoining it, where a large part of the planet's population lives, and the attempts of imperialist quarters to turn this area into the eastern and southern flank of their militarist policies demand more vigorous action towards improving the political climate in this part of the globe.

As the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out in its Political Report, "the significance of the *Asian and Pacific direction* is growing. In that vast region there are many tangled knots of contradictions and, besides, the political situation in some places is unstable. Here it is necessary, without postponement, to find the relevant solutions and paths. Evidently, this has to begin with the coordination and then the pooling of efforts in the interests of a political settlement of painful problems so as, in parallel, on that basis to at least take the edge off the military confrontation in various parts of Asia and stabilise the situation there.

"This is made all the more urgent by the fact that in Asia and other continents the *flashpoints of military danger* are not dying down. We are in favour of vitalising collective quests for ways of defusing conflict situations in the Middle East... in all of the planet's turbulent points. This is imperatively demanded by the interests of general security."

No matter how considerable the differences between the states of this area may sometimes be in their approach to the existing problems, it is still much more important that the peoples of Asia are united by common historical destiny and vital interests: they have to tackle much the same problems engendered by the past and checking their advance. This prompts the need for cooperation and goodneighbourly relations on the basis of a broad security concept which would meet the interests of each and all states of the region.

The many-faceted efforts towards more reliable security in Asia undertaken by the Soviet Union as both a European and an Asian and Pacific state are contributing considerably to the formation of this concept and its implementation through practical political work. The proposal advanced at the 27th Congress for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security and the principled foundations of such a system, and the way of improving the international situation in the Asian-Pacific region, which was indicated in the Congress documents, were highly appraised in the Asian countries.

That this country is interested in promoting Asian security is only natural. The turn taken by political processes in Asia will affect not only security interests of the USSR and its allies and friends, but also the future of world peace.

The vast experience accumulated by the countries and peoples of Asia in the struggle for peace and security on the continent has prompted

the main principles of the concept of Asian security and rendered it universal character. The cornerstones of this concept were provided by the *five principles of peaceful coexistence* (Pancha Shila)² and the *ten principles of the Bandung Conference* of heads of state and government of 29 Asian and African countries (1955). Elaborated back in the mid-1950s by joint effort of states, these principles have played an important role in the restructuring of international relations in Asia on a qualitatively new, democratic foundation, and have lost none of their significance today.

The core of the concept of Asian security is formed by *constructive initiatives advanced over recent years by the socialist and non-aligned Asian states*. Their principal purpose is to eliminate the conflict situations and hotbeds of tension which imperialist interference helps fan up in a number of regions of the Asian continent, specifically, in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Obviously, to settle the conflicts peacefully and with full and just consideration for the legitimate interests of all sides, suitable political platforms of the settlement must be elaborated which would not infringe on these interests, as well as a mechanism of negotiations adapted to each individual conflict.

It is important that through the efforts of Asian states political platforms for dealing with the very roots of conflict situations in Asia have either been or are being evolved. Suitable negotiations mechanisms have also been, or can be developed. This fact highlights the constructive and realistic character of the proposals advanced by peaceloving Asian states.

In the set of Soviet initiatives brought forward in the first half of the 1980s the following ones deserve special mention: on confidence-building measures in the Far East, a Middle East settlement and comprehensive approach to the issue of Asian security.

The proposal of the USSR advanced in 1981 to hold talks *on confidence-building measures in the Far East* provides for the participation in these talks of the USSR, the PRC, the MPR, the DPRK, and Japan, which have common frontiers in the Far East, as well as of the USA, which has military bases in Japan, South Korea and on the territories of some other countries and is conducting vigorous military activities there. As this initiative was elaborated in more detail, it was noted that the presence of all of these states at the negotiation table at the same time is not at all mandatory. Talks could begin on a bilateral basis.

In the *proposals on a Middle East settlement* advanced in July 1984 the Soviet Union suggested that an international conference be convened as an instrument for dealing with this problem with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The USSR and the USA should also take part in the conference as states which by virtue of circumstances are playing an important part in Middle Eastern affairs.

The Soviet Union advocates the convocation of such a conference "for the simple reason that it is in fact the only sensible and effective way to put an end to the state of war lasting for years in the Middle East and establish lasting peace there. This must be achieved without further bloodshed, intrigues and backstage deals between some countries at the expense of others but with due account for the lawful interests of all states involved without exception."³ This Soviet proposal, which in its main parts coincides with the common Arab platform elaborated at a summit

² The five Pancha Shila principles: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual advantage; and peaceful coexistence, were first elaborated in April 1954 in the Preamble to the Agreement between India and the PRC on trade and contacts of the Tibetan region of China and India.

³ *Pravda*, Oct. 12, 1985.

conference in Fez in 1982 has met with a favourable reception in the Arab world.

In May 1985, the Soviet Union advanced another important proposal, that *on developing an integrated and comprehensive approach to the issue of Asian security*. This proposal stems from the fundamental principles of the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet state, which for the first time in history declared the principle of peaceful coexistence. In his speech at the dinner in honour of Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, on May 21, 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev voiced the idea of a possible pooling of efforts of Asian states with a view to elaborating such an approach to the issue of Asian security, taking account of the recently advanced constructive initiatives of the continent's countries, as well as the experience of the European process. "Obviously", said Mikhail Gorbachev, "different methods may be of use here, both bilateral talks and multilateral consultations, including the possibility, in the future, of an Asian forum to exchange opinions and join efforts in order to find constructive solutions."⁴

The USSR's call for a concerted effort towards finding ways to consolidate Asian security has evoked a lively response throughout the world, and especially in the countries of the Asian continent. The reaction to this call shows that many Asian governments would like to exchange opinions and contribute their effort to a joint constructive settlement of these issues.

Unfortunately, another kind of response has not been long in coming. The Soviet Union's unambiguous approach to the question of Asian security has not been to everyone's liking. Efforts to belittle the significance of the Soviet initiative have again produced the much-used argument to the effect that due to "certain geographical 'sparseness' of the Asian countries, the security formula elaborated in Europe is inapplicable to Asia, etc.

True, the situation in the Asian countries is in many respects unique, the way of life and political and socio-economic realities there differ substantially from those of European countries. However, the USSR's suggestion that parts of the European experience be used does not at all mean that the Soviet Union wants to mechanically transplant the Helsinki scheme to Asian soil. But the point is that the peace is indivisible, and against the background of today's complicated situation any local conflict threatens to grow into a large-scale, even global, confrontation.

Besides, such basic elements of the European experience as respect for sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, non-use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes, the right of the peoples to decide their destiny, and development of equal, mutually beneficial cooperation are quite applicable to Asia. They are practically the same as the Pancha Shila and the Bandung principles.

At present, when imperialism has sharply stepped up its military activities in this vast area, there is urgent need to pool efforts aimed at consolidating Asian security, the steps that are advocated by the Soviet Union. It is necessary to protect Asia from foreign interference. This alone can help create conditions allowing the Asian countries to live in peace and friendship as befits good neighbours. That is why, advancing the idea of a comprehensive approach to the issue of Asian security, the Soviet Union at the same time suggested that *each member of the UN Security Council undertake not to interfere in the affairs of Asian, African and Latin American countries, not to threaten to use force against them, and not to involve them into military blocs*. For its part, the Soviet Union declared itself prepared to assume such an obligation.

⁴ *Pravda*, May 22, 1985.

A place of importance in the concept of Asian security by right belongs to the constructive proposals of other Asian socialist countries. This is, first and foremost, the proposal advanced by the MPR in 1981 *on the elaboration and signing of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between Asian and Pacific states*. Its provisions are to be elaborated by all states wishing to become signatories to it. Should this initiative be put into practice, a major political step forward would be made on the Asian continent.

Increasingly broader support is being extended by the peace-loving Asian states to such important proposals of the DPRK as the one *on signing a peace treaty instead of the existing agreement of the truce, on adopting a declaration on non-aggression between the North and the South, on a mutual reduction of the armed forces and on turning the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear free zone*. Implementation of these proposals, which can serve as a sound foundation for a political settlement of the Korean problem, could do a great deal to improve the situation in Korea and in the Far East as a whole.

A constructive contribution to promoting goodneighbourliness, confidence and cooperation in Southeast Asia is made by three states of Indochina—the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The summits of the leaders of these states held in Hanoi and Vientiane in 1985 have confirmed their wish to *turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and cooperation*. The countries of Indochina have declared their readiness to take part in an international conference on issues of peace and security in Southeast Asia in order to ensure the implementation of the accords which would be reached between them and the ASEAN countries. They have also announced their support for the ASEAN countries' proposal to turn Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone, and confirmed their wish to improve relations with the People's Republic of China on the principles of peaceful co-existence.

In response to the suggestion of the ASEAN countries to hold direct and indirect negotiations for the purpose of regulating the situation in Southeast Asia and normalising the Kampuchean issue, the states of Indochina have stressed that it is a matter of major importance to draw up a list of participants. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is ready to open negotiations with the various Khmer groupings abroad on condition that Pol Pot's criminal clique is removed from the political arena. In 1985, Vietnam and Kampuchea announced their intention to continue the stage-by-stage withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer units from Kampuchea completing it by 1990.⁵ The proposals advanced by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have clearly defined the political framework for establishing good-neighbourly relations between the ASEAN countries on the one hand and the states of Indochina on the other.

It is a matter of great political importance to realise the idea of the non-aligned littoral states of the Indian Ocean to turn it into a zone of peace, where all foreign military bases would be dismantled and where no one would threaten the security, independence and sovereignty of these states. Unfortunately, obstacles to this course are being erected by the USA, which is determined to build up its military presence in the region. The main issue in the campaign for *declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace* is that of convening an international conference on this problem not later than 1988 as was decided by the 40th UN General Assembly Session.

⁵ In 1982, 1983, 1984 and 1985, a number of Vietnamese volunteer units returned home having fulfilled their internationalist duty in people's Kampuchea.

The sound elements of international relations in Asia would be consolidated by attaining a *political settlement around Afghanistan*, this sovereign non-aligned state which has become a target of large-scale and well-coordinated armed intervention from the outside, above all from the territory of Pakistan. The course adopted by Islamabad towards militarising the country with Washington's assistance is becoming a serious destabilising factor in South Asia threatening the security of neighbouring states, including India.

The way to reach a settlement around Afghanistan is to put into practice the constructive proposals of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. As Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, President of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, said in an interview for *The Muslim* newspaper of Pakistan, an early settlement of the situation around Afghanistan requires direct talks between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Afghanistan considers willingness to take part in such talks a sign of a sincere desire to reach a settlement in this field.

The initiatives advanced by the peaceloving Asian states, which form the core of the concept of Asian security, embrace virtually all major regions of the continent, including the Far East and Middle East, Southeast and South Asia, and the areas of the Pacific and the Indian Oceans adjoining the Asian continent. These initiatives stem from the wish of these countries to make, as early as possible, the principle of non-use of force the law of interstate relations in Asia.

The concept of Asian security should take full account of realities of the present nuclear age. Serious concern among the Asian peoples is caused by US plans to build multilateral military-political structure to the east and south of the Soviet Union along the pattern of NATO in the west, and to turn East and South Asia and the coastal waters of the Pacific and Indian oceans into a bridgehead where forward-based nuclear means may be deployed, something the USA has already done in Western Europe and the Atlantic Ocean. The Asian continent is covered with an extensive network of US military bases (about 350 in all), where nuclear weapons capable of reaching the territories of Asian socialist and non-aligned countries are stationed.

The mounting nuclear threat in Asia, a consequence of the militarist policies of imperialism, prompts the need for extending the formula of Asian security to include such measures and steps as the *commitment of all nuclear powers to refrain from first use of nuclear weapons either in Asia or elsewhere; non-use of nuclear arms against the states and regions in Asia maintaining the non-nuclear status; adoption by the states which do not possess nuclear weapons of the three non-nuclear principles: not to have, not to produce, not to import them; the signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons by those Asian states which have not yet done so; complete termination of nuclear weapons tests, including in Asia and the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins.*

As for the USSR, it strictly abides by these principles in its policies both in Asia and on the other continents. Soviet efforts are directed at preventing, despite the intrigues of imperialist quarters, an arms race in Asia and not allowing this continent to be turned into an arena of nuclear rivalry.

Peoples of Asia have appreciated the USSR's solemn commitment not to be the first to use nuclear arms made public at the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament in June 1982. Of great significance is the fact that a similar commitment has been as-

sumed by the People's Republic of China. Should the rest of the nuclear powers take the clearcut commitment this would in fact amount to a ban on the use of nuclear weapons throughout the world, including the Asian continent.

Back in 1978 the Soviet Union stated that it would never use nuclear arms against the states which refrained from their production and purchase and have no such weapons on their territories. Simultaneously, this country voiced its readiness to conclude a special agreement on this issue with any of such non-nuclear states. Remaining in force is, for instance, the Soviet proposal to guarantee, by concluding a pertinent treaty, non-use of nuclear arms against Japan on the condition that the latter would undertake to strictly and steadily abide by its non-nuclear status.

An important factor of security in Asia, as well as of the other continents, is the obligation of the nuclear powers to prevent proliferation of nuclear arms in any form. The USSR did a great deal to make it possible for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to come into force. It was concluded in 1968 and signed by over 130 states, including the majority of Asian countries. But about 30 states have not become signatories, with two nuclear powers, France and China, among them. It has been reported that Israel has acquired a nuclear arsenal, and Pakistan is taking steps to produce the first "Islamic" bomb. This cannot but arouse grave concern among these countries's neighbours.

A big step on the road towards reducing nuclear armaments would be their qualitative and quantitative freezing which the Soviet Union has been steadily advocating. A lively response was aroused in Asia by the initiative to this effect advanced by heads of state and government of India, Argentina, Greece, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden in their Declaration of 1985. This initiative was highly acclaimed in the Soviet Union.

The socialist and many of the non-aligned Asian states extend full support to the constructive approach of the USSR to the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva, specifically, to the Soviet proposal to the USA to reach an accord on the complete ban of attack space weapons and the radical reduction of the nuclear missiles capable of reaching each other's territory. The peoples of Asia realise that the outcome of the talks will to a large extent determine the progress in the issue of Asian security.

It is clear that the concept of Asian security must provide for *refusal of the Asian and Pacific states to take part in the plans for militarising outer space*. Opposition to an arms race in space is mounting in many of the Asian countries. People there are coming to realise that the building of armaments for "star wars"—the real objective of the American "strategic defense initiative"—will only enhance the danger of a nuclear war and further destabilise the situation in the world, Asia included.

A negative stand towards the American "star wars" plans has been adopted by the PRC. At the 40th UN General Assembly Session, Wu Xueqian, PRC Minister of Foreign Affairs, spoke out in favour of the early conclusion of an international treaty which would completely ban and eliminate space weapons, since space belongs to the whole of mankind and should be used solely for peaceful purposes and mutual benefit.

It would be desirable to extend the concept of Asian security to embrace such steps as *freezing the levels of military activity in Asia and the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins; preventing the establishment of new and expansion of the existing military blocs in the region; creation of a zone of peace and nuclear-free zones in various parts of the Asian and Pacific region; elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of Asian states and in the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins; refusal to support from the outside the subversive antigovernment and terrorist armed groupings*.

Mikhail Gorbachev's programme advanced in his Statement of January 15, 1986, *for eliminating all nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of the current century*, received a wide response in the Asian countries. The Soviet programme is in harmony with the sentiments of the peoples of the Asian continent for whom the problems of peace and security are no less urgent than for the peoples of Europe.

The realisation of the Soviet programme for eliminating, stage-by-stage, nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of the current century, would fundamentally change the situation in Asia, rid the nations in that part of the globe of the fear of these deadly weapons and bring the security in that region to a qualitatively new level.

International developments in the 1980s have confirmed that Asian countries are opposing imperialists' overtly hostile attitude to these countries' drive towards regional cooperation, a stand detrimental to their security. The imperialists regard this drive almost as an excuse to increase interference in one region of Asia or another. The USA continues to encourage revanchist tendencies in the policies of the ruling circles of Japan. It is also working to build up a militarist Washington-Tokyo-Seoul alliance, is trying hard to revitalise the ANZUS bloc formed back in 1951, and is unceremoniously annexing, in fact, Micronesia seeking to turn this trust territory of the United Nations into a new military strategic bridgehead.

The project of forming a "Pacific Community" is being speeded up. The United States sees it as a chance to "coordinate" the military and economic policy of states in this vast region, specifically, to tighten its grip on ASEAN. Washington's plans have so far evoked a negative response in the ASEAN countries, which fear that should the "community" be formed, they may find themselves dependent on the USA and Japan first economically and then politically and militarily.

The Soviet Union, on the contrary, has consistently advocated a freeze on the level of military activity in Asia and in the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins. Proof of this are Soviet proposals aimed at turning the greatest possible part of the World Ocean into a zone of peace in the very near future. In March 1982, the Soviet Union voiced its readiness to reach an accord on the mutual limitation of naval activities of the opposite blocs. This country has also declared itself willing to discuss the question of extending confidence-building measures to the basins of seas and oceans, especially the areas where the busiest sea routes lie.

The USSR has stated more than once that it is prepared to resume the Soviet-American talks on limiting military activities in the Indian Ocean basin (the talks were unilaterally broken off by Washington). Also remaining in force is the Soviet proposal advanced back in 1982 that all states whose ships plough the waters of this ocean should refrain from any steps which might complicate the situation in the region without waiting for the convocation of an international conference on declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

For its part, the Soviet Union would have no objections to extending similar measures on the limitation of military activity to the Pacific Ocean. Implementation of these proposals would have a major significance for consolidating security in Asia washed by these two oceans, where the military activity of the USA has reached a dangerous level.

Against the background of sharp exacerbation of the international situation through the fault of imperialism, increasing importance is attached to the measures proposed by different Asian states with a view to improving the situation in individual regions and creating peace and nuclear-free zones there. These zones, in the opinion of the Asian peoples, could be established along the following principles—removal of all foreign military bases from this region; non-deployment of nuclear weapons;

non-interference in the internal affairs of states; peaceful settlement of disputes without foreign interference.

The USSR has responded favourably to the *establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean*. A corresponding agreement was concluded by the insular states of Oceania, Australia and New Zealand at the 16th Session of the South Pacific Forum held in Avarua (Cook Islands) in August 1985. Under the agreement, deployment, production and testing of nuclear weapons have been banned there forever.

A major place in the concept of Asian security should belong to *developing all-round trade and economic and other cooperation of the continent's states on a bilateral and multilateral basis, which could do a great deal to make the international climate in Asia healthier*.

Good headway is being made in the relations between the USSR and Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos, Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Kampuchea, which are developing on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. A new strong impetus to the multi-faceted contacts with these countries, including coordination of actions for peace and security in Asia, has been given by the talks between Soviet leaders and Iambyn Batmönh, Le Duan, Kaysone Phomvihane, Kim Il Sung, Heng Samrin held recently.

In the joint Soviet-Mongolian statement on the results of the visit to the MPR by Eduard Shevardnadze in January of this year, it was particularly stressed that a reasonable alternative to the heightened tension in Asia are the constructive and concrete proposals of the USSR, the MPR and other socialist countries, as well as the non-aligned states, including the well-known Bandung principles. Mongolia, which is invariably supporting the Soviet idea of a complex approach to ensuring peace and security in Asia, considers the Soviet Union's new comprehensive proposals on disarmament as an important contribution, whose implementation would fundamentally change the situation on the Asian continent as well and would bring security in this vast region of the world to a qualitatively new level.

Effort by the continent's socialist countries to normalise relations with the People's Republic of China are also contributing substantially to the consolidation of peace in Asia. Beginning in October 1982, Soviet-Chinese political consultations between special representatives of both governments have been held on a regular basis. In December 1984, Ivan Arkhipov, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers visited China, and in 1985, Yao Yilin Vice Premier of the PRC State Council came on a visit to the USSR. During these visits, the sides signed a number of agreements on economic and scientific and technological cooperation. As was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, "One can say with gratification that there has been a measure of improvement of the Soviet Union's relations with its great neighbour—socialist China. The distinctions in attitudes, in particular, to a number of international problems remain. But we also note something else—that in many cases we can work jointly, cooperate on an equal and principled basis, without prejudice to third countries".

A vivid example of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is provided by the Soviet-Indian traditionally friendly relations which are marked by a great variety of forms and extend to many spheres. In the talk between Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi held on October 26, 1985, the sides voiced their wish to increase cooperation on the world scene in order to promote the cause of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

There has been an advance in the mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and the ASEAN countries. A recent contribution to it

was the visit of Yakov Ryabov, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Indonesia and Malaysia, which took place in autumn 1985.

An important place in improving the international situation in the Far East and Asia as a whole belongs to Soviet-Japanese relations. Unfortunately, owing to Japan's increasingly active adherence to US and NATO military strategy, their present state fails to live up to what could be expected. Another factor that does nothing to make this relations better is the non-existent "territorial issue" resurrected by the Japanese side.


The USSR has always wished to maintain friendly, extensive and many-sided relations with Japan. Soviet proposals still stand to conclude a Soviet-Japanese agreement on goodneighbourliness and mutually beneficial cooperation, which would help create a favourable atmosphere for continuing the talks on the peace treaty. The Soviet Union has also advanced other proposals, which pertain, specifically, to economic cooperation and cultural contacts. Helping facilitate the development of bilateral relations was Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Japan in January of this year, during which an agreement was signed on trade turnover and payments between the two countries for the period 1986-1990.

The response evoked by Soviet peace initiatives among the political quarters of Asian countries has shown that they are aware of the need to improve the international situation on the continent. And this is only natural, for Soviet policy of peace and cooperation meets the wishes and hopes of the countries and peoples of Asia and of other regions of the world.

Undoubtedly, the Soviet Union hardly intends to impose a ready-made formula of Asian security on other Asian nations. The USSR calls on the Asian countries to jointly take part in working out such a formula, using bilateral as well as multilateral contacts.

Obviously, working through and actually implementing the conception of Asian security is a long-term goal. In order to effectuate this objective, a step-by-step approach is necessary, beginning with the simple and advancing to the more complex. Taken into consideration is the fact that from those bilateral and multilateral agreements which have already been reached in one or another area of the continent, the Asian governments would advance to agreements of a more serious nature, covering many aspects in that way, gradually extending the base of durable peace and stability on the continent as a whole. And, of course, it is crucial that concrete steps be commenced with the aim of stabilising the situation in those regions of Asia where the "hot spots" of war danger are still smouldering.

The Soviet concept of Asian security, which calls for concerted effort in order to promote the security of all Asian states, whether large or small, proceeding from the experience gained both on this continent and elsewhere, is a sound basis for furthering understanding and cooperation among Asian states, and for establishing reliable peace there.



INFORMATION IMPERIALISM AND ITS CLASS ESSENCE

Yu. M A G A R I N

As soon as the first newspapers appeared in the world, both information and the means of spreading it came to be seen in the capitalist world as a commodity, which could be bought and sold. The owners of newspapers and magazines (and, later on, of radio stations and television companies) used information to derive economic and political benefit. Naturally, it would be a mistake to see every newspaper publisher as a deliberate misinformer, but it is a fact that private property in the means of information, as Lenin noted, objectively makes it possible "systematically, unremittingly, daily, in millions of copies, to deceive, corrupt and fool the exploited and oppressed mass of the people, the poor".¹

A distortion of the picture of the surrounding world in the daily torrent of news brought down by Western propaganda on the heads of thousands of millions of people is the result of a deliberate political choice made by the exploiter classes, which seek to maintain and perpetuate their rule over the peoples by distracting them from the struggle for their rights, by sowing enmity and hatred. It is a manifestation of a policy known as "information imperialism", whose essence is mass-produced imperialist propaganda.

The "information imperialism" notion was introduced into the international political vocabulary about a decade ago. One of the first to use the expression was Urho Kekkonen, the then President of Finland, who pointed out that two-thirds of all the information being spread in the world derive in one way or another from the US information and propaganda complex, which is the backbone of the mass media of world imperialism.

Western news agencies undoubtedly have full sway in the world information market beyond the borders of the socialist countries. According to UNESCO, they control from 80 to 90 per cent of the news being circulated in the non-socialist world. They hold particularly strong positions in a number of developing countries, where they act as agents of neocolonialism. Together with the other Western mass media they carry on subversive ideological activities against the newly free states.

Mention is also made of the USA's predominant position in the output of radio and TV news, its indisputable superiority in the manufacture and marketing of technical mass-communications facilities, and the one-way flow of information, which is being channelled from the developed capitalist countries, the USA above all, across the whole world, including the young developing states.

CONCENTRATION OF THE PRESS

At the beginning of this century, 95 per cent of all newspapers and magazines in the USA, the leading capitalist country, were independent capitalist enterprises, but gradually the process of the concentration and

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 376.

centralisation of production turned the mass media into an appendage of the monopolies.

The first newspaper trust (or "chain") in history—the Scripps chain—was set up in the USA in 1878, soon to be followed by the Hoerst, McCormick, Patterson and other ones. *In our day, more than one-half of all US periodicals belong to big newspaper and magazine concerns (or, in UNESCO terminology, newspaper "networks").*

According to one of UNESCO documents, since 1945 the number of newspaper networks in the USA uniting from 2 to 80 daily newspapers and belonging to one and the same owner increased from 60 to 165. These groups control over 60 per cent of all the daily newspapers being published in the country.²

Over the past half-century, the number of daily newspapers in the USA has markedly declined, whereas the number of newspaper networks has increased almost 5.5-fold, and the number of press organs within these, 7-fold.³

There have also been similar processes in other leading capitalist countries. In Britain, for instance, 9 of the 111 daily newspapers account for 60 per cent of their sum total circulation.⁴ The newspaper tycoon, Rupert Murdoch, who was granted US citizenship in 1985, calls the tune on the British news market.

In France, strong positions in the field of the mass media are held by the Hersant trust, which includes 18 newspapers, 9 weeklies and 10 specialised editions. In West Germany, more than one-half of all newspapers and magazines belong to 10 concerns. The press concentration process in the FRG has whittled down the number of newspapers being published in most regions of the country to one, while the other newspapers have either been put out of business by their stronger rivals or have been swallowed up by the latter.

The monopolies influence the press not only through the specialised trusts, or newspaper networks but also directly. As is noted in the above-mentioned UNESCO document, *concentration in this field often goes hand in hand with the emergence of multisectoral conglomerates, as periodicals are merged with other mass media and as industrial companies and banks gain control over the press.*

Groups of newspaper and magazine publishers and individual publishers in the USA simultaneously own something like 650 radio and 190 TV stations. In about 60 populated localities, newspaper owners also run their own TV stations servicing the same regions, and in 200 localities newspaper owners have their own radio stations.

In Britain, by the early 1970s, 5 companies accounted for 71 per cent of the circulation of daily newspapers, 74 per cent of all homes using the commercial TV system, 78 per cent of cinema tickets, 70 per cent paperback book sales, and 65 per cent of the sale of records.⁵

Yet another form of monopoly control over the press, radio and television is payment for the advertisements run by the latter and enabling the monopolies to promote their goods. In the budgets of newspaper-publishing trusts, advertising revenues far exceed their revenues from the sale of newspapers and magazines. This means that without direct remittances from the advertisers most Western periodicals would have gone bankrupt long ago. Advertising in the hands of Big Business is an instrument of political pressure and control over the publishers.

² International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. Concluding Report. UNESCO, 1980 (hereafter referred to as the MacBride Report), p. 89.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

According to UNESCO, annual advertising expenditures are now estimated at \$64,000 million, bringing tremendous profits which are higher than the profits in other sectors of the economy. The bulk of that amount is being spent in the USA, but the figures for the other major capitalist countries (Britain, France, the FRG, Japan and Canada) are also impressive: more than \$1,000 million for each of these countries. The advertising revenues received by US radio and TV companies total almost \$10,000 million. For some radio and TV companies in the USA and Latin America, advertising revenues come to nearly 100 per cent of their overall budget.

STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITAL AND INFORMATION

The coalescence of the monopolies with the state machinery of the imperialist powers and emergence of state-monopoly capitalism were bound to have a profound effect on the sphere of mass communications as well. The state in the West began to intervene on an ever growing scale in the affairs of the press, radio and television. The main aim of that intervention was to influence public opinion so as to dupe the masses both at home and abroad, to set them against socialism and the national liberation movement.

The mechanism of state-monopoly intervention in the sphere of information and communications is particularly pronounced in the USA. Even before the end of the Second World War, US President Harry Truman took the first step to the formation of a whole system of government bodies meant to control the preparation and spread of propaganda material in support of monopoly policy. In 1950, President Truman formulated the mission of US propaganda, saying that the Americans should make the world listen to them. That task, he said, did not differ from the other elements of US foreign policy and was inseparable from it. That year, the US Congress trebled the appropriations for foreign policy propaganda. Such were the origins of the future US Information Agency (USIA).

The heads of the Washington Administration urged the mass media to step up the broad anti-Soviet campaign. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles complained that the USA was spending too little on the "war of ideas". His affected concern helped the stage-managers of the USA's ideological "crusade" to build up a powerful material base for the official US information and propaganda complex (IPC). Today, the USA's annual outlays on IPC activities abroad come to around \$5,000 million, and total employment in that sphere is over 350,000.

An official decision to set up the USIA as the spearhead of ideological neocolonialism was taken by the US Congress on August 1, 1953. The US researcher, Theodore Sorensen, subsequently wrote that the USIA had arisen on the tide of the cold war.

When James Carter became President of the USA, he somewhat reorganised the agency and changed its name to International Communication Agency (ICA). Some units of the State Department, including the cultural exchange service, were handed over to the main foreign propaganda agency of the USA. Apart from extending radio propaganda, the ICA increased the number of reports meant for publication in the foreign mass media (up to 12,000 words a day). Telegraphic information, official statements by the US government, books and pamphlets were being sent by the ICA to 2,700 foreign publications.

The incumbent President has renamed the agency back into USIA. In the 1986 fiscal year, the USIA's budget will amount to the record figure of \$974 million. Most of that amount goes to maintain the USIA's huge apparatus in other countries (214 offices in 129 countries), and also

to expand and technically re-equip the agency's services in the USA and abroad.

But the USIA is not the only government body in the USA whose task is to influence and shape public opinion at home and abroad. Much is also being done along these lines by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Besides using the opportunities offered by the USIA, it also applies its own specific methods. According to reports in the US press, the CIA has set up a global propaganda network and has been supplying the press, radio and television with trumped-up information on a large scale. The CIA's task is to carry on "black" and "grey" propaganda,⁶ and to prevent a decolonisation of the mass media in the developing countries.

Another channel along which US state-monopoly capital exerts a direct influence on public opinion is provided by the mass media controlled by the US Department of Defense. According to the foreign press, the Pentagon's own publications include more than 1,000 newspapers and about 400 magazines, and also diverse bulletins with a total circulation of more than 12 million copies. Most of these publications are intended for US servicemen, but the high military command has also been trying to influence the general reader. The propaganda service of the US Navy alone circulates among the civilian mass media more than 1,100 press releases and tens of thousands of photographs.

Over the past two decades, the Pentagon's outlays on propaganda have multiplied 15-fold. As a result, notes the US researcher Herbert Schiller, the Pentagon has built up the biggest information system in the world and has turned into a highly organised machine for manipulating people's consciousness.

The Western powers' press, radio and TV offensive against the socialist countries and the young developing states is being coordinated by NATO's information service, where the key positions are also held by the US military command. In this way the IPC of the United States gets the propaganda machines of the other imperialist powers to serve its own purposes.

TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS TRUSTS

At the present stage, transnational corporations (TNCs) are assuming the role of strike weapons in the expansion of capitalism. Their name shows that they do not operate within the framework of a single state (although most of them are headquartered in the USA), but across the whole capitalist world.

"The strengthening of transnational corporations, which make huge profits by exploiting working people on a world scale," says the CPSU Programme (new edition), "is a direct result of capitalist concentration and internationalisation of production. They not only undermine the sovereignty of newly free states, but also encroach on the national interests of developed capitalist countries."⁷

In the late 1970s, there were more than 11,000 TNCs with about 82,000 foreign affiliates. These controlled the economy in the former colonies, as well as in the West. They held in hand roughly 40 per cent of industrial production in the developing countries and one-half of their foreign trade.

⁶ "Black" propaganda is the spread of patently false information, and "grey" propaganda is a mixture of truth, half-truth and misinformation.

⁷ *Pravda*, March 7, 1986.

Naturally, the TNCs could not bypass such a major field as mass communications. As was noted in the MacBride Report, the expansion of TNC activities in the field of mass communications influences the world market, trade, employment, and even the stability and independence of some countries. The authors of the document point to the phenomenon of transnational communications. In that field, just as in the other sectors of the transnational economy, in industrial and financial operations, they say, there are centres which control production, servicing and the peripheral markets for which they cater.

That conclusion was reaffirmed by a 1983 study carried out for UNESCO by Denis Peguin, who is on the staff of the International Economics and Finance Centre, Marseilles University. He analysed the activities of 180 TNCs and came to the conclusion that the information market is being controlled not only by big firms which specialise in information and communications, but also by purely industrial monopolies. In other words, big monopoly capital does not always resort to the services of specialised TNCs in order to influence public opinion, but often acts directly, regardless of whether its main sphere of activities is electronics, metallurgy, electrical engineering, arms production or anything else. According to Peguin's data, 81 transnational corporations control 75 per cent of the world's news output and circulation.⁸

The world news agencies, which supply most of the news for the press, radio and television in different countries, are big transnational enterprises. The most powerful of these are the Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), Reuters and France-Presse (AFP). Each of these gathers and circulates round-the-clock information running to several million words, has its own subscribers in about 100 countries, and operates branches and correspondents' posts on all continents.

The British sociologist O. Boyd-Barret and M. Palmer of the French National Research Centre analysed the activities of the transnational news agencies on the strength of a wide array of factual material. Noting the global nature of their activities and the speed with which they gather, process and spread news, the authors come to the conclusion that this information is oriented primarily towards the "cultural and social values of the ruling classes", towards "helping them govern" the masses. An interesting admission made by the researchers is that such news agencies are often in close contact with the Western intelligence services.⁹

The book contains figures showing the scale on which the transnational agencies operate. In the early 1980s, it says, the Associated Press had 657 correspondents abroad, France-Presse 441, and Reuters about 400. Thirty-four per cent of them were accredited in North America, 28 in Europe, 17 in Asia and Oceania, 6 in the Middle East, and only 4 per cent in Africa. These figures clearly show that the Western agencies regard the developing countries as no more than a secondary source of information, concentrating their news-gathering activities primarily in the developed capitalist countries.

The US researcher William Reed, one-time director of the East Asian regional department of the Voice of America, says that the transnational information trusts have taken such firm root in other countries that the only word for the phenomenon is "ubiquity". As he has estimated, the Associated Press and UPI are trying to hold more than a 1,000 million people in the focus of their assessments of international events.

Such Western domination has led to glaring disproportions in resources, in the means of communication and the international circula-

⁸ D. Peguin, *Les sociétés transnationales dans les secteurs de la communication et de l'information*, SS-83/WS/69 UNESCO, Paris, 1983, p. 14.

⁹ O. Boyd-Barret, M. Palmer, *Le trafic des nouvelles*, 1981, pp. 36-38.

tion of news. Here are some figures cited at a meeting newsmen held in Sri Lanka in 1977. The Associated Press transmits along its channels from New York to Asia an average of 90,000 words a day, whereas the reverse flow along these channels is only 19,000 words a day. The general information service of another news agency, UPI, transmits from New York to Asia roughly 100,000 words a day, and back from Asia to the United States only 40,000 to 45,000 words a day.

A study of the content of TV programmes held in 91 developing countries indicated that imported programmes made up from 30 to 75 per cent of all the programmes shown on local television.

Statistical data on the distribution of the periodical press across the world also point to disproportions in meeting the public's information requirements in different regions. Towards the beginning of the 1980s, the developed capitalist countries had 324 copies of daily newspapers per 1,000 inhabitants, whereas the developing countries had only 95 copies in Latin America, 70 in Asia, and 20 in Africa.

"INFORMATION IMPERIALISM" AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

"Information imperialism" is not only the technical superiority of the Western mass media and the extraction of profits from the developing countries, but is also an ideological expansion by the West, a drive to trample under foot the political independence and cultural specifics of other countries and peoples.

Here are some of the concrete manifestations of "information imperialism":

- concentration of newspapers, magazines, radio, television and other means of communication in the hands of a few powerful specialised corporations;

- direct control by multi-industry monopolies of a sizeable part of the mass media and communications facilities;

- open intervention by the organs of state-monopoly capital, including the monopoly-controlled state machinery of the capitalist countries, in the sphere of ideas and information;

- predominance on the capitalist world's news market of information supplied by communications transnationals;

- ever more extensive use of misinformation by the Western press, radio and television to provide propaganda backing for the domestic and foreign policy of imperialism.

One of the manifestations of "information imperialism" can be judged from a blunt admission by A. Silvester, former US Assistant Secretary of Defense for links with the mass media. It is an inalienable right of the government to lie, that high-ranking official declared. If you think that any official in the USA is going to tell you the truth you are simply a fool, he said.¹⁰

"Information imperialism" is directed against all countries and peoples, including the Western public, which it keeps misinforming day after day. The heaviest slander is being levelled at the policy of socialist and developing states and the peoples' struggle for peace and security.

But it is the developing countries that suffer most from "information imperialism". In practice, Western concepts of a "free flow of information" boil down to a one-way flow of ideas from the West to its former colonies, which have neither the means nor the strength to turn that flow into a two-way street. The non-aligned countries' news bulletin, published in Delhi, notes in this context that the imperialist powers obstruct the development of national culture in Asian, African and Latin

¹⁰ See B. Ladd, *Crisis in Credibility*, New York, 1968. p. 3.

American countries, and that these countries cannot achieve genuine cultural progress so long as the West retains its domination in the mass media.

The Indian *National Herald* has also noted that the Western mass media use their predominance in the international news market for an ideological enslavement of the developing countries.

So, "information imperialism" is not only a concentration of the mass media in the hands of a few "press barons", but also an intervention by state-monopoly capital in the affairs of the press, radio and television. It is also crafty misinformation on a global scale, misinformation from which the newly free states are the most to suffer.

"Information imperialism" provides a basis for intensifying "psychological warfare". It is spearheaded against world socialism, the international communist movement, the national liberation and mass democratic movements. The US-led reactionary circles of imperialism have stepped up their attempts to impose their ideas on all the peoples of the world through information and propaganda, hoping to provide an ideological cover for their militarist foreign policy line and, at the same time, to discredit the peace policy of the USSR and the other socialist community states. "There is no need for special political vision," Mikhail Gorbachev said at the CPSU Central Committee's Plenary Meeting in April 1985, "to see that in recent years imperialism has intensified its subversive activities and is coordinating its actions against the socialist states. That applies to all spheres: political, economic, ideological and military."¹¹

The thought was further developed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress, which emphasised that "The psychological warfare unleashed by imperialism cannot be qualified otherwise than as a special form of aggression, of information imperialism impinging on the sovereignty, history, and culture of peoples. Moreover, it spells out direct political and psychological preparations for war, having, of course, nothing in common with a real comparison of views or with freedom of exchanges of ideas, about which they speak hypocritically in the West. There is no other way for evaluating actions, when people are taught to look upon any society uncongenial to imperialism through a gun-sight."

The developed capitalist states involved in the activities of "information imperialism" have increasingly coordinated their efforts in the ideological sphere, seeking to apply pressure and blackmail in order to obtain benefits and advantages in the political, economic and military spheres. The main role in that coordination drive is played by the US information and propaganda complex, which is the core of "information imperialism".

The mass media in our day are more responsible to the peoples than ever before for a revival of the policy of detente, a transition from confrontation to cooperation, a replacement of the inequitable economic relations with a new and just international economic order, and a renunciation of the methods of "psychological warfare". In view of these tasks facing the international community, it is ever more important to combat "information imperialism", the information and propaganda complex of imperialism, as a tool in the hands of the hegemonists and neocolonialists.

¹¹ *Pravda*, Apr. 24, 1985.

THE FIRST VICTORIOUS BATTLE FOR SOCIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Pedro Miret P R I E T O,

Political Bureau Member,
CPC Central Committee,
Vice-President,
Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba

Twenty-five years separate us from April 19, 1961. On that day the world witnessed an unprecedented event in the Western Hemisphere: at Playa Giron imperialism suffered its first significant defeat in Latin America inflicted by the Cuban people.

This alone was enough to mark the historic significance of the Cuban people's victory at Playa Giron. However, the importance of this event lies not only in the fact that their heroic struggle made short work of the army of mercenaries which was financed, armed and trained by the CIA, but first and foremost because it was the first victorious national battle for socialism in Latin America.

From the moment when following the storming of the Moncada barracks young lawyer Fidel Castro Ruz delivered his speech for the defence "History Will Acquit Me" work was begun to develop the progressive people's programme of the Cuban revolution, which in the objective and subjective conditions of that period reflected as fully as possible the people's aspirations.

With the victory of the revolution of January 1, 1959, the Cuban people secured the freedom and the right to begin the complicated task of translating the gains of the revolution into life. Since then radical economic, political and social changes were introduced in fulfilment of the political programme that was not of a socialist nature itself but nevertheless paved the way to socialism. The foundations of moribund structures of the semi-colonial exploitation that had existed in Cuba for over half-a-century were undermined.

The measures taken by the revolutionary government brought dual results: while putting an end to Cuba's economic dependence and thus promoting the feeling of self-respect among the impoverished masses that for the first time learned the true meaning of the word "freedom", they set off a wave of hostility to the Cuban revolution on the part of the national oligarchy, a small population stratum which was rapidly losing power and class privileges.

While the country was being gripped by acute class struggle instigated by the activities of hundreds of counter-revolutionary groups enjoying the

The author is a participant in the fighting at Playa Giron.

direct support of US imperialism, the principles of social justice enshrined in the laws that were adopted in the people's interests promoted the growth of the working people's class consciousness and their ideological and political maturity in the course of revolutionary struggle.

The jobless, illiterate and exploited masses, who were the subject of Fidel Castro's historical speech, gradually turned into full-fledged masters of their country's wealth, which had previously been exploited by the national bourgeoisie and foreign capital. They grew aware of their new role and at the same time realised the need to defend their gains and achievements at any cost.

As the revolution adopted ever more radical measures against US capital, imperialism increased its economic and political pressure on Cuba, ranging from its refusal to grant loans, supply oil, and keep up its traditional sugar purchases and the decision to set up a rigid trade blockade of Cuba, to the unleashing of unbridled propaganda campaigns against the country.

Imperialism set down to hatching sinister plans for exterminating Cuban revolutionary leaders, devising schemes for regular acts of sabotage at industrial enterprises, transport facilities and in the economy in general. It was out to deprive the country of doctors, engineers and other specialists; it tried to impede the purchase of military equipment for the country's defence, and to draw to its side Cuban diplomats, employees, seamen and engineers who were outside the country, offering them huge sums of money to keep them from returning to the homeland; it spared no means to isolate Cuba politically and economically, using to this end diplomatic manoeuvres, bribing some compliant Latin American governments, and foisting numerous anti-Cuban resolutions at different international organisations and forums.

Until the Cuban revolution proclaimed its socialist nature, and while it confined itself to implementing the programme outlined in Castro's speech "History Will Acquit Me", the US Administration justified its aggressively hostile policy by the vicious thesis that socialism is incompatible with the inter-American system.

The history of Latin America gives ample proof that the USA has always resorted to the notorious "big stick" policy against governments that challenged Washington's imperial ambitions. It annexed more than a half of Mexico's territory. It unscrupulously plundered Nicaragua and ended up by installing in power the ominous Somoza dynasty that for more than four decades had oppressed the courageous Sandino people. Today when the heroic people of Nicaragua have put an end to imperialist rule they are forced to give a rebuff to the dirty war organised and financed by US imperialism where it employs the same shopworn methods that proved futile in Cuba. These methods will bring the same results in Nicaragua which is now fighting for independence. In the Dominican Republic the USA had installed its stooge, notorious dictator Trujillo, an acolyte of imperialism, and in 1965 launched one of its usual interventions against the country. In Guatemala it cut short the progressive changes that had been introduced by Jacobo Arbenz's regime. In Haiti it restored the odious Duvalier regime, which it is now trying to save, the dictator having fled, despite the wave of popular unrest that is sweeping the country. To this one can add the coups d'état that were regularly instigated with the help of a handful of CIA-recruited mercenaries, thereby dashing Latin American peoples' hopes for justice and a better future.

The specifics of the Cuban revolution prevented the USA from using its usual arsenal of devices for instigating putsches and destabilising the situation. The war for national liberation in Cuba culminated in the full victory of the workers and peasants' army, the victory of an impoverished people over the forces that were armed and equipped by impe-

rialism. For the first time the Cubans felt like real masters of their future, for the people's government did not confine its work to empty phrases but in fact gave the working people that which was theirs by right and which they had been illegally deprived of for centuries: the right to work, education, health protection, freedom, human dignity, and life.

It was not easy for the USA to employ its subversive methods against the revolutionary government which did not hesitate to oust the US military mission from Cuba on the grounds that its presence was an insult to the country's sovereignty and accepted with dignity the US government's decision to break off diplomatic relations with the country.

Imperialism's traditional methods of aggression were doomed to failure. Owing to the people's vigilance, which was the result of the broad support by the masses for revolution, the internal counter-revolution, organised and supported by the CIA, failed in all its obstinate efforts to destabilise the situation in Cuba.

After abortive attempts to employ economic aggression, sabotage, blockade and counter-revolution the USA had only one other method in reserve, and that was armed aggression. As pointed out by Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, Playa Giron was its last chance, its final blow that was calculated at destroying the Cuban revolution which was fighting back tooth and nail.

The invasion of mercenary troops in April 1961 was contemplated as a kind of prelude to the irresponsible US actions that were to follow. However, the United States had failed to take into consideration the courage, resolve and invincible unity of the Cuban people who had rallied around their revolution with its Commander-in-Chief, Fidel Castro.

The bourgeois exploiters and their apparatus of repression which continued to retain power by illegal means had no intention of yielding to the demands made on them by history's triumphal march. Imperialism refused to give up the wealth it had sapped from this small island in the Caribbean. It did not intend to be a passive witness to how Cuba's example inspired the enslaved American peoples for the struggle for independence. The Cubans, on their part, were not going to give up the freedom that had been won by the blood and sacrifices of generations of revolutionary fighters.

That is why immediately after the popular victory of 1959, when economic, political and social changes were being wrought in the country and the struggle to do away with obsolete structures of government was at its height, Cuba set itself the task of building its armed forces. Its fulfilment became possible owing to the people's decisive contribution to creating an army of a new type, an army that had inherited the patriotic behests of the preceding generations of freedom fighters and succeeded the victorious army of insurgents. These creative efforts helped build up the country's Revolutionary Armed Forces—the armed hand of the revolution, and the People's Revolutionary Militia—the tested contingent of workers, peasants and students who turned every single factory, field and school into an insurmountable barrier in the path of the class enemy.

This was a people's army in the full sense of the word, and one that had been armed owing to the internationalist assistance of several socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union. Prior to the invasion of mercenaries the people took up arms, vowing under the banner of socialism to defend the revolution of the "unfortunate, done by the unfortunate, for the unfortunate".

On April 16, 1961, in his historical speech at the funeral of the victims of US bombings the Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro proclaimed the socialist nature of the revolution and outlined the radical changes it would introduce. It received warm support from the embattled people who supported these changes discarding old prejudices and doubts.

The proclaiming of the socialist nature of the Cuban revolution infused the Cuban people with courage and the conviction that their struggle was a just one, especially when the danger of aggression was looming over the country and the people were preparing to fight for the cause they had vowed to defend and develop to its logical end.

Lenin wrote: "In the final analysis, victory in any war depends on the spirit animating the masses that spill their own blood on the field of battle. The conviction that the war is in a just cause and the realisation that their lives must be laid down for the welfare of their brothers strengthen the morale of the fighting men and enable them to endure incredible hardships... every mobilized worker or peasant knows what he is fighting for and is ready to shed his own blood for the triumph of justice and socialism."¹

The events at Playa Giron confirmed Lenin's instruction on the defence of the socialist homeland. The victory achieved by workers and peasants who had left their working places and taken up arms in defence of their gains was also the result of their belief in the ideals of the revolution and their utter readiness to defend these ideals. Having expropriated foreign monopolies, local latifundia owners and the bourgeoisie in favour of the impoverished masses, the revolution has awakened the people's revolutionary consciousness, which quickly developed into progressive social thinking. This was practical confirmation of the just nature of the social system which by its first step had elevated the people and given them more than in all the 50 years of the previous development.

Hence, for the Cuban people the struggle for socialism was the conscious and clear-cut expression of their ideological and political conviction, of their sovereign resolve to secure a better future for their country and strengthen the unity of all Cuban revolutionaries in the Party that would lead the country firmly along the revolutionary road.

The victory of April 19, 1961, was undoubtedly a landmark: its significance, according to the Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, is that the battle at Playa Giron had given more freedom to the American peoples.

The Cuban people's victory over the mercenary gangs has dispelled the myth of imperialism's invincibility and consolidated the positions of socialism in the Western Hemisphere. This victory has instilled even more hope into the hearts of the oppressed masses in the continent. These hopes were engendered by the Cuban revolution, which chose the only correct road, the one charted by Marxism-Leninism in keeping with the laws governing social development, and became the culmination point of the struggle for independence begun in the last century.

The heroes of 1868 and 1895, the champions of the republic, the participants in the storming of the Moncada barracks, the partisans of Sierra Maestra fought for the ideals of freedom and social justice which grew ever more radical with every new historical stage and in the aspirations of present-day revolutionaries found the only correct expression: the socialist revolution.

To fight for socialism at Playa Giron meant loyalty to the behests of the champions of independence, freedom and social progress; it meant justifying the hopes of Latin American peoples that were brought to life by the victory of the Cuban revolution. It confirmed Cuba's close and inalienable ties with the international communist movement and the moral superiority of the people of a small country over imperialism, the people that 25 years ago inscribed a glorious page in the history of battles and victories, for theirs was a just cause and they were ready to fight for its victory.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 137.

THE 27th CONGRESS OF THE CPSU AND ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE

Professor Sh. S A N A K O Y E V,
D Sc (Hist.)

The Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have a special role to play in determining the strategy and tactics of the domestic and foreign policies pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state. At these Congresses the impressive plans for the country's economic growth, for building the material and technical basis of communism are drawn up and endorsed. The Communists at these forums determine and specify the foreign policy line of the CPSU and the Soviet government and advance a detailed programme of struggle for stable world peace and security. All this ensures the dialectical relationship between the accomplishment of development tasks at home and the provision of favourable foreign policy conditions for that and the continuity of the consistent Leninist policy of peace and international cooperation.

The role of the Party Congresses is great, indeed, in the scientific and theoretical analysis of problems involved in world relations and in the foreign policy of socialism. Each Congress is held in a definite historical situation. So a Congress gives an analysis of world development at a certain stage and sets the tasks for the Party in accordance with the current world situation and with the key tendencies of that period. This approach is of great scientific and practical significance. An accurate scientific assessment of the world situation as a whole in some or other period of time makes it possible to set practical goals in the struggle for peace and social progress, for the prevention of the threat of a nuclear holocaust. In this respect the results of the 27th CPSU Congress are of exceptional importance at the present decisive moment, which rightly will occupy a special place, not only in this country's history, but in the history of the world.

In the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress, Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, analysed foreign policy problems and clearly defined the main trends of international development. He stressed that the chief goal of the Party's international strategy was clear—"to ensure to the Soviet people the possibility of working under conditions of enduring peace and freedom.... To fulfil it in the present situation means, above all, to terminate the material preparations for a nuclear war".

The 27th Congress of the CPSU not only stated that the international tensions had grown, but revealed the causes of such a course of events and made clear who was to blame for it. It pointed out to where this would lead mankind, if no drastic measures would be taken to restrain the forces of war and reaction which were pushing the world into the nuclear abyss. The danger looming over mankind has never been so awesome, says the new edition of the Programme of the CPSU. This great danger to peace comes from imperialism, US imperialism above all. Precisely its actions show the policy of the USA and NATO as it really is. This is in fact a policy of social

revenge to be taken by achieving military superiority over socialism. It is a policy of suppressing progressive and liberation movements by force and maintaining world tensions on the level which, in their view, would justify the nuclear and conventional arms race and militarisation of outer space.

Furthermore, the Congress frankly stated in its historic documents that imperialism presented a threat of a third world war: "Imperialism is using the achievements of man's genius for the development of weapons of awesome destructive power. The policy of the imperialist circles, which are prepared to sacrifice the future of whole nations, is increasing the danger that these weapons may actually be put to use. In the final count it threatens mankind with a global armed conflict in which there would be no winners or losers and in which world civilisation could perish."

Such is the Party's assessment of the most acute problem confronting mankind today—the problem of war and peace. This assessment is dictated not by subjective factors but is based on a strictly scientific analysis of the realities of the modern world, on the objective exposure of the anti-popular, militaristic policy of imperialism and the possible catastrophic effects of this policy.

The ideologists and politicians of the USA and NATO stick to just the opposite point of view. They are interpreting the situation in the world, if not by drawing a rosy perspective, then at any rate by greatly belittling the danger of a nuclear war, a danger which is the result of their warmongering, of the imperialist policy of imposing the arms race on others. The ruling elite in the imperialist states acts so primarily because it set out to whitewash its policy of building up world tensions, justifying the arms race and concealing from world public opinion what had really caused the worsening of the international climate.

At the same time, frenzied anti-Soviet and antisocialist campaigns are launched in the USA and other NATO countries, their population are being brainwashed increasingly in the spirit of militarism and great-power chauvinism. The methods used in these campaigns resemble those that were employed in Nazi ideology and propaganda. To that end, all kinds of lies are made use of, from a "Soviet threat" to "human rights" violations. Mendacious assertions about an "export of revolution" or about the socialist countries' intention to impose their social system and ideology on other nations figure prominently in the efforts of the imperialist bourgeoisie to spread hatred for the Soviet Union among the population in the capitalist world. For that purpose the bourgeoisie falsifies both the history and the theoretical propositions of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and misinterprets the goals and tasks facing new society in the area of domestic and foreign policies. Though it does succeed in misleading fairly broad segments of the population in the USA and other Western countries by these misinterpretations and distortions, this is not due to the power of logic displayed by bourgeois propaganda, and not due to its "truthfulness", but because it skillfully exploits the very fact that the revolutionary renovation of the world is irreversible, that it is an objective and logical process which is not dependent on anyone's will. Precisely these objective changes, taking place constantly in the world, are exploited by our class enemies as a kind of a "demonstration lesson" used for brainwashing the population and suppressing the revolutionary will of the broad popular masses in the West.

Drawing a false picture of the overall international situation, making it look as though Moscow is deliberately exaggerating the threat of a nuclear war for propaganda purposes and for intensifying the world antiwar movement—are part and parcel of the basic ideological and political tenets of international imperialism today. This line of conduct of the ruling elite in the USA and other NATO countries is also used in the attempts to justify its negative, unconstructive approach to the solution of the key problems of world politics, its indifference to the concern of the world public over inter-

national peace, over the destiny of human civilisation. **Imperialism looks upon the buildup of world tensions as a quite normal state of affairs, as a major condition for continuing the arms race, cultivating warmongering policy and ideology and undermining revolutionary, liberation and democratic movements, including the antiwar movement, in various countries.**

Our class enemies do not like it, of course, that by our humane and peaceful policy and diplomacy, by our entire foreign policy practice we have been, and are, greatly influencing the character of international relations and world politics. The methods employed by Western countries in diplomatic practice cannot but undergo changes to some or other extent under the favourable influence of Soviet diplomacy and Soviet foreign policy actions. The Western countries have often had to refrain from using **crude methods** in dealing with other countries of the world, as was the case in the past. Though today, too, the imperialist bourgeoisie more often than not resorts to brute force, interfering unscrupulously in the internal affairs of other nations. But, in doing so, it is compelled to act circumspectly and reckon with the USSR and other socialist countries, which have always been defending new fair and democratic principles and methods of conducting international affairs.

This goes to show that existing socialism has already contributed a good deal to the drastic restructuring and perfection of international relations on the principles of equality and justice, with the interests of all states duly considered, and at the same time, it gave mankind a **good example** of how, in what direction these relations should develop and what imperialist "legacy" they should be delivered from.

It is symptomatic in this context that whenever it concerns constructive talks on the key issues of war and peace, curbing the arms race and lowering the level of military confrontation between the USSR and the USA, and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO, the ruling circles in the United States and a number of the imperialist states immediately back away, pretending that it does not concern them at all or that they are just not interested. Their answer to major proposals made by the USSR and the other fraternal countries is usually "no".

The ruling elite in the Western countries often explains this obstructionist stance by something like fear of a "Soviet threat" or of "aggressiveness of world communism". That is a deliberate lie, though, needed by advocates of imperialism as they try to diminish the impact of the ideals of scientific communism, and the influence of the great example of the socialist countries on the peoples in the non-socialist part of the world.

It is perfectly clear that deliberate distortion of facts and the spreading of wild myths about "Soviet expansionism" have nothing to do with a rational state policy, with the real state of affairs in the world and therefore any political course based on such false premises is doomed to complete failure.

In the West, demagogic rhetoric is often substituted for a practical businesslike approach to the solution of problems of world politics. A good deal is said there about the need for an East-West dialogue, for negotiations. Many speakers say that distrust and suspicion between the two great powers—the USSR and the USA—must be overcome. But how is this to be done? Should all this be confined to mere talk, or should practical measures be taken? The White House evades an answer to these questions for definite reasons. The talk in the US Administration around negotiations, its verbal "preparedness" for solving world problems (on Washington's terms, of course) is an essential part of the ideological and psychological brainwashing of its own population, and the world public for that matter, which is obviously concerned over the present situation in the world.

The reply of the US President to the Soviet Statement of January 15, 1986 is clear evidence of that. It is stressed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee that "in his letter the President agrees in general

with some or other Soviet proposals and intentions as regards the issues of disarmament and security. In other words, the reply seems to contain some reassuring opinions and theses. However, these positive pronouncements are drowning in various reservations, 'linkages' and 'conditions' which in fact block the solution of radical problems of disarmament".

As a result of this, in fact, obstructionist position the disarmament talks were stalled for a long time, and not a single significant arms limitation agreement has been signed in recent years.

In its assessment of the present international situation, which is marked by increased tensions and the growing threat of a new world war, the USSR had no wish to lay it on too thick, but proceeded from the actual state of affairs. It is precisely this which motivates the USSR's desire to induce all governments not just to ponder over the course of world events, but to pool efforts to eliminate the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and to display a more responsible and thoroughly considered approach to determining their political course which in the nuclear age cannot be based on doctrines of war and aggression or on a strategy of using armed force in solving international issues.

The whole complex of large-scale initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries are an example of a responsible, wise and realistic approach to most acute problems confronting mankind. And the CPSU proceeds from the assumption that however grave the threat posed by the policy of the aggressive circles of imperialism to peace, a world war is not fatally inevitable. The new edition of the CPSU Programme stresses most emphatically: "It is possible to avert war and to save mankind from catastrophe. This is the historical mission of socialism, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world."



What are the grounds for this optimism?

It is motivated not just by good intentions, but is a result of a sober and precise assessment of the alignment of class and political forces in the world and of objective and subjective factors determining the international development today.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme plainly states that the possibilities for safeguarding and strengthening peace have never been so real. This conclusion is based on a profound scientifically-based analysis of the main motive forces of social development, on a definition of the character and the main content of the present epoch.

There is no need to show that the cardinal revolutionary changes in the past decades have greatly altered the image of the world and have given rise to a number of factors which not only create a new situation but offer new conditions for further international development.

Besides, scientific and technological progress, and the development of new mass destruction weapons of monstrous power entirely change the former, traditional approach to the solution of war and peace issues, which cannot but influence world relations and world politics. The general recognition of the fact that there can be neither winners nor losers in a nuclear war is clear proof of that. This idea is known to have been expressed in the joint Soviet-American statement adopted at the Geneva summit in November last year. The leaders of the two powers, aware of the responsibility of the USSR and the USA, have agreed that a nuclear war should not be unleashed, that there can be no winners in it. This is a starting point for elaborating and pursuing a foreign policy by political leaders in all countries with a keen sense of responsibility in our nuclear age.

Indeed, the very progress of science and technology dooms warmongers, forces of war and aggression to self-destruction if they venture to launch a

world nuclear war. If one asks whether the present situation in the military area is conducive to restraining the hawks, the answer would definitely be "yes, it is". Only a madman can ignore today the strength of nuclear retaliation.

This does not at all mean that the threat of a nuclear catastrophe looming over mankind is automatically removed. To reach their self-seeking goals and extract fabulous profits from the manufacture of ever newer types of mass destruction weapons, the aggressive forces of imperialism do not reckon with the political realities of the world. They go ahead with the nuclear arms race and are vigorously preparing for social revenge. It is imperative therefore that, on the one hand, these reactionary forces be restrained, their aggressive plans be disclosed before all nations, the true aims of the ideology and policy of imperialism be unveiled and the warmongers be unmasked. On the other hand, the forces of peace and progress opposed to the forces of war and aggression, and the objective and subjective possibilities of preventing a new world war must be shown. What is actually meant here is not some "passive" factors, but purposeful vigorous actions by the peaceloving states, political parties and the growing antiwar movement; the intensifying confrontation between the forces of peace and socialism, on the one hand, and imperialist reaction whose policy presents the danger of mankind being drawn in a nuclear conflict, on the other.

In this context, of great practical value is the definition of the character and main content of the present age given in the new edition of the CPSU Programme: "It is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, and of historical competition between the two world socio-political systems, an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions and of the disintegration of colonialism, an epoch of struggle of the main motive forces of social development—world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, the peoples of the newly free states and the mass democratic movements—against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression and for peace, democracy, and social progress."

This concise and very meaningful formula presents a clear picture of the complex, many-sided and contradictory world in which we all live and struggle. It is an expression of the essence and scope of the struggle between the forces of socialism and peace, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism and war, on the other—a struggle which has grown worldwide. This formula also expresses the unbreakable dialectical relationship existing in our epoch between socialism and world peace, between the progress of the whole of mankind and prevention of a nuclear catastrophe.

At the same time, this definition singles out the movements and political forces which have been entrusted by history with the great mission of solving the historical dispute in their own favour, ensuring the further advance of humankind, and delivering it from the danger of being destroyed in a nuclear conflagration.

It is naive, to say the least, to place the responsibility for the revolutionary changes in the world entirely on existing socialism, as this is done by our ideological adversaries who talk without let up about the "export of revolution", the "hand of Moscow", a "Soviet threat", and so on. They themselves hardly believe what they say. Their goal is to try and prove that the progressive processes in the world are not a law-governed development but a historical abnormality.

If one forgets for a moment the lies and slander levelled at the socialist countries, then the truth will be that it is our "fault" that socialist revolutions have been accomplished in a number of countries of Europe, Asia and Latin

America; that, as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, people's democratic revolutions—and in the overwhelming majority of the countries national democratic revolutions—have been accomplished, that the influence of socialist ideals and the example of existing socialism has been growing all over the world, and that we have been invariably strengthening our solidarity with the peoples fighting for their liberation.

We have never denied this. Nor do we now. Denouncing the idea of an "export of revolution", Lenin stressed the immense significance of our influence on the capitalist countries. "We cannot overthrow them [the ruling classes in the capitalist countries—Sh. S.] by a war from without," he said. "But we can speed up their internal disintegration. We have achieved that on an immense scale by the Soviet, proletarian revolution."¹

If a "Soviet threat" means in the West the influence of the example of communist development, the impact of our spectacular social, economic, political and cultural attainments on the hearts and minds of peoples in the non-socialist part of the world—they are vast, indeed, and their effectiveness is growing steadily, together with the transformations, speeding up the rate of building a new life by making fuller use of the results of the scientific and technological revolution.

It is precisely socialism which has enabled this country to overcome century-old backwardness within a brief period of history, reach the summits of social progress and achieve outstanding gains in every sphere of life. Soviet society has entered the stage of developed socialism. It is said in the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000 that a powerful scientific, technological and cultural potential has been built in the country by several generations of Soviet people. The Soviet Union today has highly skilled personnel, a powerful industry and an extensive mechanised farming. The USSR is second to none in the world in many areas of science and technology. The well-being of the population has been increasing steadily, the socialist way of life is being constantly perfected, and the principle of social justice is being applied ever more fully.

The very nature of the socialist system and the creative labour of the working people in the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries, their relentless struggle for peace and social progress, and their solidarity with the peoples safeguarding their freedom and independence—all this has made the USSR and the entire socialist community a strong bastion of peace and social progress. The international prestige of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries has been increasing every year, and their role in the world relations and world politics has grown immensely. It is hard to imagine today that any significant international issue would be solved without their active participation. And they would not be solved, of course, against their interests. The consistent position of the USSR and the other socialist community countries in the United Nations is commonly known: they have won the respect of the world community due to their correct and progressive policy of peace and their businesslike and constructive proposals on the key issues of war and peace.

All this does not suit the ruling circles in the United States and other Western powers. They would like to regain the monopoly position of imperialism, the position it occupied not so long ago. But times have changed, and the international position of imperialism has changed as well. The imperialist bourgeoisie does not wish to reconcile itself to the new alignment of forces on the world scene. But it will have to, sooner or later. The Soviet Union and the world socialist community as a whole are firmly opposed to the imperialist forces of aggression and war, expose the expansionist plans

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, pp 112-113.

and the policy of militarism pursued by the USA and NATO, and erect a high barrier in the way of nuclear-warmongers.

The Soviet Union and its allies in the Warsaw Treaty are strong enough militarily to crush any aggressor. The fraternal socialist countries have long since become a material base of the world peace and security movement. The establishment of military strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the North Atlantic bloc, is the historic gain of existing socialism. It is one of the main factors of international stability, a factor considerably restricting the aggressive actions of international imperialism.

Western political scientists, too, write a good deal about the alignment of world forces and construe "triangles" of all kinds in order to portray relations among states on different continents and to forecast the course of world development.

What can be said about these exercises of bourgeois political scientists? In the first place, theirs is obviously a **non-class** approach to determining the alignment of world forces. Moreover, the "methods" they employ are designed, in fact, to obscure the essence of the processes going on in the world by substituting purely geographic and geopolitical reasoning for an analysis of the alignment of political and class forces. Their reasoning cannot give one an idea of the true motive forces of social development and of the factors actually determining the dynamics of world relations and world politics.

The bourgeoisie has always avoided a class approach in examining social phenomena. International relations are no exception either, for a correct and sober assessment of the class and political forces in the world does not tip the balance in favour of capitalism and fully frustrates the hopes of the capitalists of finding a way out of the global crisis, leaving them no historical perspective. Bourgeois political science is not in a position to disprove the fact that the alignment of class and political forces in the world is changing in favour of socialism.

Until recently the ideologists of imperialism reassured themselves by asserting that the confrontation between the two socio-economic systems did not look so grave to them when the notion of alignment of political forces was "diluted" by military strategic factors, which at that time were advantageous to the USA and NATO.

But the alignment of class and political forces in the world must not be confused with the East-West military strategic balance. These are two different notions comprising various components. The former notion is based on the fact that there exist the two opposite social systems in the world and can be applied in analysing the course and the outcome of the competition between the two systems. Due account is taken, naturally, of the position and strength of the parties and political movements operating within national frameworks, their programmes, their influence among the masses and the prospects of expanding this influence. So, the alignment of class and political forces is determined not by the quantity and quality of weapons, but by class, socio-economic, political and moral factors.

As for the military balance, the comparison here is drawn mostly in the numerical strength of the armies and the quantity and quality of weapons, nuclear and conventional, tactical and strategic. This balance is decisive, of course, from the point of view of safeguarding the security of states belonging to different systems; in particular, in defending the gains of existing socialism and creating favourable conditions for the creative endeavour of the Soviet people and the peoples of the fraternal countries. Therefore the attainment of approximate military strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, and between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, is hard to overestimate. It deprived imperialism of yet another means of blackmail and pressure on the socialist countries and compelled it to adapt itself to the situation which has evolved in the world. Addressing the Session of the USSR Supreme So-

viet in November 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "It so happens that both our countries will have to get used to strategic parity as a natural state."²

Military-strategic correlation of strength does not, of course, determine the essence of the revolutionary renovation of the world and the course of world development. But it is quite another matter that the ruling classes of the imperialist powers, the USA above all, staking on the arms race and imposing it on the Soviet Union, attempt not only to upset the existing parity but to hamper the fulfilment of the USSR's impressive social and economic plans in order to diminish the appeal of socialist ideals among the working people in the capitalist countries.

The advanced positions in safeguarding peace and strengthening international security are occupied by the **working class and its vanguard—the international communist movement**. Carrying on the class battles and the economic, political and ideological struggle against capitalism, it is at the same time the consistent opponent of war and imperialist aggression. The Communist and Workers' Parties, mass trade union and youth organisations, uniting millions of working people, take an active part in the worldwide movement for peace and against the threat of nuclear war. The communist movement today is an influential ideological and political force. "The strength of revolutionary parties," says the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "lies in the fact that they firmly uphold the rights and vital aspirations of the working people, point out ways of leading society out of crisis situation of bourgeois society, indicate a real alternative to the exploiter system and provide answers, imbued with social optimism, to the basic questions of our time. They are the true exponents and the most staunch defenders of the national interests of their countries."

The Communist and Workers' Parties in capitalist countries, which have to fight in difficult conditions and are exposed to daily pressure from the class enemy, and therefore are compelled constantly to repel the bourgeois propaganda attacks on Marxist-Leninist ideals, carry on extensive ideological and political activities among the broad sections of the population in their countries, unmask the antipopular essence of the exploiter system and reveal the pernicious effects of the policies pursued by the ruling circles which gear the interests of their countries to those of the overseas monopolies, and often follow in the wake of the USA's imperial policy.

It is often alleged in bourgeois literature that the workers themselves (especially those employed in military industries) are not interested in curtailing the war industry which is said to maintain high employment. Moreover, there are "scientific men of wisdom" who assert that it is impossible to end the arms race because the corporations involved in arms manufacture, which have become part of the military-industrial complex, have become accustomed to fabulous profits and would not allow a winding down of the war industry.

Of course, the main economic law of capitalism discovered by Marx—the law of production and appropriation of surplus value—is itself an expression of the everlasting desire of the capitalists for unpaid labour and ever greater surplus value, which, as Marx put it, is "the immediate purpose and compelling motive of capitalist production."³

But this main law pertains to capitalist production as a whole and therefore there is no need to limit its operation, in theoretical and practical terms, merely to military business, that is, to interpret it one-sidedly and thus to make an impression that this is an impasse with no way out. The struggle

² *Pravda*, Nov. 28, 1985.

³ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 244.

for ending the arms race is fairly definite and specific. Despite all the rapacious laws operating in the Western economy, the arms race can and must be curbed. This task is quite practicable. What is needed for this is **decisive political actions** to limit, and then to eliminate, nuclear arms. As for the industrial potential now used for manufacturing these weapons, when diverted for civilian purposes, it will prove far more effective and will maintain a high level of employment at that.

One must remember also that a large part of the monopolies producing mainly consumer goods are not interested in the arms race. They gain too little from the militarisation of the economy. In other words, there is a contradiction between the military-industrial corporations and a part of the huge economic complex producing civilian goods. So, in the capitalist economy, too, there are preconditions which can help end the arms race.

The contradiction of capitalist production mentioned above makes itself felt mostly in the periods when international tension lessen and the development of international relations becomes stable, while periods of crises always stimulate militarisation in the economic and political activities of Western countries. But it is precisely militarisation that aggravates these crises.

The most zealous opponents of reducing military contracts are, of course, the so-called defence contractors of the Pentagon who receive billions of dollars of profit. Their response to the possibility of arms control was aptly described by *The Washington Post*: "The President's proposal to halve the strategic arsenal of both superpowers and eliminate mobile missiles triggered an 'immediate spasm' from America's major weapons makers, who reacted like anyone with a financial interest in jeopardy."⁴

Producers of lethal weapons would never respond differently. But, luckily, it is not for them to decide disarmament matters. And, besides, such a response does not mean that the arms race cannot be restricted. On the contrary, it can be stopped by political actions, as this is done, for instance, after the end of a war and during a natural diversion of military production for peaceful purposes. Therefore, all assertions that there are insurmountable economic difficulties in the way of disarmament problems do not hold water.

Disarmament can be effected on the principle of equality and equal security. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Party says: "Our country stands for removing weapons of mass destruction from use, for limiting the military potential to reasonable adequacy. But the character and level of this ceiling continue to be limited by the attitudes and actions of the USA and its bloc partners... The Soviet Union lays no claim to more security, but it will not settle for less."

The point is that the US Administration constantly refers to the position of the military-industrial complex whenever it tries to justify its own negative, militaristic policy. But in actual fact both the Administration and the arms manufacturers have joined hands to torpedo any constructive solution to disarmament problems. This confirms Lenin's thesis that the imperialist state merges with powerful monopolies. The roles here are carefully distributed: politicians are engaged in demagogic rhetoric, alluding significantly to the military-industrial complex and the Pentagon, while the latter are busy manufacturing weapons, nuclear and conventional, with the connivance of political leaders.

The developing countries today have become a major factor of peace and international security. The emergence of a large number of sovereign states as a result of the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism has introduced entirely new elements in world relations and world politics.

One can talk about economic backwardness, about difficult social and economic problems, or about class stratification in the newly free countries, but the fact that dozens of formerly colonial states in Asia and Africa have embarked on the path of independent development and are now actively engaged in world politics, considerably influencing the alignment of forces in the world, is in itself of historic significance. The anti-imperialist struggle waged by the countries which have cast off the colonial yoke, the struggle for strengthening independence and promoting social progress, is part and parcel of the world revolutionary process.

These countries are interested in peace, in international stability which would help them solve the vital problems confronting them, especially curbing militarism, the material base of which, to a considerable degree, is neo-colonialism. As is emphasised in the Resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress, imperialism created the refined system of neocolonialism. The brutal exploitation of the developing countries is becoming one of the most important factors for financing imperialism's militaristic preparations, its domestic policy, its very existence. Imperialism ever more intensely stands in opposition to mankind. The setting up of various progressive regional organisations, public ones and those operating on the state level, and the emergence of a fairly broad non-aligned movement go to show that the governments and peoples of the young national states wish to free themselves from the numerous toils of imperialism, independently to decide their fate, and together with the entire world community to defend peace and life on the Earth.

But, apart from the outward factors which create conditions for averting a nuclear war, the significant fact is that capitalism itself is in deep crisis. The disintegration of the old system is an objective and irreversible process and, as historical practice has shown, no "regulations" or "reforms" can stop it. "In this sense," says the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Party, "capitalism negates itself as it develops. Unable to cope with the acute problems of the declining phase of capitalism's development, the ruling circles of the imperialist countries resort to means and methods that are obviously incapable of saving the society which history has doomed."

The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, naturally, weakens the positions of imperialism in the world and gradually saps its social and economic foundations. In these conditions, the ruling circles in the West have to be far more cautious, all the more so since new revolutionary explosions erupt quite frequently as a result of international crises provoked by them. At the same time, it must be remembered that the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism causes greater confusion in the ruling quarters of the United States and the NATO countries, which at times seek a way out of this situation by launching military-political ventures that are fraught with the gravest consequences.

Lenin scientifically proved that "state-monopoly capitalism is a complete material preparation for socialism, the threshold of socialism, a rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism there are no intermediate rungs."⁵

A recognition of this fact by the imperialist bourgeoisie would, of course, mean its recognition of the actual state of affairs in the world today and, above all, a recognition of the obvious truth that it is precisely the aggravation of the crisis of the entire capitalist system which caused the sweeping revolutionary changes in the world, started by the Great October Socialist Revolution, and that the replacement of the old capitalist formation with a new, communist, one is inevitable. But the imperialist bourgeoisie cannot sign its own death sentence. Therefore it denies the objective course of history and stands up for the exploiter system, for its militaristic policy and

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, Moscow, 1964, p. 359.

ideology. But as the general crisis of capitalism grows deeper and the positions of the outgoing world become irreparably weaker, better opportunities emerge for restraining the warmongers.

The aggravation of all socio-economic and political contradictions of bourgeois society causes the emergence of various opposition political parties and movements, in which an active part is taken not only by the working people and the intellectuals but also by broad sections of the bourgeoisie which realise the danger of the domestic and foreign policies pursued by their governments. These movements are diverse, which cannot be otherwise. But on issues of war and peace their positions largely coincide, especially now that the world is faced with the threat of a world nuclear catastrophe. This stance is clearly seen from the antiwar and antimissile movements in the Western countries, the movements which have become a powerful force and cannot be ignored by governments, political parties and individual politicians at all levels.

The immense scope of the antiwar movement in the West is another sign of the crisis of capitalism and yet another sign of the internal decomposition of the old society. Besides, the growing antiwar actions should be viewed as a failure of the USA's imperial policy, the policy of diktat and oppression pursued by the US monopoly bourgeoisie with regard to its West European allies, especially towards newly free countries.

This broad antiwar movement has proved effective in the efforts to eliminate the threat of a nuclear world war. The worldwide peace struggle is being joined by more and more forces, and very authoritative ones at that. Their voice is heard by all nations. Even the open enemies of the antiwar movement would not dare to deny the fact that this movement is exerting a notable influence on the policy of the NATO countries, the USA above all. Manoeuvring and the search for ideological and propaganda methods for undermining the antiwar movements and the futile attempts to change their character and the direction of their activities—this is what the ideologists and politicians of the big bourgeoisie are doing in a bid to create a climate conducive to pursuing an aggressive, militaristic foreign policy. But the antimissile and antiwar movements of all shades have already become part and parcel of the political reality in capitalist countries, a powerful counterpoise to the arms race, to the militarisation of political thinking. It has an ever bigger role to play in the struggle for peace and international security.

Thus, in our time the course of historical development itself has created a situation in which the potential of peace and progress is steadily growing. And it is this constant growth of these forces and their interaction that are, according to the new edition of the CPSU Programme "a pledge that the hopes of the peoples for a life of peace, freedom and happiness will be fulfilled".

The issues of war and peace and of preventing a nuclear catastrophe were the focus of attention at the Congress of Soviet Communists. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress, its Resolution and the delegates and the guests in their speeches gave a comprehensive analysis of the present-day situation in the world, clearly assessed the alignment of class and political forces and revealed the causes of heightening world tensions and the arms race, and identified those who are to blame for this.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the Congress is a good example of a creative Marxist-Leninist approach to the analysis of the key trends in world development and to shaping the strategy of an accelerated socio-economic advancement of the country and solving the vital issue facing mankind—the issue of war and peace.

The Congress not only voiced an ardent call for creating a comprehensive system of international security, addressed to all governments, parties, public organisations and movements which are concerned over the fate of peace on the Earth. It also proposed a set of urgent measures on laying the foundations of such a system in military, political, economic and humanitarian areas. Guided by these principles, as emphasised in the Resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress "peaceful coexistence could be made a supreme universal principle of interstate relations".

The Congress of Soviet Communists has demonstrated the Party's constructive approach to the key problems of peace and international security. An important political outcome of the 27th CPSU Congress is the general line of the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party adopted at the Congress for accelerating the country's socio-economic development, strengthening peace on the Earth.

Such a course would be entirely in keeping with our time, when there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence of states belonging to the two different social and economic systems—socialism and capitalism. The course of world developments, dangerous as it is today, demands that the governments and nations display high responsibility for the fate of civilisation and learn the great art of living in peace on the Earth.

NEW WAY OF THINKING AND "NEW GLOBALISM"

Anatoli G R O M Y K O,
Vladimir L O M E I K O

Our time is imperatively entering the course of history as a turning point in many areas of domestic and international policies. Foreign policy is known to have its origins at home. The Soviet Union's course at accelerating its socio-economic development finds its logical sequence beyond its borders as well, in a large-scale programme directed at peace and disarmament. The entire approach of the CPSU and the state of the working people to international relations is imbued with the spirit of highest responsibility for the destinies of the world and a perseverant search for a way out of the difficult labyrinth of nuclear confrontation.

"We are realists and are perfectly well aware that the two worlds are divided by very many things, and deeply divided, too," said Mikhail Gorbachev in the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th Congress. "But we also see clearly that the need to resolve most vital problems affecting all humanity must prompt them to interaction, awakening humanity's heretofore unseen powers of self-preservation".

All of the foreign policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet government is dictated by the desire to improve world relations, and halt the arms race which through the fault of the imperialist powers swept the world. A vivid example of that is furnished by the proposals advanced in the Statement of January 15, 1986, for the complete elimination of nuclear, chemical and other types of mass destruction weapons throughout the world by the year 2000 and the new Soviet initiatives set forth in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, which are aimed at *creating a comprehensive system of international security*. These initiatives represent a concrete and realistic programme for freeing the people of the world from the horrors and the threat of universal self-destruction, meet the deepest aspirations of all mankind. It has evoked so broad and positive a response in various countries and among all the peoples precisely because it has expressed the age-old dream of peoples concerning a stable peace and at the same time shown a genuine road to its implementation.

The world public—and this is vividly attested to by numerous responses—has seen in the thoroughly weighed Soviet proposals *a fundamentally new approach* to solving the most acute problem of today. The gist of the approach is that it is motivated not merely by concern for national interests or national security of one state or a group of states. It is imbued in its entirety with the spirit of historical responsibility for the fate of the whole world, for safeguarding security for all, and for preserving life itself and civilization on the Earth. To achieve that goal, one had to be able to rise above the really existing contradictions between policies and ideas, to look far beyond the disagreements of today, and to see new horizons and coasts of cooperation. To this end, one had to rise above national egoism, tactical considerations, disputes and strife in order to preserve the primary asset, i. e., peace and a reliable future.

Concern over the fate of the world is incompatible with a policy aimed at preparation for war, a reliance on force. Attention must be drawn to this obvious truth only because almost daily, representatives of the US Administration make ostensible professions of peace which shroud the threats of sanctions and covert or overt interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The way of thinking of too many US politicians clearly lags behind the rapid changes transpiring in the world right before our eyes. Those politicians live in the age of computers and exploration of the galaxy but they are still thinking in terms of the Stone Age. Their philosophy of intimidation rests on the selfsame blind faith in strength, the only difference being that they rely on a nuclear missile, the more powerful the better, and on armaments, the more sophisticated the better, rather than on a long stick or a weighty rock.

Some of those politicians are not even averse to discoursing on a need for a new way of thinking in line with the new realities in the world. Yet, they persist in giving an old interpretation to everything new and look at it through the prism of the selfsame psychology of power arrogance.

This is borne out, among other things, by the approach of the elite at the helm of power in the USA to the issue of nuclear and space arms and to regional problems. It is well known that in 1982-1983 the US Administration undertook persistent attempts to secure unilateral advantages at the talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms and on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe. The result of all those attempts is also well known. The White House drove the talks into a blind alley, having set about stationing first-strike Pershing 2s and cruise missiles. Subsequently, it stubbornly refused to begin talks, proposed by the USSR in 1984, on preventing the militarisation of outer space.

In an attempt to prevent the opening of a new channel for the arms race in outer space, which in turn would simply whip up the nuclear arms race on the Earth, the Soviet Union moved, in the fall of 1984, a proposal to start new talks with the United States on the whole range of nuclear and space armaments. The exchange of views resulted in an agreement on a meeting between the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs and the US Secretary of State with a view to resolving the issue of a subject and objectives of the future talks.

That was a difficult and tough talk. Till the very last moment there was no clarity as to whether the sides would reach a mutually acceptable agreement. Today, the world public knows quite well the text of that joint Soviet-American document in which each and every word is carefully weighed as if on the chemist's scales and each and every provision reflects the mutually agreed approach of the two sides to the negotiations. No overstatement or omission is permissible there for otherwise the sense of the agreement reached would change. It is all the more necessary to say this because such attempts still continue. Therefore it is worth reproducing the content of this Soviet-US statement.

During the meeting they discussed the subject and objectives of the forthcoming Soviet-US negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

The sides agree that the subject of the negotiations will be a set of questions concerning space and nuclear arms, both strategic and intermediate-range, all questions considered in their interrelationship.

The objective of the negotiations will be to work out effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on the Earth and limiting and reducing nuclear arms and at strengthening strategic stability. The negotiations will be conducted by a delegation from each side divided into three groups.

The sides believe that ultimately the forthcoming negotiations, just as efforts in general to limit and reduce arms, should lead to the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere.

US Secretary of State deemed it necessary to give his own comments on the text of the Joint Statement (which were circulated by the US Embassy in Moscow on January 9, 1985, as an official document). It is important to note here that even then some of the State Secretary's "clarifications" bespoke a peculiar and, to put it mildly, one-sided interpretation of the Joint Statement.

For instance, he noted that the two sides were in agreement that the problems of nuclear and space arms were interrelated and that both sides attached priority to achieving radical reductions in nuclear weapons as a first step toward their complete elimination. The accents have been clearly shifted in such an interpretation of the meaning of the Statement and the "first step" in comparison with the agreement reached because the idea of interrelationship finds its expression precisely in the fact that the attainment of radical reduction in nuclear arsenals is impossible without the prevention of the arms race in space.

As to the "strategic defense initiative" (SDI) which pursues the goal of militarising outer space, the US Secretary of State jumped to its defence, so to speak, right off the bat and noted that it was fully consistent with the ABM Treaty and that no decisions to go beyond research had been made, nor could they be made for several years. This was not in conformity with the letter and spirit of the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems which says in its Article V, para. 1: "Each Party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based." Since the SDI sets as its goal not some abstract fundamental research but target-oriented scientific and technological development to create space strike arms, the programme is in direct conflict with the ABM Treaty.

No less untenable was the allusion made by the Secretary of State that taking decisions that would go beyond research is allegedly a thing of the future. This is certainly not so. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and the head of the SDI programme, Lt. Gen. James Abrahamson, were not merely more outspoken but seemed to obstruct any other interpretation of the "star wars" plans. They emphasised more than once that research under the SDI programme were inconceivable without testing and that scheduled work was proceeding much faster than intended.

Why do we go into such detail on that issue? Only to illustrate the real military and political process. Judging by many signs, in early January 1985 the US Administration went along with the agreement on beginning the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms without any great desire, forced to do so by a good many circumstances, having no intention, which was borne out by all its actions throughout the past year, to renounce development of space strike arms within the SDI framework. Hence all the subsequent persistent attempts by many a US official to give a suitable interpretation both to the Joint Statement itself and to the SDI and the ABM Treaty. This also accounts for the blunt pronouncements made by US representatives of the top echelons of power, and primarily high-level Pentagon officials, to the effect that under any circumstances they would continue work on developing space arms. And indeed, in this particular matter there is no parting of the ways between the words and the deeds of Americans holding the reins of state power.

In analysing the course pursued by Washington after the agreement was reached on beginning the new talks on nuclear and space arms, a careful observer cannot, therefore, get rid of a dual impression. On the one hand, the US Administration, compelled to take into consideration the antiwar sentiments at home and throughout the world, declares its readiness to search for accords aimed at preventing an arms race in outer space and terminating it on the Earth, at limiting and reducing nuclear

arms, and at strengthening strategic stability. On the other, in its approach to the solution of those problems the selfsame Administration ignores the vital interests of the international community. This sense of duplicity is only augmented by an ever widening gap between the political rhetoric employed, which is called upon to attribute a positive character to the proclaimed foreign policy objectives, and the essence of the real militaristic policy pursued by Washington.

Quite indicative in this regard are, in particular, the policy-making pronouncements of sorts made by the Secretary of State to a Senate Committee in January 1985 and his article in the spring issue of last year's *Foreign Affairs*. In both cases he spoke of "new realities and new ways of thinking". For us those statements were even more interesting because on January 8, on the eve of the US delegation's departure from Geneva, our book *New Thinking in the Nuclear Age* was presented to an aide of the Secretary of State, who promised to read some abstracts therefrom to his boss during the flight.

On January 31, George Shultz started off a series of hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the future of US foreign policy (his speech was circulated by the US Embassy in Moscow on February 8 as an official document).

In the beginning of his Senate statement (and, for that matter, in the beginning of his article in *Foreign Affairs*) he referred to Albert Einstein who, in the words of the Secretary of State, had drawn a conclusion that *after the dawn of the nuclear age everything had changed except our ways of thinking*. Everything would seem to be correct, including the reference to Einstein. Yet, as Voltaire used to say, the God is in details. And here is the "divine detail", namely, the words of Einstein which are alluded to but not quoted in full. Yet, what Einstein said was the following, and this quotation is represented verbatim in our book as one of the epigraphs:

A new way of human thinking is necessary for mankind to survive and to go on developing. Today, the A-bomb has fundamentally changed the world; we know that, and people find themselves in a new situation which their thinking should correspond to.

Every one is certainly free to lay his own accent while expounding an idea of a great man and drawing one's own conclusions from the pronouncements of the latter. But we are also entitled to exclaim just like the boy from one of Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales: "But the king is naked!" A new attire for the king could not be made from the leavings of the quotation. Small wonder, for it has been so much truncated.

Those who would wish to compare the true words of Albert Einstein with those inlaid into the US State Secretary's speech would not fail to notice what has been changed there and to what end. What has been lopped off is the sting of Einstein's thought, the emphasis on the fact that *it was the A-bomb that fundamentally changed the world and this is why a new way of thinking is necessary for mankind to survive*.

It is obviously not fortuitous that such an operation has been carried out. In all likelihood, it was needed to make Albert Einstein's thesis about the need for the "new way of thinking" serve the policy of "new globalism". This is how his thought runs on: "Einstein's observation," he states moulding his interpretation as if from pliable clay, "takes on new relevance: *our ways of thinking must adapt to new realities. We must grasp the new trends and understand their implications.*" This is a surprisingly free approach but it is here for all to see.

But what is, indeed, the gist of "new trends" as George Shultz understands them? Let us listen to himself. "America after Vietnam," he said "retreated for a time from its active role of leadership.... Today, the cycle is turning again... *America has recovered its strength and self-confidence. America is again in a position to have a major influence over the trend*

of events—and America's traditional goals and values have not changed. Our duty must be to help *shape* the evolving *trends* in accordance with our ideals and interests: to help build a new structure of international stability that will ensure peace, prosperity, and freedom for coming generations. This is the real challenge of our foreign policy over the coming years."

But where, if it is permitted to ask, does the new political thinking fit in? For this is nothing but "new globalism" or, in other words, the old doctrine of all-out permissiveness, proclaiming the right of the USA to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and in the developments transpiring in any region of the world. Although occasionally one can come across a commonplace saying that "the new is the well forgotten old", this homely thought can hardly be used as a basis for comprehending the new realities of the nuclear age.

So, having begun with the call for grasping the new realities of the world and adjusting oneself thereto, Washington has arrived at a conclusion that, since the Vietnam syndrome has been "happily done away with" and the USA is once again at the crest, it is time now to begin establishing order throughout the world at its own discretion and in accordance with its own imperial notions of human morality, values and ideals.

In his speech delivered to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in early 1985 George Shultz certainly did not confine himself to simply stating but also "substantiated" the right of the United States to interfere in regional conflicts in any part of the globe. Here, the substantiation is also quite simple, namely, if the socialist countries have given and continue to give support to the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence, then why should the USA refrain from the policy of interventions? Here is an example of old, rather than new, thinking in terms of hackneyed anti-communist clichés based on the primitive concept of the ubiquitous "hand of Moscow" which official Washington sees behind every explosion of social unrest and every upsurge of the national liberation struggle in the world.

Instead of acknowledging the untenability of the old political course at backing, at first, the utterly rotten Somoza dictatorship and, subsequently, Somoza men and other contras, the US Secretary of State expresses his "new way of thinking" in the following way: "With Soviet and Cuban support, the Sandinistas are seeking to consolidate a totalitarian system in Nicaragua and to promote subversion throughout the region... Our nation's vital interests and moral responsibility require us to stand by our friends in their struggle for freedom." Should this really mean that it was not Somoza, the butcher of the Nicaraguan people and a West Point graduate whose dictatorship was prodded by US arms and dollars till its very last days, who tried to foist the totalitarian system upon Nicaragua? What's more, today his myrmidons are portrayed as "freedom fighters" in the United States. It looks incredible but it is a fact.

This is how elevated words about the need for the "new ways of thinking" are transformed into a practice of "new globalism" based on the old thesis that "diplomacy should be backed by force". As a result, not only the year 1985 but early 1986 as well are keynoted by US support for covert and overt subversive operations executed by the contras, armed provocations against Nicaragua, and the stepped-up campaign of blackmail, threats and economic blockade launched by Washington against the courageous people of that country.

The same manifestations of the "new globalism" policy are also in evidence in other regions of the world, in the Middle East, and in southern Africa: provocations against and the trade boycott of Libya, support for the gangs of bandits operating in the territories of Angola and Afghanistan. In the meantime, US leaders persist in stressing in their statements

that from the long-term perspective US policy is geared to most variegated conflicts which hold an intermediate place between a large-scale war and a universal peace. Moreover, it is added by way of explanation that Washington happens to have no plans for "living in the conditions of absolute peace. The reason for such an attitude, evidently, also lies in the "new way of thinking" but in the hawkish style.

Thus, as a result of the analysis of the developments from 1984 to early 1986 and Washington's conduct on the international scene, one is compelled to note the dual trends in US politics. On the one hand, it has shown signs of realism when the realities of the surrounding world and, first and foremost, the growing threat of nuclear war force the US President to take into account, at least partly, the dangerous evolution of the international situation. This trend, naturally, manifested itself in the most tangible fashion at the historic Geneva meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan in November 1985. Although the summit failed to find solutions to the key issues related to the cessation of the arms race, the accords reached at Geneva by the Soviet and American leaders heralded a turn for the better both in Soviet-US relations and in the international situation as a whole.

On the other hand, many foreign policy guidelines issued by Washington still rely on the old power politics and the philosophy of intimidation. Moreover, the opponents of detente across the Atlantic bend over backwards in fanning the sentiments of blatant chauvinism (the USA prefers to speak of "new patriotism"). Believing that they are firmly ensconced in the saddle, the Pax Americana guardsmen are spurring the horse of imperial politics and are blaring the beginning of an expedition "in defense of their vital interests". But where do those interests begin and end? Many people in Washington cynically believe that those interests begin and end where they see it fit. This whole power politics, which rests on the mania of superiority, has already been christened the doctrine of "meglobalism".

Such a duplicity in US politics cannot but inspire natural suspicion. It brings in its wake inevitable miscalculations and dangerous collisions in future. To illustrate the point, let us return to the above-quoted address by George Shultz to the Senate Committee, in which he spoke of "new realities and new ways of thinking". Referring to Soviet-American relations, the Secretary of State, for example, said: "In the thermonuclear age the common interest in survival gives both sides an incentive to moderate the rivalry and to seek, in particular, ways to control nuclear weapons and reduce the risks of war."

This would seem a correct statement and, apparently, a good prerequisite for reaching a conclusion about the need for the "new way of thinking" in the nuclear age. But what follows thereafter? Instead of mapping out, on the basis of the shared interest in ensuring survival and lowering the danger of war, ways for limiting and reducing nuclear arms, the head of the US foreign policy department states literally in the following sentence: "We cannot know whether such a steady Western policy will, over time, lead to a *mellowing of the Soviet system*. Perhaps not." And he adds further on: "We must never let ourselves be so wedded to improving relations with the Soviets that we turn a blind eye to actions that undermine the very foundation of stable relations... Experience shows we cannot deter to undo Soviet geopolitical encroachments except by helping, in one way or another, those resisting directly on the ground."

Not only does George Shultz believe that the safeguarding of international security is possible provided the peoples refrain from the struggle for independence, and not only does he whitewash counter-revolution, no matter where it operates, but, in point of fact the Secretary of State

openly acknowledges that, as he sees it, US diplomacy should strive to "mellow the Soviet system", i. e. US foreign policy should influence Soviet domestic policy. George Shultz is in no way embarrassed by the fact that this constitutes a violation of the fundamental principles of international relations. It would suffice even mentally to put the two countries in each other's place to see the utter absurdity of such an approach. What would happen if the Soviet Union, as a condition for improving relations with the United States, set as a foreign policy goal to seek changes in the American system, for instance, complete elimination of unemployment in the USA, eradication of racism, dissolution of the Ku Klux Klan, or release of political prisoners such as Leonard Peltier, a fighter for the rights of the Indians?

No less senseless is another thing, namely, to see "Soviet geopolitical encroachments" behind any conflicts in the world. According to George Shultz, "neoglobalism" means supporting everyone whom imperialism is interested in, be it the dushmans because they are fighting against revolutionary transformations in Afghanistan or Savinbi's separatists because they are waging a war against the free Angola; or the contras of every hue who are attacking the revolutionary Nicaragua. Even such a "democrat" as Baby Doc (Jean-Claude Duvalier), the bloody tyrant and the US satrap, was taken care of by Washington literally till his very last days when he was helped to flee the country from the ire of the people.

As to arms control and talks with the USSR on this issue, the selfsame antiquated thinking in terms of the arms race is also in evidence there. "It is vital for example," says George Shultz, "to carry through with the modernization of our strategic forces—in particular the MX—to avoid undercutting our negotiators just as they begin the quest for real reductions in nuclear arms." Furthermore, the US Secretary of State has pinned particular hopes on the assumption that the pace of technological advance now opens possibilities for new ways of strategic thinking, whose crowning point, as he sees it, is the death-dealing "strategic defense initiative" when the new "wonder-weapon" will be deployed in outer space.

At the same time, the Secretary of State declares: "A world free of nuclear arms is an ultimate objective to which we, the Soviet Union, and all other nations can agree." Well, at last we hear nice words. As they say, *a moment of truth* has come, the moment when words are verified by deeds.

On January 15, 1986, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, advanced radical and, at the same time, specific proposals, namely, to free our planet from nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000 and to reduce conventional arms and armed forces to the lowest possible level.

Those proposals have produced strong and profound impression and have been rated by the Soviet and the world public at large as the most comprehensive, serious and realistic disarmament plan which has ever been submitted for universal consideration.

We could cite dozens and hundreds pronouncements by prominent statesmen, politicians and public figures from various countries, who lauded Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement. The difference in words and intonations in those evaluations notwithstanding, enthusiasm is the predominant feeling permeating all of them. Symbolic is the statement made by Prime Minister Olof Palme of Sweden, who was villainously assassinated, at the meeting of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, which concluded in late January 1986 in New Delhi, to the effect

that the new Soviet proposals have marked the beginning of a new time in the world, the time of hope for all who cherish peace.

It stands to reason that no one in the USSR has expected that literally everyone in the world, and above all the governments of NATO countries, would forthwith accept the Soviet plan for the complete elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons over the next fifteen years. Yet, the international public has been fully justified in expecting an interested and serious attitude thereto on the part of the United States for the US Administration has repeatedly declared its commitment to the goal of completely extirpating nuclear weapons everywhere. It would seem that now Washington enjoys a practical opportunity to come to grips with this matter.

Alas, nothing of the sort! It is one thing to utter euphonious declarations about a yearning for a nuclear-free world and a need for new ways of thinking in line with the new realities. It is quite another thing to translate those good intentions into reality. The gist of *the moment of truth* is that it makes an individual, a state or the entire world community face an option as to which road to take toward a safer world: either that of further escalation of armaments or that of reductions in their arsenals.

A look at the US reply to the Soviet proposals reveals its unconstructive character. There is no solution contained in it of the main, fundamental question—preventing the arms race in space. As far as strategic and nuclear medium-range weapons are concerned, it is virtually a repetition of the old US proposal based on acquiring one-sided advantages. The openly negative position taken by the White House on the question of prohibiting nuclear weapon tests can only be understood as Washington's desire to continue the nuclear arms race.

In the situation which has taken shape, as is stressed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress "it is not easy at all, in the current circumstances, to predict the future of the relations between the socialist and the capitalist countries, the USSR and the USA. The decisive factors here will be the correlation of forces on the world scene, the growth and activity of the peace potential, and its capability of effectively repulsing the threat of nuclear war. Much will depend, too, on the degree of realism that Western ruling circles will show in assessing the situation. But it is unfortunate when not only the eyesight but also the soul of politicians is blind."

The moment of truth in the nuclear and space age also means not to put off taking responsible decisions. Yet, it is no longer sufficient only to wish to stave off a nuclear war or only to understand whence stems its threat. The time given by history to mankind for pondering is running out. The inhabitants of the Earth face the menace of a nuclear time-press. This is why it is imperative to act, and to act forthwith at that.

The question raised by Mikhail Gorbachev concerning a need for the "new way of political thinking" for the sake of mankind's survival requires an answer to be given not in words but in deeds. And the deeds call for a will, primarily political will.

What is *the essence of the new Soviet approach* to attaining the goal common to all humanity, that of ensuring its survival?

We knew in the past as well that peaceful coexistence and life under conditions of cooperation are the only way for the two different social systems to exist on one planet. But while before peaceful coexistence could proceed in various forms of confrontation, now—only and exclusively in the forms of peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry. At the current stage of civilisation the human community *vitally needs a radical turn for the better, for a stable normalisation of international relations*. In other words, we all need a different level of relations, higher from the perspective of civilization, so that we all could survive.

The current stage in the development of civilisation is characterised by the fact that the quantity and quality of the weapons of mass destruction have reached an almost uncontrollable magnitude. New types of armaments, primarily space weapons, will inevitably plunge the world into the chaos of destabilisation and thus bring it to the edge of a nuclear holocaust. At the same time, the planet is also threatened by other global dangers which, if they are to be overcome, call for gigantic and, once again, concerted efforts by the entire human community. Hence, an important conclusion, namely, that in spite of all differences between the two socio-economic systems, the interrelationship and interdependence between them are so high as to urgently demand that the great art of living in peace with each other be mastered as soon as possible.

The new level of civilised international relations should exclude the approach based on arm-twisting tactics. The confrontation inevitably paves the way for a continuing arms race and heightens the risk of nuclear war. A nuclear war unleashed deliberately (the first strike) or unconsciously (a technical failure or a human miscalculation) can lead to mankind's suicide.

As has been repeatedly stated by the Soviet leadership, new thinking in the nuclear and space age means giving up the desire to impose by force one's ideology, way of thinking, and values upon others. Socialism rejects wars as a means of settling ideological disputes and interstate contradictions. Advantages of the social systems are proven by peaceful coexistence rather than by power politics. If one is to compare the Soviet and American approaches to this matter, attention will be drawn to the fact that the belief of the Soviet people in the communist future of the world (from which our opponents draw a false conclusion about expansionism) rests on a profound and comprehensive analysis of objective and subjective factors governing the world development. The new edition of the Party Programme says that "the CPSU proceeds from the belief that the historical dispute between the two opposing social systems, into which the world is divided today, can and must be settled by peaceful means. Socialism proves its superiority not by force of arms, but by force of example in every area of the life of society" And then it once again makes reference to international relations stating that the CPSU "believes that the extension of ideological differences between the two systems to the sphere of interstate relations is inadmissible".

At the same time, contrary to the declared commitments to pluralism and "freedom of choice", the leading quarters in the United States are trying to channel the evolution of the world in accordance with their own understanding of "their interests" and "ideals". They are viewing force as an instrument to impose their will and convictions on other countries and nations. To prove the point, we are going to quote the policy-making speech delivered by US Secretary of State George Shultz in the Senate, which was ambitiously titled "The Future of American Foreign Policy: New Realities and New Ways of Thinking".

In his words, "the changes in the international system will follow the positive trends only if we—the United States and the free world—meet our responsibility to defend our interests and seek to shape events in accordance with our own ideals and goals... There is, of course, a broader issue here.... This is the basic question of the use of American power in the defense of our interests and the relevance of our power as the backstop to our diplomacy".

This is, of course, a deeply mistaken platform, albeit so typical of the practice of US foreign policy. Elevating it to the rank of a fundamental principle means dooming international relations, through Washington's fault, to continued tensions which could escalate into a war.

According to the Soviet Union's understanding, peaceful coexistence between the two systems, as has been more than once emphasised by Soviet leaders, should safeguard peace and international security while necessarily maintaining the right of the peoples to be masters of their own destinies. Genuine international security means maintaining stability based on the military and strategic parity and abandoning the craving for superiority. Hence, in particular, our fundamental refusal to accept the "strategic defense initiative", and not because the SDI is a US project but because the desire to create the so-called "space shield" is, in essence, a project of developing new types of weapons which will destabilise the military and political situation in the world and whip up the arms race. Experts, and including US experts, acknowledge that the "space shield" can easily be used as a "space sword". And those who will be the first to take it into their possession will be tempted to put it to use. No single government, no single nation can permit that to happen. And this has been clearly declared by the Soviet Union as well.

An important measure of the "new way of thinking" is the ability to rise above ideological disputes and contradictions for the sake of reaching mutual understanding in the interests of human survival. Guided precisely by this principle, the Soviet Union in November 1985 decided to go along with the Geneva summit despite the provoking and demonstrative actions by the ultra-militaristic forces in the United States. The Soviet leadership proceeded from the belief that even the very smallest chance for radically changing the dangerous march of events in the world should not be neglected. The multifariousness of the assessments of the outcome of the Geneva summit notwithstanding, the significance of the agreements reached there on some cardinal issues is very considerable. In point of fact, a strong impetus and a fresh potentially powerful start were given to the cause of peace. This found its expression primarily in the common understanding, recorded in the Joint Statement, that a nuclear war should never be unleashed and that it could not be won, and in the commitment of the Soviet Union and the United States to build their relations on that incontestable truth and not to seek military supremacy.

The agreement reached is also very important because, as is well known, there were no such admissions in the first years of the Reagan presidency. It was only later and as a result of the criticism of the doctrines of "limited" and "sustained" nuclear war on the part of many governments and the world public that the US President was forced to agree that "there can be no winners in a nuclear war". Recording this provision in the Joint Soviet-American Statement and giving up the yearning for military superiority give them a considerable weight of an international accord.

But it is, first and foremost, specific deeds rather than mere statements that undoubtedly constitute the main criterion of an actual position of any statesman. In this connection, it should be emphasised that a new and higher level of civilised relations on the international scene also means a high responsibility of state leaders for their policies proclaimed and translated into life.

This also presupposes, in the words of former US Senator William Fulbright, renunciation of the "power arrogance" which has deeply penetrated the psychology and philosophy of US politics. If one is to look at the President's "strategic defense initiative" from this angle, the SDI is a child born of the blatant psychology of arrogance which is dangerous not only for Americans but for all the residents of the Earth. *No single state leader has the moral right to take a unilateral decision upon which depend the destinies of world civilisation.* At the same time, it is becoming ever more obvious that the SDI has not been proclaimed just as an idea for debating. It is already being carried out in the form of a Pentagon

programme endorsed for implementation and is being put into effect in spite of affecting the vital interests of many a nation and, in the long run, the interests of the entire world community. Furthermore, taking into consideration the fact that many representatives of the top echelon of power in the United States are bluntly linking the SDI programme with plans for reaching military and strategic superiority and with expectations of dragging the USSR into a costly arms race, the "star wars" programme appears before the whole world as an embodiment of the old "way of thinking" in terms of strength and preponderance.

A logical question automatically arises as to why wouldn't Washington, following the Soviet example, take such decisions which would not impinge on anyone's interests but, on the contrary, would meet the interests of all? Why wouldn't Washington, for example, assume an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, or to cease nuclear weapons tests?

The fundamental difference between the two approaches, those of Moscow and Washington, to world affairs is clear to every objectively thinking person.

Moscow proceeds from the historical responsibility of all powers for maintaining international peace, security and strategic stability and strives to manifest its goodwill in practice. This is surely evidenced by such unilateral actions as the Soviet renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons or its moratorium on all nuclear tests, initially introduced for half a year and subsequently prolonged for another three months.

As to Washington, it has been thus far going in a different direction. It does not deem it necessary to reckon with the interests of other countries and independently takes decisions entailing far-reaching negative consequences for other countries because their security is completely discounted. If the US Administration is genuinely interested in doing away with the nuclear weapons as has been declared by President Reagan, it would surely be logical to discuss this problem with those directly concerned rather than make the world face a de facto decision about the SDI.

Today, when people in the world compare the two plans for eliminating nuclear weapons, the Gorbachev Plan and the Reagan Plan, they inevitably stress the fundamentally different approaches of the USA and the USSR to this issue. While Ronald Reagan is dreaming of developing new strike weapons in outer space to be used against nuclear weapons on the Earth, Mikhail Gorbachev proposes to eliminate nuclear weapons without creating space arms. These are two different patterns of political thinking: "going to peace" by chaotically piling up armaments, or achieving peace by eliminating the weapons of mass destruction. Another fundamental difference between these two approaches is that while Ronald Reagan has taken his SDI decision, in fact, unilaterally, Mikhail Gorbachev suggests that all countries discuss and jointly set about eliminating the existing nuclear weapons.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress reads: "In the years to come, the struggle will evidently centre on the actual content of the policy that can safeguard peace. It will be a hard and many-sided struggle, because we are dealing with a society whose ruling circles refuse to assess the realities of the world and its perspectives in sober terms, or to draw serious conclusions from their own experience and that of others."

Many Western, in particular American, politicians and military experts perceive the meaning of the SDI—and this is self-evident to us, Soviet people—in attaining military and strategic supremacy over the USSR with the aid of space armaments. All the talk about the SDI as a "defense shield" is nothing but deception. It is indicative that nowadays as well the United States itself is not reducing but building up its nuclear weapons and is developing, according to Assistant Secretary of Defense

for Atomic Energy Richard Wagner, new warheads with new characteristics. This is yet another reason for the USA's reluctance to give up nuclear testing. Furthermore, Americans themselves acknowledge that nuclear weapons within the SDI framework can readily be used as an offensive weapon. According to *International Herald Tribune* of January 13, 1986, "laser weapons being developed as part of the Strategic Defense Initiative could more easily be used to incinerate enemy cities than to protect the United States against Soviet missiles". This is the gist of a study carried out in the United States.

The Soviet plan for eliminating nuclear weapons, advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986, offers an honest and businesslike approach to doing away with nuclear armaments on an honest and fair basis without inflicting damage on any single country, including the United States, and without creating new problems.

Thus, if the peaceable rhetoric of the US Administration's representatives were to be subjected to a critical analysis, comparing their words and deeds, then their "new way of thinking", as we have been able to see for ourselves, turn into "new globalism" and a most dangerous destabilisation of international relations.

To think in a new fashion in the nuclear and space age does not only mean to proclaim that we are living in an interdependent world. This means to acknowledge in practice that it is not permissible, even behind the screen of most noble intentions, to seek to safeguard only one's own security without due regard for the security of other states. On that score Mikhail Gorbachev has stated in no uncertain terms: "I think that in order to bring about a real turn in our relations, which would meet the interests of the USSR and the USA, the interests of the peoples of the world, new approaches, a fresh look at many things and, what is most important, political will on the part of the leadership of the two countries are needed. The USSR—and I emphasised that in Geneva—has no enmity towards the United States, and respects the American people. We are not building our policy on a desire to encroach on the national interests of the United States. What is more: we would not want, for instance, a change in the strategic balance in our favour. We would not want that because such a situation will heighten suspicion on the other side and also increase the instability of the overall situation."

And surely the selfsame wishes to strengthen stability and security on the European continent motivate the Soviet proposal to eliminate at the first stage of the nuclear disarmament programme all ballistic and cruise missiles of the USSR and the USA in the European zone.

To think in a new fashion means to think not only about oneself and one's allies but to see the interrelationship between disarmament and development and to propose ways for resolving the global problems facing humanity. As has been said by Mikhail Gorbachev in his Statement, "initiating active steps to halt the arms race and reduce weapons is a necessary prerequisite for coping with the increasingly acute global problems, those of the deteriorating human environment and of the need to find new energy sources and combat economic backwardness, hunger and disease".

In accordance with these provisions, the letter of January 27, 1986, addressed by the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, Eduard Shevardnadze, to UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, transmitted the Memorandum of the USSR Government on International Economic Security: an Important Condition for Healthy International Economic Relations. The Memorandum stresses that the "pattern imposed by militarism—arms instead of development—must be replaced by the reverse order of things—disarmament for development".

In advancing its proposals for eliminating nuclear, chemical and any

other type of weapons of mass destruction and reducing the conventional potentials, the Soviet Union draws the attention of all the peoples and governments to the need for specific and prompt actions by all the forces of peace. "The imperative condition for success in resolving the topical issues of international life," the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress stresses, "is to reduce the time of search for political understandings and to secure the swiftest possible constructive action."

The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to check the nuclear arms race. In answer to a joint message sent to the USA and the USSR by the leaders of Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden and Greece appealing to those countries to refrain from carrying out any nuclear testing until the next summit meeting is held, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that the time extension granted to the US Administration, for weighing the USSR's proposals, is running out. We cannot indefinitely extend this offer on a unilateral basis. Having refrained from carrying out any nuclear explosions for 8 months—neither testing nor peaceful explosions—we have already run into a few costs—both militarily and economically. In addition, he continued, "in response to your appeal addressed to the USSR and the USA to refrain from any nuclear tests in the period till the next Soviet-American summit we declare: *The Soviet Union will not carry out nuclear explosions even after March 31—till the first nuclear explosion by the USA*".

Doing everything necessary in order to make the solution of the problem of nuclear testing a reality—and in a broader sense—the elimination of nuclear arsenals—the USSR is consolidating the positions of all the planet's peace-loving forces.

This is all the more important because influential forces of imperialism stand in the way of disarmament, the forces for which new armaments have always been a source of profits, influence and power. The military-industrial complex—and former US President Dwight Eisenhower warned his fellow-countrymen against its dangerous influence in the early 1960s—is a horde of insatiable monsters with multi-billion-dollar assets and with the powerful tentacles of lobbyists, penetrating all the spheres of US society. Using all their influence, power and money, they are poisoning and lulling public consciousness for the sake of developing, manufacturing and deploying wherever possible, be it on the Earth or in air, on the seas, under water, or even in outer space, ever more sophisticated new weapons. The very philosophy of peace without armaments is calimitous to them, which is why they are imposing the philosophy of "peace thanks to new weapons", which is beneficial only to them.

In this tremendous battle between the two opposing systems of views, the proponents of the old arms-twisting methods are prepared for anything in order to justify their policy of "new globalism". They are ready to quote Albert Einstein ignoring his passionate appeal for rejecting the atom bomb. They are donning the mantle of champions of "new thinking" and are capable of any mimicry in the name of procrastinating the cause of real disarmament. They know that so far they have had an ally in the inertness of human thinking and the lagging of the consciousness of still too many people behind the rapid changes in the patterns of life. This phenomenon has always served as an obstacle to refraining from using weapons as a means of settling disputes.

The need for awareness of the global dangers looming over mankind in the nuclear and space age and the objective need for new political thinking are growing to become the urgent imperatives of our time. Mankind should not only ensure its own survival but also to pass to future generations all the spiritual and material riches of our civilisation.

INTER-IMPERIALIST RIVALRY ESCALATES

Professor Yu. S H I S H K O V,

D. Sc. (Econ.)

The last decades of this century have seen new flareups of inter-imperialist contradictions which have taken some new forms and spread to new areas.

Hardly a day passes without the mass media around the world bringing news of scuffles and battles on the fronts of international competition, about the rivalry between auto, electronics, engineering and other interests in the USA, Western Europe and Japan, the active role of major banks in the international struggle between industrial and trade monopolies, etc. These look more and more like reports from the battlefields of the "steel", "automobile", "electronics" and other "trade wars", and wars of interest rates between leading Western powers. Accounts tell of major currency interventions, protectionism sweeping the capitalist world, etc.

Neither common class interests, nor the need to join forces, nor the military, economic and political integration of leading capitalist countries have eliminated contradictions between them. The scientific and technological revolution now sweeping the world has made competition more acute hitting hardest those who lag behind.

As the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress points out, "The considerable complication of the conditions of capitalist reproduction, the diversity of crisis processes, and the intensification of international competition have made imperialist rivalry especially acute and bitter. The commercial and economic struggle in the world market is witnessing ever greater reliance on the power of 'national' state-monopoly capitalisms, with the role of the bourgeois state becoming increasingly aggressive and egoistic."

EVOLUTION OF COMPETITION

To understand the essence of a social phenomenon it is important to follow Lenin's advice "not to forget the underlying historical connection, to examine every question from the standpoint of how the given phenomenon arose in history and what were the principal stages in its development, and, from the standpoint of its development, to examine what it has become today."¹

Competition is one of the cornerstones of the capitalist mode of production. It provides the main mechanism for spontaneous selection of the most viable and effective economic entities and elimination of the less viable ones. The latter, having succumbed in the struggle, become ruined paving the way for more powerful competitors. At the same time competition is, in the conditions of capitalist production, a prime locomotive of technological progress. "Competition", wrote Karl Marx, "compels the manufacturer to produce more and more cheaply and therefore on a constantly increasing scale, i. e. with more capital, with a continuously expanding *division of labour* and constantly increasing use of machinery."²

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 473.

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 266.

In the course of this historical process, however, the very character of competition has been changing. In the early stages of capitalism, and indeed, at the precapitalist stages of commodity production, the markets for this or that kind of commodity saw relatively small producers in competition with one another. For centuries the subjects of competition were *individual enterprises* (workshops, manufactures, factories, and integrated factories). Although social labour gradually became more and more effective within the framework of succeeding types of enterprises, the size of these enterprises by and large remained limited so that they could not, as a rule, exert any substantial influence on the national, let alone international market. In the context of *free competition* the market situation depended on the results of the activities of dozens if not hundreds and thousands of producers of a specific type of commodity, i.e. was a sum total of a multitude of factors and did not depend on the will or wishes of any one individual competitor.

This situation, however, could only persist as long as the scale of individual economic entities did not acquire considerable weight in a given commodity market. And this scale, owing to internal laws of capitalist competition, has shown a steady tendency to grow. "We see how in this way," stressed Marx, "the mode of production... [is] continually transformed, revolutionised, how *the division of labour is necessarily followed by greater division of labour, the application of machinery by still greater application of machinery, work on a large scale by work on a still larger scale.*"³

When such quantitative growth reaches a certain level profound qualitative changes occur in the whole system of capitalist production relations: *competition engenders its antipode, monopoly*. A major enterprise with a streamlined structure of production and turnover of productive capital needs large and stable markets and equally large and stable supplies of raw materials, fuel, various materials and equipment. This constitutes the material basis for the monopolisation of markets.

The trends towards monopolisation go back to the mid-19th century. Cartels and syndicates sprang up in the 1860s and became common in the 1870s. Yet, however great the scope of individual private corporations was, they could not oust competition which forms the basis of the capitalist economic mechanism. "...The monopolies, which have grown out of free competition, do not eliminate the latter, but exist above it and alongside it, and thereby give rise to a number of very acute, intense antagonisms, frictions and conflicts," wrote Lenin.⁴ A complex process takes place of the transformation of free competition into *monopoly competition* which differs from the former, like algebra differs from arithmetics, by sophisticated methods, diversity of means of struggle and the wide range of spheres it involves.

Accordingly the destructive force of competition increases many times over, claiming as its victims not individual, less successful enterprises but often entire branches of industry or agriculture, turning large economic areas into "distress zones". An example in point is offered by the results of the monopolisation of the world oil market by the international oil cartel of five major American corporations, one British, and one British-Dutch (later joined by the French *Compagnie Francaise de Pétrole*) which was formed in 1928. That international octopus gradually seized the bulk of known oil resources, and control of oil extraction, processing and marketing in the capitalist world, which enabled it to dictate prices.

³ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* Vol. One, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 169-170.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 266.

In the 1950s and 1960s the cartel pursued a policy of low oil prices which undercut the market positions of many rival fuels, notably coal. The share of coal in the world energy balance fell from 54.1 per cent in 1950 to 31.6 per cent in 1970. The coal companies in Western Europe, Japan and other countries sustained staggering losses. Coal extraction began to decline, afflicting untold suffering on hundreds of thousands of miners and their families. The development of nuclear power and other alternative sources of energy was delayed by many years because it was made uneconomical by low oil prices.

This is one of thousands of examples which shows that monopoly competition can cause vast economic and social damage, sometimes threatening the national interests of entire countries. Naturally, in this situation the bourgeois state could not confine itself to the role of "night watchman" or at best, policeman, over the general rules of the game in the market, while allowing private companies to "fight it out" among themselves as in the age of free-for-all capitalism. Because in competitive struggle the success of an auto, chemical, electrical engineering or some other national industrial giant quite often sets the pace for a whole range of related industries, determining the level of employment (or unemployment), the state of the country's trade balance and other economic indicators. That in turn affects the social situation in the country, the struggle among various political parties, etc.

The active interference of the capitalist state in economic life began, at first sporadically, in the 19th century. By the 1940s it became part of the capitalist economic system. The power of the monopolies merged with the power of the state within a single mechanism designed to ensure smooth functioning of the country's economic organism and to protect its interests (or rather, the interests of its monopolistic oligarchy) in competition with similar state-monopoly organisms in other countries.

As a result, international competition is elevated to the *interstate* level. Its subjects, along with monopolised and non-monopolised private enterprises, are entire national state-monopoly economic complexes. The state is now not merely a customs officer but a direct participant in international competition both as a consumer of imported goods (state purchases) and as an exporter of products made at government enterprises, but most important, as a regulator of the conditions under which the national economy as a whole can be effective.

The direct involvement of the state in competition lends it a pronounced political character, increasing its destructive consequences many times over as it involves entire national economies and, not infrequently, larger areas of the world capitalist economy.

The initial chances of the rival complexes are unequal, however, because national economies differ greatly in their size and, hence, economic potential. True, the potentials of countries constantly change, which, owing to the law of unequal economic and political development of capitalist states, brings dramatic changes in the correlation of forces between the rivals. Even so, a giant like the USA remains immeasurably stronger than smaller countries, such as Belgium, the Netherlands or Spain, and even large countries, such as Britain, France and the FRG. Therefore, the logic of interimperialist rivalry prompts small and medium capitalist countries to unite their efforts to confront the superior force of their rivals. While in the second half of the 19th century it was private corporations that formed monopoly alliances to meet the challenge of competition, since the middle of the 20th century entire states have been acting likewise.

The most characteristic example is the European Economic Community, despite the fact that there were some other weighty reasons that dictated the creation of the EEC. Since 1958 membership of the EEC has

doubled as competition between the three rival centres (the USA, the EEC and Japan) increased. There are grounds to expect that the trend for a number of national state-monopoly complexes to form alliances to secure their position vis-à-vis imperialist rivals will continue to develop. Measures are already afoot to unite the domestic markets of the USA and Canada into a single continent-wide market which would undoubtedly strengthen the position of giant monopolies in North America. Ever more active steps are being taken to create a "Pacific economic community" with Japan as its focus.

The struggle among major blocs of states naturally raises the forms and methods of competition to a new level, considerably increases the number of states directly involved in it, its fluctuations now affecting virtually the whole world capitalist economy. Writing at the time of pre-monopoly capitalism, Karl Marx pointed out that "everyone of the destructive phenomena to which unlimited competition gives rise within any one nation is reproduced in more gigantic proportions in the market of the world".⁵ Every new, higher stage in the evolution of competition entails growing destructive consequences whose scope increases as the world market and the entire capitalist economy become the arena of struggle.

TRADE WARS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD

International competition in the capitalist world is a complex and multi-tiered system. The development of state monopoly structures has not prevented competitive medium and even small private companies in the non-monopolised sector from breaking into world markets. In the late 1970s, 19,500 small and medium companies accounted for 35 per cent of the total volume of French exports. In the Netherlands, that share reached 37 per cent, and in Italy, the FRG and Japan, almost 40 per cent. Even in the USA, where the dominance of monopoly capital was most dramatically manifested, small business accounted for 16 per cent of the total exports of goods in the early 1980s.⁶

Still, it is the monopolised corporations that provide the bulk of exports at the present stage. The leading place among them in the postwar decades has been occupied by transnational corporations (TNCs), which have dozens of marketing, production, and credit and financial subsidiaries and affiliate enterprises abroad. These private business giants play for high stakes freely crossing state boundaries. The whole world capitalist economy is the board on which they play their chess game.

At the same time private business, in particular monopoly business, involves nation states and even interstate alliances in international competition. As has been noted above, the bourgeois state has never distanced itself from this competition. In the early capitalist era the leading industrial powers of the world (Britain, France, Holland and others) protected their national industry on the one hand, and on the other hand tried to break through the customs barriers of other countries with the help of their armies and fleets. Britain, for example, spent 60 out of 149 years (1641-1790) in wars with France, Holland, and other West European countries to gain access for British goods to their domestic markets and the colonial markets under their control.⁷ The use of crude military force to promote the interests of national capital did not diminish when the policy of free trade replaced harsh protectionism in the 1860s-1880s. In the

⁵ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 464.

⁶ See A. N. Tkachenko, *Non-Monopoly Sector in Present-Day Capitalism*, Moscow, 1985, p. 123 (in Russian).

⁷ I. M. Kulisher, *A History of Economic Life of Western Europe*. Vol. 2. Moscow-Leningrad, 1926, p. 127 (in Russian).

18th, 19th, and 20th centuries bloody wars were waged for territorial division and rediision of the world in quest of higher profits for national capital.

The situation qualitatively changed in the mid-20th century with the emergence of mass destruction weapons on the one hand and the world socialist system on the other. In the new situation armed conflicts between imperialist states in pursuit of economic benefits have become *meaningless in economic terms* because they would be destroying the very economic resources for the sake of which war would be waged. At the same time, interimperialist wars involve *political risk* as they would weaken the class front of imperialism in the face of world socialism and could trigger social upheavals in the belligerent countries themselves.

Owing to these circumstances interimperialist rivalry in the postwar period has taken largely non-military forms. The recent period marked by the worsening of the conditions of social reproduction caused in the 1970s by the crisis of the capitalist economic mechanism has seen a marked escalation of interimperialist "economic wars" which are being pursued by ever more sophisticated methods.

To begin with, *trade and political conflicts* became sharply aggravated. During three years of the last decade (1974-1976) the USA and the EEC, which between them account for the bulk of the world foreign trade, introduced import barriers of various kinds on more than 150 occasions. Unlike in the past, the capitalist states resort not so much to tariff barriers, which have proved to be insufficiently flexible weapons of trade war but to more sophisticated non-tariff barriers. We witness in effect *a new stage of inter-imperialist rivalry, the stage of neo-protectionism*. It is marked by the use of disguised forms of import restrictions. This involves technological and sanitary standards, quantitative import quotas or fixing of high minimum price ceilings for imported goods, and bilateral inter-governmental agreements on "voluntary" export restrictions etc.

According to the GATT Secretariat, about 800 varieties of non-tariff barriers were in use by the late 1970s. In many cases these barriers effectively blocked the access of foreign goods to national markets or set severe restrictions on their volume. Such measures can be very effective and may not only trip up the opponent, but push him out of the game altogether. For instance, the use of anti-dumping procedures and compensatory tariffs has cut the import of certain types of goods to the European Economic Community countries by 32.6 per cent in 1981 and by 37.7 per cent in 1982, while imports to the USA dropped respectively by 56.3 and 15.7 per cent (according to the UNCTAD Secretariat). On the whole, neo protectionist measures covered 40 per cent of the entire world trade by the mid-1970s and from 48 to 60 per cent in the early 1980s, according to some estimates.⁸

Not only means of defence, but means of offensive are being improved. These include various government measures to boost exports ranging from export subsidies, tax rebates, state export credits, to the fostering of promising export areas, financing of research and development, and *the creation of other conditions to make national goods more competitive in the world market*. In recent years, with the profound changes in the sectoral structure of industry in the advanced Western countries, and transition from energy-material- and labour-intensive production to science-intensive, energy- and labour-saving methods, the rivalry has gradually contributed to scientific and technological progress, the development of national electronics and laser technology, computer science and robotics, biotechnology and genetic engineering.

⁸ Intereconomics, May/June 1980, p. 144; F. David, *Le Commerce international à la dérive*, Paris, 1982, p. 226.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress stresses that "The economic, financial and technological superiority which the USA enjoyed over its closest competitors until the end of the 1960s has been put to a serious trial. Western Europe and Japan managed to outdo their American patron in some things, and are also challenging the United States in such a traditional sphere of US hegemony as that of the latest technology."

Total spending on research and development (in constant prices) increased by 50 per cent in the USA and 260 per cent in Japan between 1974 and 1984. Spending in West European countries is also soaring. In the USA and Western Europe the state underwrites the lion's share of the research and development bill: 43.1 per cent in the FRG, 47.2 per cent in the USA, 48.1 per cent in Britain, and 57.6 per cent in France in 1982-1983. These measures may look domestic but in fact they provide the heavy guns designed to destroy the protectionist barriers carefully erected by trade rivals.

THE STRATEGIC WEAPON OF COMPETITION

All the above-mentioned methods apply, so to speak, to operative-tactical types of competition weaponry intended for dealing with rivals on certain commodity markets. But, in addition, in the last years the systems of a completely different class, which could be called strategic weaponry, have come into extensive use.

Chief among them is *the use of the exchange rate of the national currency to undermine the competition positions of the principal trade rivals*. Artificial lowering of the exchange rate yields to national exporters tangible, if short-lived, advantages in the markets of those countries whose currencies remain relatively stable or are revalued upward. In this way a strike is delivered not on individual goods, but on the whole mass of goods and services in the said countries. Large-scale use of the monetary weapon became possible after the collapse of the Bretton-Woods monetary system and legalisation of "floating" currencies.

This weapon is readily used by all major imperialist powers. For understandable reasons, the possibilities of small countries in this respect are limited. But it is the USA which takes the most frequent recourse to this weapon because the dollar preserves its dominance in the world monetary system. The prolonged and deliberately unchecked fall of the dollar by about 25 per cent, compared to the "basket" of the currencies of the principal trade partners, from 1970 to the mid 1980s has greatly facilitated the penetration of American goods into most West European markets and, conversely, hindered the exports of West European and Japanese goods to the domestic market of the USA. An indirect measure of the damage caused by this manoeuvre to the EEC countries is the growth of their deficit trade with the USA from \$200 million in 1972 to \$17,700 million in 1980.

From the mid-1980 Washington reversed its strategy and launched the policy of the "expensive" dollar, a shift prompted by the huge federal budget deficit and the concomitant high interest rates. By mid-1985 US dollar rose by 70 per cent.

The dramatic rise in the value of the dollar occurred because the USA borrowed heavily in the lending capital market to cover its growing budget deficit (\$222,000 million in 1985). It gets these loans in bonds expressed in dollars, with a high interest rate. Actually, the huge volume of annual government borrowing leads to a credit squeeze. As a result, converting free capital into such bonds in the US credit market has become more lucrative than investing it in production or in bonds of other Western countries. However, only dollars and not any other

currency can buy these bonds and other securities in the American market (i. e. make it possible to invest capital in that market). Hence the run on the dollar in the money markets of London, Paris, Zurich, Milan, etc. And when demand for this or that currency outstrips supply, its price (i. e. exchange rate) naturally rises. This then is the chain of cause-and-effect links between the budget deficit of the USA, caused first and foremost by the Pentagon's astronomical military expenditure, and the rate of the dollar.

In recent years the *currency weapon* has been used in combination with the *credit weapon*. The combined effect proved to be immeasurably more destructive for the economies of the main rivals of the USA. The high rates in the vast American capital market undermine the financial basis of economic growth in the West European and other capitalist countries by siphoning off their investment funds. In 1983 \$150,000 million worth of capital was drained to the USA from West European and other states. And the figure for 1984 was \$100,000 million. To prevent the flight of national capital to the USA, these countries have to maintain a very high level of interest rates in their own markets which makes credits more expensive and is a disincentive for investment in production.

In addition, the inflated rate of the dollar (it was estimated at 30 to 40 per cent above its real buying power in 1985) means a corresponding rise in the price of imported oil and many other fuels and raw materials for all the other countries because the prices for these commodities have traditionally been quoted in dollars.

Finally, the inflated rate of the dollar paves the way for monetary speculation which artificially lowers the exchange rates of some currencies. As a result the FRG, France and other countries have to pay exorbitant prices (in national currency) for the import, notably of manufactured goods not only from the USA but from many other countries.

All this does not only burden the trade balances of the said countries, but aggravates inflation in them (with all the negative economic and social consequences that entail). "Just as the stronger dollar has brought reduced inflation to the United States during the past several years, the consequent fall in the values of the French franc, the German mark and the British pound put upward pressure on prices in those countries," writes American economist Martin Feldstein. "To prevent that pressure from initiating a new round of domestic inflation, the government in each of those countries was forced to pursue tighter monetary and fiscal policies than it would otherwise have chosen. These tighter monetary and fiscal policies have prevented a stronger recovery in [Western] Europe and have contributed to the continually rising rate of unemployment."⁹

To be sure, it was not the US Administration's deliberate aim to increase the federal budget deficit in order to damage the West European and other rivals. There is no doubt, however, that the budget and monetary situation in that country has been used and continues to be used by its ruling circles as a most powerful strategic weapon in competition with its imperialist rivals. One piece of evidence of this is that for a number of years Washington has turned a deaf ear on the urgent pleas of the other six members in the Big Seven summit meetings to take measures to cut the US budget deficit and bring down interest rates.

The self-seeking line followed by US imperialism has caused vast damage to many West European countries by greatly delaying their recovery from the cyclic crises of 1980-1983 and, even more important, by gravely undermining their basis for new investment in advanced science-intensive

industries on which their competitiveness in the near future would depend. While in 1971-1980 the USA's gross national product grew on average by 2.9 per cent and Western Europe's by 3 per cent a year, the corresponding figures for 1981-1985 were about 2.8 and 1.3 per cent. Thanks to the influx of foreign capital the growth of investment in industrial plant in the USA in 1981-1984 was on the average 8 per cent higher than in 1980, whereas in France and Britain it dropped by 5.1 per cent, in the FRG by 5.3 per cent, and in Italy by 8.6 per cent. As a result, the unemployment situation in the USA has eased somewhat in the last two years. In 1984 it stood at an average 8.7 million (against 6 million in 1978 and 10.7 million in 1982), while the European Economic Community has registered a steady uptrend (from 6 million in 1978 to 10.4 million in 1982 and 12.4 million in 1984).

Washington's recourse to the monetary credit weapon in the struggle against rival imperialist centres causes heavy damage to other countries, notably the developing countries. The revalued dollar takes its toll most on those young states which import oil and other raw materials priced in dollars. Their meagre dollar resources are not enough to cover growing prices of fuel, grain and other vital commodities. True, those developing countries which export oil and some other minerals have stood to gain. However, this gain is often obliterated by another scourge, namely, the growing absolute volume of their foreign debts and interest on them. In the last 15 years the developing world's today indebtedness to Western banks and financial institutions has grown from \$58,000 million to \$1 trillion, with three fourths of the debts in US dollars. So, a 1 per cent rise in the value of the dollar increases the dollar debts by thousands of millions dollars, tightening the financial noose.

One must, however, take into account another side of the "monetary credit war". The high dollar rate has boomeranged against US exports which were 12.8 per cent less in 1984 than in 1980, while imports grew by 50 per cent in the same period. As a result, the US trade deficit rose from \$36,000 million in 1980 to almost \$150,000 million in 1985. This caused angry protests among American monopolists who provide goods both to foreign and domestic markets. They demand a sharp rise of the customs barriers protecting their markets (up to one-fifth of the cost of the imported goods). By the autumn of 1985 there were more than 400 bills pending before the US Congress that envisaged tougher protectionist measures. Unless the US Administration manages to cut the budget deficit and dramatically bring down the rate of the dollar soon, this avalanche of bills may turn into laws and a chain reaction of protectionism threatens to spread all over the capitalist world.

The leaders of the main capitalist states are taking frantic measures to prevent events from taking such a turn. As of late September 1985 the central banks of the USA, Japan, the FRG, France, and Britain have been acting together to bring down the exchange rate of the dollar. The rate has indeed been going down in recent months. By the same token the US Administration is trying to cut federal spending, mainly by cutting social spending. It is hard to say whether a new catastrophe in the world capitalist economy could be averted in this way.

The intensified arms race imposed on the USA's principal rivals is yet another type of strategic weapon in its competitive struggle against these countries. The USA, by obtaining increased military expenditure from its partners in that way plans, apart from everything else, to weaken their economy and at the same time use their achievements in the sphere of science and technology to realise its own hegemonistic goals. This is vividly demonstrated by US efforts to harness the West European countries and Japan to the "star wars" programme, thereby not only shifting a portion of the financial costs onto the allies but also making use of the

scientific and technological potentials in the name of realising its dangerous plans to create space strike weapons.

It is evident that world capitalism is becoming more and more deeply enmeshed in the contradictions of its economic system. "The dialectics of development are such," reads the new edition of the Programme of the CPSU, "that the very same means which capitalism puts to use with the aim of strengthening its positions inevitably lead to an aggravation of all its deep-seated contradictions." Not only economic, but also political contradictions between the leading Western powers are aggravated. No matter how much their class interests with regard to the socialist community and the developing world have in common, there are divergencies between the positions of Western countries, "gaps" stemming from the difference of their economic interests. Each time interimperialist rivalry sharpens, these "gaps" widen and cracks in the West's political unity deepen. This happened, for example, in the early half of the 1970s when the energy crisis broke out and Washington tried to organise a united anti-Arab front. At that time West European countries' and Japan's position on the Middle East diverged from that of the USA's. An acute political conflict flared up in 1982 when the White House tried to ban supplies of West European pipes and equipment for the Soviet gas pipeline from Urengoy to Uzhgorod. We are currently witnessing a new flare-up of differences over the provocative US policy with regard to Libya.

As the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress has pointed out, "The clash of centrifugal and centripetal tendencies will, no doubt, continue as a result of changes in the correlation of forces within the imperialist system. Still, the existing complex of economic, politico-military and other common interests of the three 'centres of power' can hardly be expected to break up in the prevailing conditions of the present-day world. But within the framework of this complex, Washington should not expect unquestioning obedience to US dictation on the part of its allies and competitors, and especially when this is to the detriment of their own interests."

IMPROVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS: AN IMPERATIVE OF OUR DAY

E. M A K E Y E V

The main task of the United Nations, set up more than 40 years ago as a result of the peoples' Great Victory over fascism and Nazism in the Second World War, is to save mankind from the scourge of war, to ensure lasting peace and international security through joint efforts on the part of the states. Another purpose of the United Nations, as recorded in its Charter, is to create conditions for economic and social progress and development, promote a solution of international economic problems, and improve international cooperation.

Soviet diplomacy has always devoted much attention to that line of UN activity, since there is a close and indissoluble interconnection between the problems of establishing lasting peace, the struggle for disarmament and the development of international economic cooperation, a solution of global economic problems.

As it is noted in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "when vast resources are no longer used for military purposes, it would be possible to use the fruits of labour exclusively for constructive purposes... Favourable opportunities would also arise for solving the global problems by the collective efforts of all states."

At the same time, equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation between states in the trade, economic, scientific, technological and other fields, and an improvement and democratisation of international economic relations are a major material prerequisite for the normal functioning of international relations, for peaceful neighbourly ties and contacts between peoples.

Economic factors are crucial to elaborating the main lines of states' foreign policy. The practice of international affairs, including the activity of the United Nations, fully confirms Lenin's idea that economic interests and the economic position of the state lie at the root of both its home and foreign policy.¹ That is precisely why international politics and diplomacy, as an integral part of state foreign policy, are always closely tied in with economic problems, both domestic and global, with the development of international economic relations. At the present stage, the interconnection between politics and economics is particularly pronounced. One of the main reasons for that is the diversity and multiformity of the lines of international economic cooperation in the present conditions of struggle between the two opposite economic systems, the disintegration of the colonial system, the efforts to root out the aftermath of colonial dependence, and the present stage of the scientific and technological revolution.

Such an interconnection is evident in the activity of the United Nations, which is working on a wide range of problems relating to economic, scientific and technological cooperation. Such problems are within the competence of a fairly wide and ramified system of functional and regional organs headed by the Economic and Social Council, and also a num-

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 365.

ber of specialised agencies which deal with matters relating to the economic and social situation in the world as a whole, in separate sectors or regions, with global problems, and also with specific trade, economic, scientific and technological problems.

In deciding to mark the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly noted in its resolution of December 17, 1984, that the anniversary should be marked under the slogan of "United Nations for a better world", and should usher in a new "era of durable and global peace and justice, social and economic development and progress and independence of all peoples". The General Assembly's appeal in connection with the UN jubilee is quite natural. In its four decades, that unique instrument of international intercourse has done a great deal, including in the economic field, but even more remains to be done in order to solve the urgent problems of our day, including those of the world economy and international economic relations.

Looking back on the 40-years record of the United Nations, one should primarily emphasise that it has fully borne out the proposition being consistently upheld by the USSR and other socialist countries that in order to resolve such vital tasks as those of ensuring the states' socio-economic progress and developing international trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation, it is necessary to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, adopt concrete measures to reduce armaments and military spending and to bring about disarmament, prevent an extension of the arms race to outer space and stop it on the Earth. That principled standpoint of the socialist countries was reaffirmed in the Declaration on the Maintenance of Peace and International Economic Cooperation adopted at the Economic Summit Conference of the CMEA Countries (Moscow, June 12-14, 1984), which said that "there is no more important task today than that of safeguarding world peace and averting nuclear catastrophe. Top priority tasks are: ending the arms race, going over to reduction of armaments, and maintaining military-strategic equilibrium at progressively low levels. This is the most important condition for improving the world economic situation as well".²

As it was noted in Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement of January 15, 1986, in which a concrete programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world by the year 2000 was proposed, "the pattern imposed by militarism—arms instead of development—must be replaced by the reverse order of things—disarmament for development". Implementation of that general idea is one of the main goals of Soviet diplomacy, notably, in the economic agencies of the United Nations.

Emphasising the indissoluble interconnection between development and disarmament, the socialist countries are in favour of elaborating and implementing tangible, concrete measures to limit armaments and so to release funds for the progress of all countries, including the developing ones. The UN General Assembly's Resolutions 38/188 and 39/151E on development and disarmament, adopted at the 38th and 39th sessions, are aimed at putting that approach into effect.

Practice shows very well that an improvement of the international climate and political detente give a powerful positive impulse to the development of normal relations between countries. At the same time, as it was noted at the ceremonial meeting to mark the 40th Anniversary of the Soviet People's Victory in the Great Patriotic War "peace will be durable if peaceful constructive coexistence, equal and mutually beneficial

² *Economic Summit Conference of the CMEA Countries, June 12-14, 1984, Documents and Materials*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, p. 33 (in Russian).

cooperation between states with different social systems become supreme universal laws governing international relations".³

Thus, it was only natural that in the 1970s, when international detente was gathering momentum, it became possible to raise to a qualitatively new level the UN debate on the problems of the world economy and interstate economic relations.

In that period, broad and mutually beneficial cooperation developed against the background of a general improvement of international relations. As the military threat was reduced and international tensions relaxed, it became possible to increase economic assistance to the newly free states. It was no accident that in the 1970s, relying on active political support from the socialist community states, the developing countries came out with a programme for a new international economic order, which incorporated many of the essential propositions on a fundamental restructuring of international economic relations on a just, equitable and democratic basis formulated in the very first documents of the Soviet state and consistently pursued by it throughout its history.

From its very first steps in the international arena, this country came out against the imperialist system of relations based on economic inequality and dependence, and for the assertion of new basic principles in international intercourse. In his concluding speech on the Report on Peace at the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies on November 8, 1917, the second day of Soviet power, Lenin declared a readiness to "welcome all clauses containing provisions for good-neighbourly relations and all economic agreements".⁴ Shortly after that, the Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People announced a "complete break with the barbarous policy of bourgeois civilization, which has built the prosperity of the exploiters helounging to a few chosen nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of working people in Asia, in the colonies in general, and in the small countries".⁵ On the strength of these essential provisions, the USSR has always sought, both before and after the war, to improve and democratise international economic relations, to purge them of exploitation, inequality, discrimination and diktat.

In its activity at the United Nations, the USSR has always assumed that with the consolidation of the socialist forces and the emergence on the world scene of a large group of newly free states, whose major task upon winning political independence is to effect an economic decolonisation, a just restructuring of international economic relations is inevitable. As it was noted in a Statement on that matter issued by the Soviet government on October 4, 1976, the present character of international economic relations, which took shape under a totally different balance of world forces and which meets the selfish interests of the imperialist states and their monopolies alone, has come into contradiction with the vital interests of a vast majority of countries and the development of the overall international situation.⁶

The favourable international situation of that period, which resulted from the socialist countries' vigorous policy of peaceful coexistence and the development of broad and equitable cooperation with all countries, enabled the newly free states to launch a struggle for economic independence, a struggle to eliminate the system of their inequitable economic relations with the industrialised capitalist countries. That was when the joint efforts of the socialist and developing countries aimed at democratising international economic relations enabled the latter to advance a

³ *Pravda*, May 9, 1985.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, 1964, p. 255.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

⁶ *Pravda*, Oct. 5, 1976.

programme for establishing a new international economic order. That programme, which envisages a fairly wide complex of measures in the field of international economic relations and is aimed at their development and democratisation, has incorporated many of the fundamental essential propositions put forward by the USSR and other socialist countries at the United Nations in the postwar period and aimed at a radical restructuring of international economic relations on the principles of equality and justice.

Alongside the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO), a special place among the basic documents promoting UN activity to realise the NIEO idea belongs to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, adopted at the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly by an overwhelming majority. The Charter not only contains a wide range of measures aimed at improving and democratising international economic relations, but is also a code of rules for equitable international intercourse. Thus, largely owing to the efforts of the socialist and progressive developing countries, the Charter enshrines such major principles of international relations as the principle of peaceful coexistence of states, the connection between development and disarmament, the duty of all countries to promote the attainment of general and complete disarmament, the principle of inherent sovereignty over natural resources, the mutual extension of the most-favoured-nation treatment in international trade, and the inadmissibility of discrimination in trade and other forms of economic cooperation based on differences in political, economic and social systems.⁷

From the very outset, the USSR and the other socialist countries supported the idea of a Charter, its elaboration and adoption, regarding it as a document that would assert progressive norms of interstate economic ties and international relations as a whole. The Soviet Union's stand on that issue was a logical continuation of the long years of consistent effort by Soviet diplomacy to improve international economic relations. Suffice it to recall that in 1964, ten years before the adoption of the Charter, the First Session of the UN Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva adopted the Soviet-initiated General Principles to govern international trade relations and trade policies conducive to development, in which the special needs of the developing countries in the external economic sphere were recognised for the first time.

The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, together with the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order constitute a kind of platform for anti-imperialist and anticolonial actions by the developing countries at the United Nations in the economic sphere. Among these one should primarily single out their struggle to strengthen the national sovereignty of states over their natural resources, to develop equitable international trade and mutually beneficial economic cooperation between states with different socio-economic systems, to eradicate any forms of discrimination against sovereign states in the world economy and international economic relations, to limit the activities of the transnational corporations (TNCs), notably, by elaborating a Code of Conduct for the TNCs, and so on. In pursuit of these goals, the non-aligned and developing countries advanced in 1979 the idea of holding "global negotiations" on the most burning problems of the world economy, a call for whose earliest convocation is contained in the UN General Assembly's Resolution 34/138.

Since then, the economic activity of the United Nations has been focussed on realising the tasks and goals formulated in these documents.

⁷ For details see N. Yevgenyev, V. Igorev, "An Instrument of Major Significance", *International Affairs*, No. 10, 1984, pp. 57-62.

That activity has been marked by intense political and ideological struggle, which has brought out two essentially different approaches to a solution of the problems of international economic relations: socialist and imperialist.

The leading imperialist powers, the USA above all, which reject the very idea of restructuring international economic relations on just and democratic principles and ignore the UN documents on these matters, have in recent years launched a real offensive against all that has already been achieved by the United Nations in this field. The USA and its allies question the UN's ability to promote the solution of urgent problems of the world economy and international economic relations. These attacks upon its economic activity are backed up with Western deniagogic rhetoric about a so-called crisis of multilateralism allegedly caused by the political diversity of the states. Those who advocate such ideas are in effect trying to bar the United Nations from considering the most imperative economic problems of our day, and to turn it into a kind of debating society for discussing secondary problems. The main goal of the fierce attack launched by the USA and its allies against the economic agencies of the UN system is to nullify all the achievements in improving and democratising international economic relations brought about over the years by the efforts of the socialist and developing countries, to dismiss the policy-making UN documents in this field, to excise from UN economic activity the very idea of establishing a just NIEO, and subordinate the UN to their own ideological interests.

The activities of the Western delegations at the sessions of UN economic agencies in recent years make it perfectly clear that the rhetoric on a crisis of multilateralism is meant to cover up their course for undermining and discrediting the United Nations and barring it from the solution of crucial socio-economic development problems, which the West would like to confine to agencies under its own control, such as the IMF or the IBRD.

Alleging an inability of the UN economic agencies to carry on effective multilateral talks and attain concrete results in this field, the West calls for an attainment of a "new international economic consensus". But that call does not tally with Western diplomatic practice in UN economic agencies. Thus, the USA and some of its allies put an open and flagrant boycott on the UN Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole to Review the Implementation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, whose First Session was held in March and April 1985.

For several years now, they have openly sabotaged the review and appraisal process of the UN international development strategy for the 1980s, which is seen by an overwhelming majority of UN members as a major document aimed to accelerate socio-economic development, primarily in the newly free countries, to democratise international economic relations and establish a NIEO.

As the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly showed, the USA and its allies, which keep plugging their thesis on a "new economic consensus", have been voting against essentially important resolutions supported by an overwhelming majority of UN member states, notably, resolutions denouncing economic coercion, urging the need to ensure the economic security of states, and so on. It is no accident that the imperialist countries have adopted a more aggressive stance in UN economic agencies against the background of a sharp worsening of the overall international situation, for which imperialism is to blame, against the background of its arms drive and the implementation of its sinister "star wars" programme. As it was noted at the CMEA countries' Economic Summit, "the escalation of the arms race by those forces constitutes one of the main causes of the aggravation of political and economic instability in the

world, increases the threat of nuclear war, jeopardises the very existence of mankind and puts an ever heavier burden on the peoples of the world by diverting huge material and financial resources and slowing down economic and social progress".⁸

In the 1980s the USA and its NATO allies have toughened their line for using international economic relations in their own political interests. In defiance of generally accepted norms of interstate relations, they break off agreements, organise trade, credit and technological blockades, and make ever more frequent use of economic strong-arm methods, embargoes and sanctions with regard to many countries, socialist and developing countries above all, imposing that line on their closest allies.

As the socialist countries noted in their joint statement at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly, "Forty Years of International Economic Cooperation at the United Nations", the negative consequences of such a line in economic relations between states primarily affect the developing countries. Using every instrument of political and economic pressure, the imperialist states shift the consequences of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the peoples of the developing countries, and keep intensifying their neocolonialist exploitation, primarily through the transnational corporations.

Taking advantage of the grave economic problems of Asian, African and Latin American countries, the West seeks to intensify its neocolonialist plunder of these countries. Thus, according to the Report of the UN Secretary-General, *International Cooperation in the Fields of Money, Finance, Debt, Resource Flows, Trade and Development*, in 1985 the developing countries were to have remitted to Western banks \$70,000 million worth of interest payments alone.⁹ While siphoning off financial resources from the developing countries, the West has also been reducing its "aid" to these countries. Thus, in the 1980-1984 period, the real growth rate of "aid" was halved as compared with that of the 1970s.¹⁰

According to a London magazine, the 1984-1985 fall in the prices of metallic ores and oil being exported by the developing countries means that in that period the "poor" countries presented \$65,000 million to the "rich" countries.¹¹ An interesting point to note is that the "gift" comes to 0.7 per cent of the gross national product of the Western countries within the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which is precisely as much as the latter should remit to the developing countries by way of economic aid in accordance with the target set by the UN international development strategy for the 1980s. The London magazine applauds the unexpected gift, which helps the West to hold back inflation, but what actually lies behind that fact is a whole system of neocolonialist exploitation, which the imperialist powers are trying to keep intact.

The sharply intensified neocolonialist exploitation of the developing countries and also the worsening food crisis in a number of African and some other countries have led to economic stagnation or have markedly slowed down the general economic development of the newly free countries, showing the economic vulnerability of that large group of states as the periphery of the world capitalist economic system.

The Foreign Ministers of the developing countries emphasised in a declaration adopted at their ninth annual meeting, held in October 1985

⁸ *Economic Summit Conference of the CMEA Countries, June 12-14, 1984. Documents and Materials*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, p. 29 (in Russian).

⁹ UN Doc A/40/708, p. 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹¹ *The Economist*, Nov. 30, 1985, p. 13.

in the course of the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly, that unfavourable external conditions affecting their development have not only raised an insurmountable barrier to their economic and social development, but have also jeopardised their economic, political and social stability.¹²

In recent years, the developing countries have been particularly worried by their gigantic foreign debt, which is a direct consequence of the glaring inequality in the system of capitalist division of labour and the existence of an unjust international economic order imposed by imperialism. By the end of 1985 the debt had exceeded \$900,000 million (with \$370,000 million being owed by Latin American countries and \$170,000 million by African countries); according to some estimates, it is close to \$1 trillion. The huge interest payments swallow up a considerable part of the developing countries' export earnings, lead to cutbacks in the outlays on socio-economic programmes and to a disastrous shortage of internal financial resources for the needs of development.

In that context, the Colombian delegate said at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly that Latin America is due to pay out to its creditors \$800,000 million over the next 15 years. The bulk of its domestic savings and foreign-exchange earnings will be used up for this purpose, so making it impossible over the next 15 years to increase per head income for 380 million Latin Americans or to promote economic development on the continent.

In matters of external indebtedness and other international economic problems being heatedly debated at the United Nations, the socialist states support the developing countries in their just demands addressed to the West. In a joint statement at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly on December 15, 1985, the socialist countries came out for an earliest start to concrete businesslike talks within the UN framework with the participation of all states in order to attain a just and global solution of the most important international economic problems, including that of external indebtedness.

Soviet diplomacy devotes much attention in UN economic agencies to exposing Western policy, which lies at the root of most international economic problems.

As it was noted at the CPSU Central Committee's Plenary Meeting in April 1985, "manipulation of interest rates, the plunderous role of the transnational corporations, political restrictions on trade, diverse boycotts and sanctions create an atmosphere of tension and mistrust in international economic relations, disrupt the world economy and trade, and undermine its legal foundations. The exploitation of the newly free countries is being intensified, and the processes of their economic decolonisation are being blocked".¹³

"In these conditions," it was emphasised at the Plenary Meeting, "there is ever greater interest throughout the world in the idea of elaborating and implementing measures to normalise international economic relations, to ensure the economic security of states".¹⁴

The actual state of affairs in world politics and international economic relations dictates the need for urgent action to realise these ideas as soon as possible. Soviet diplomacy has done much to help a majority of UN members become aware of these ideas.

At the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly, the world community adopted a number of important resolutions on these matters. Among these are resolutions denouncing the US trade embargo against Nicaragua.

¹² UN Doc. A/40/762.

¹³ *Pravda*, Apr. 24, 1985.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

gua, the imperialist powers' use of economic coercion against the developing countries, and so on. Characteristically, when the General Assembly was passing its resolution on the US trade embargo against Nicaragua, the USA found itself in virtual political isolation: none of the Western countries ventured to vote against that resolution. On seven occasions the USA voted all alone or together with Israel on the most important and trenchant resolutions on economic issues adopted at the 40th Session.

Soviet diplomacy has countered the destructive course of the USA and its allies with a line of democratising and improving international economic ties. That line was reaffirmed at the CMEA countries' Economic Summit in Moscow in June 1984, where the socialist countries thoroughly analysed the situation that had taken shape in the 1980s in world politics and world economy and interstate economic ties, and put forward a concrete programme of action to improve international economic relations, ensure economic security and strengthen confidence in that most important area of interstate contacts.

In putting that programme before the world community, the CMEA countries maintain that it meets the interests and aspirations of all states and peoples. Its aim is to help them resolve the most burning problems of the world economy and international economic relations, develop equitable trade, economic, scientific and technological ties, and establish a new international economic order on a just and democratic basis.

Much attention is devoted in the programme to the urgent need to overcome the economic backwardness of Asian, African and Latin American countries, which are faced with the grave problems of poverty, hunger, unemployment and external indebtedness.

In that programme, the socialist countries emphasised their invariable course towards increasing the role of the United Nations in the solution of vital economic problems facing mankind, primarily the developing countries.

In recent years, when the situation in the world, notably, in the field of international economic relations made it necessary for the United Nations to take effective decisions in order to normalise these relations, the USSR and other socialist countries put forward a number of initiatives aimed at improving and democratising the whole system of interstate economic ties. Among these are the resolutions on confidence-building measures in international economic relations (Poland), on strengthening the role of the United Nations in the field of international economic, scientific, technological and social cooperation (GDR), on studying the long-term trends of world economic development (initiated by Poland), on the role of skilled national personnel in economic development (Mongolia), on measures of economic coercion with regard to the developing countries (whose idea was suggested by the GDR), and so on.

A Resolution on International Economic Security, adopted at the 40th Session on the USSR's initiative, marked an important step towards realising the socialist countries' consistent course for an improvement of international economic ties and their restructuring on a just and democratic basis. That Resolution, which is a major contribution by Soviet diplomacy to the development of international economic cooperation, asserts one of the basic principles of economic intercourse between states and inaugurates a new and important line in UN economic activity. In advancing its Resolution, the Soviet Union assumed that in order to ensure the normal socio-economic development of all states and resolve such a global problem of our day as that of overcoming the economic backwardness of many developing countries, it is necessary to create favourable external conditions protecting the economy of all countries against the adverse effects of the economic policy of the imperialist powers, against acts of economic aggression. The Soviet Resolution is

aimed at attaining that goal. In particular, it emphasises the urgency of improving international economic relations and ensuring international economic security in order to promote each country's socio-economic development and progress, and expresses the conviction that joint efforts to create just and mutually beneficial international economic relations would be conducive to the economic prosperity of each state, and that a solution of the grave economic problems of the developing countries and the bridging of the gap between economic development levels are a factor of international economic stability and of improvement of the political climate.

So, at the jubilee 40th Session of the UN General Assembly, the USSR and other socialist countries continued the constructive and consistent course they had followed throughout the 40 years of the United Nations, reaffirming their resolute support for all those who are fighting for independence and social progress, their undeviating course for normalisation of trade, economic, scientific and technological ties between states, for a removal of any artificial obstacles and discriminatory restrictions, for greater confidence in international economic relations, for their reconstruction on a just and democratic basis, and for the establishment of a new international economic order.

Yet another indication of that principled line was the Soviet government's Memorandum, International Economic Security: An Important Condition of Healthy International Economic Relations.¹⁵

The Memorandum contains a comprehensive analysis of the present state of international economic affairs and notes the main obstacles in the way of normal, civilised international economic relations. It also points out concrete ways of freeing international economic relations from the present tensions and mistrust, which actually undermine the economic security of states. As was emphasised at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet Union sees the struggle for ensuring international economic security as one of its most important foreign policy tasks. It is an integral part of the comprehensive system of international security advanced by the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress. It is emphasised in the Report that "alongside disarmament such a system can become a dependable pillar of international security generally". Mikhail Gorbachev proposed at the 27th Congress to convene in the future a World Congress on Problems of Economic Security, at which it "would be possible to discuss as a package everything that encumbers world economic relations."

Economic security is inconceivable without lasting peace, without an end to the imperialism-imposed arms race on the Earth and its prevention in outer space, and a decisive improvement of the international situation as a whole. The economic agencies of the UN system should also help to resolve that crucial task of our day by working to strengthen confidence and good-neighbourhood between states and peoples, to foster the spirit of cooperation, bring about an improvement and democratisation of international economic relations, and ensure the normal socio-economic development of all nations.

¹⁵ *Pravda*, Jan 28, 1986

REVOLUTIONARY AFGHANISTAN: EIGHT YEARS LATER

V. S E M Y O N O V

Afghanistan, Kabul, April 27, 1978, 9.00 A. M. Major Aslam Watanjar, appointed Commander of the country's ground forces by the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), announces the beginning of the armed uprising against Mohammad Daud's bourgeois-landowner regime before the ranks of his fellow tankmen. At 11.30 A. M. the first tank, carrying A. Watanjar, leaves the positions of the armoured brigade and heads for the government quarters. At noon the tank fires its first shot at the Ministry of Defence, one of the government's strongholds, and the fighting begins. The uprising embraces the entire city. At 16.00 P. M. fighter planes manned by revolutionary officers under the command of Col. Abdul Kadyr, who has been appointed Commander of the Air and Air Defence Forces, strike a missile blow at Daud's headquarters. At 17.00 the patriots take hold of Radio Kabul. At 17.30 they set free Nur Mohammad Taraki, Babrak Karmal and other PDPA leaders who were seized by Daud's secret service on the eve of the uprising. At 19.00 P. M., Watanjar and Kadyr read the communique of the Military-Revolutionary Council of National Armed Forces on the victory of the uprising and the downfall of Daud's regime over Radio Kabul.

That was the beginning of the Afghan Revolution which was essential for ensuring the vital national interests of the Afghan people. This was the turning point that had been eagerly sought for by the best representatives of the Afghan people and for which they had been fighting for many a generation. For a revolution to take place, noted Lenin, "it is usually insufficient for 'the lower classes not to want' to live in the old way; it is also necessary that 'the upper classes should be unable' to live in the old way;... when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual."¹ That was precisely the situation that took shape in Afghanistan in the mid-1970s, the world's most backward country: in 1975 its per capita national income amounted to \$160, putting it at the 108th place among 129 developing countries. The average life expectancy did not rise above 45 years. There was one doctor for every 12,000 people. Mohammad Daud who was swept into power following the palace revolution of 1973 and was linked by class and blood kinship with the feudal and landowner aristocracy that had ruled Afghanistan for centuries, was incapable of introducing any radical changes, which were called for, objectively, by the entire course of the country's socio-economic and political development.

It was also natural that the PDPA stood at the head of the armed uprising against the Daud regime. Despite its small size (18,000 mem-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, pp. 213-214.

bers), an incomplete organisational structure and lack of experience of political work among the masses, by the mid-1970s the PDPA was the only political force in Afghanistan that had every reason to claim power. Every unbiased foreigner who had been in those days of April-May 1978 in Kabul could not help noticing the people's elation and enthusiasm, the joy and hope reflected in their faces.

On April 29, 1978 the Military-Revolutionary Council issued a decree transferring all power to the Revolutionary Council. On April 30 the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was proclaimed. The following goals were set by the new state: to defend its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, consolidate the gains of the April Revolution, implement its goals and ideals, ensure the large-scale and active participation of the country's working people and all its patriotic forces in the national democratic changes which should be objectively anti-feudal and anti-imperialist, turn Afghanistan into a developed, prosperous state.

In its first official declaration The Guidelines of Revolutionary Tasks the DRA government confirmed its firm resolve to fulfil the promises made by the People's Democratic Party to the Afghan people to implement the Party's goals—to introduce radical democratic changes in the political, socio-economic and other spheres of life. In terms of social and political importance pride of place belongs here to the land and water reform which has a direct bearing on the vital interests of the Afghan peasants who make up the bulk of the population. Other reforms concern the democratisation of public life and the state apparatus; guaranteeing fundamental political rights and freedoms; the democratic solution of the nationalities question and the tribal problem; ensuring equal rights to women and men in all the spheres of public, economic, political, cultural and civil life; introducing universal free elementary education for all children of school age and effective measures against illiteracy; enhancing the state sector in the national economy in line with scientifically-grounded planning; establishing effective control over national material and manpower resources.

The Decrees Nos. 7 and 8 issued by the DRA Revolutionary Council were of great significance from the view point of the class nature of the country's domestic policy. The first decree endorsed on July 13, 1978 annulled the peasants' debt to landowners and usurers. It was meant to deliver 11 million peasants from debt to the tune of some 30,000 million afghanis (The rate then was one US dollar to 47 afghanis). On November 28, 1978 the Revolutionary Council endorsed Decree No. 8 On Land a major legislative act in the sphere of socio-economic transformations dealing with agrarian changes.

As in 1919, when the Afghan state had regained independence and Soviet Russia was the first country to recognise its state sovereignty and independence, in 1978 the Soviet Union was again the first to recognise the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as it did on April 30, the day it was officially proclaimed.

Eight years have gone by. The major political result achieved by the DRA during the time is that the Afghan revolutionaries with comprehensive internationalist support and assistance from the Soviet Union have succeeded in defending the gains of the April Revolution, the freedom, honour, independence and state sovereignty of their country.

Socio-economic changes, especially the land and water reform, are in progress. By the end of 1985 a total of 313,000 landless and peasant families with very small land holdings received gratis 340,000 hectares

of land (first-grade land, that is, irrigated land yielding two crops yearly). Hundreds of peasant committees have been set up for redistribution of land and irrigation water. Some 566 peasant credit and supply-and-market cooperatives, and cooperatives of state employees and artisans were in operation.

The fact that the latifundium-owners have been eliminated as a class is the most important result of the agrarian reform carried out in the country. There have been created prerequisites for setting up a non-capitalist agrarian sector in the Afghan countryside.

Democratic changes in political and public life are gaining momentum. In this respect a great role is allotted to elections to local government bodies—*jirgah* (councils) which have already been held in seven provinces: Kabul, Badakhshan, Nisrooz, Balkh, Nangarhar, Kunduz, Jawzjan, and in the capital. Over half the elected deputies do not belong to the PDPA and represent all classes and strata of the population: workers, peasants, the clergy, intelligentsia, petty bourgeoisie as well as influential tribe representatives, a fact showing the growing links between the revolutionary-democratic state and the people at large. New bodies of government—*jirgah* of provinces, cities, regions, districts and villages, have started working in the above-mentioned provinces. A plan of measures to extend the elections to all of the Republic by the end of this year was adopted in early January in Kabul by the preparatory commission for elections to local government bodies. Mass public organisations are steadily consolidating their ranks.

Concrete results have been achieved in the sphere of economic and cultural development. The national income has topped the pre-revolutionary level in total and per capita. In the last five years alone the GNP increased by over 11 per cent, while aggregate state investments in the national economy increased by 67,000 million afghanis (100 afghanis = 1.56 rubles as of January 1986). Industry is also making good headway: in the five-year period production of electricity has gone up by 48 per cent, cement—10 per cent, natural gas—11 per cent. Owing to unfavourable weather conditions, lack of sufficient snow in the preceding winter, absence of rain in the spring and summer, in 1985 agricultural yields remained at the mean annual level of the last five years. Nevertheless the people's food requirements are satisfied chiefly by domestic resources. To help the peasantry, the government has increased allocations for irrigation development by 18 per cent which has allowed large-scale repair and restoration work in this sphere to be carried out. Meadows were irrigated, wells were drilled, dams and water-distributing devices were built. In 1985 state farms, peasant cooperatives and individual landowners received over 145,000 tons of mineral fertiliser and 15,000 tons of high-grade wheat seed. Their requirements for cotton and sugarbeet seeds were fully satisfied.

In 1985 the DRA's foreign trade turnover was more than double that of pre-revolutionary Afghanistan and reached the value of \$1,600 million. The wages of state enterprise workers increased on average 2.5-fold. Nearly 1.2 million people have learned to read and write.

Nevertheless, as noted on November 21, 1985 by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, President of the DRA Revolutionary Council, at the 16th Plenum of the CC PDPA, "if we compare our achievements with the revolutionary tasks, which we had put before us a few years ago, it would obviously be seen that our successes are not eye-catching in some spheres of life".

A principal task still facing the Afghan revolutionaries is to achieve an all-round expansion of the mass social base of the national-democratic revolution and revolutionary-democratic system. The extraordinary extended session of the DRA Revolutionary Council of November 9, 1985

unanimously approved the theses On the National and Democratic Character of the April Revolution and Its Undelayable Tasks Under the Present Conditions. Several days later a declaration with the same title was adopted. The theses and declaration confirmed the fundamental principle that the national-democratic revolution was developing in the interests of all the working people, of all nationalities and all tribes, and patriotic strata of the Afghan society. Babrak Karmal said: "In our big and common home, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, there is large and sufficient place for all Afghans. The revolution brings for every social group and Afghan individual what they are in need of, that is, peace, security, work and welfare, honorable and prosperous life." At the same time, speaking at the Plenary Meeting of the PDPA Central Committee Babrak Karmal said that not all people had access as yet to the achievements of the revolution, that much too little had been done to draw a part of workers, peasants and representatives of other social layers away from the counter-revolution to the side of the revolutionary-democratic government. For instance, if one takes the major revolutionary socio-economic achievement—the agrarian reform, the benefits of just distribution of land and water resources have not yet become accessible to all peasants. Free land has been handed over to less than half the country's landless peasant families and families possessing small land holdings. It is obvious that one can hardly reckon on a peasant's support if he lacks sufficient land and water to provide for his family. Land-starved and middle peasants need land and water, financial and material and technological aid, they need cooperatives.

Other transformations that were proclaimed by the revolutionary government and welcomed by the working people have not been introduced in full. Much remains to be done to improve the material conditions, housing and other conditions of life of workers, specialists and employees, and above all those employed in the state sector in industry, building and transport.

A special place belongs to the relationship between the people's government and national proprietors and traders who play a notable role in the production sphere, trade and transport, and who must make their contribution to normalising the country's situation and its economic development. The PDPA leadership demands that government bodies conduct a strictly consistent policy with regard to this part of society, one that will ensure them a worthy place in economic life, and provide credit to petty and middle traders.

Serious attention should be devoted to the position of the Moslem clergy, especially in rural areas. Measures are taken, despite the country's strained financial circumstances, to transfer all representatives of the clergy, including those doing military service, to state maintenance. The prestige of High Council of Religious Scholars and Clergymen must be raised, and patience and respect must be shown while drawing the clergy to the side of the revolutionary-democratic government.

There are also problems in relations with tribes: the existing contacts and agreements with them are often broken off due to the failure by the ministries and departments to fulfil their pledges. This undermines the prestige of the revolutionary government in the eyes of the tribes, reducing to naught all that has been previously achieved. This is often due to the absence of precise coordination between government bodies dealing with the frontier Pushtu and Beluchi tribes, where it is necessary to show political foresight, circumspection and realism, bearing in mind the complicated military-political situation and the traditional life style of the tribes.

Under the leadership of the PDPA and with the internationalist aid of the Soviet Union the DRA Armed Forces have made their combat ope-

rations more successful. The Afghan Army is becoming the main force in combatting the counter-revolution. The number of its Party members is growing; the composition of its political bodies and Party organisations is improving. Babrak Karmal said: "But we should draw this bitter, but objective conclusion with full explicitness that despite the comparative superiority of our Armed Forces over the enemy both from the view points of man and arms and war means, our armed forces have not yet brought a drastic turning in the struggle against the armed counter-revolution." Hence the task set by the PDPA and the DRA government: to do their utmost to make the Armed Forces capable to solve the problems connected with the defence of the DRA, the routing of the gangs infiltrating the country from without, and to turn the Army into an invincible revolutionary force.

Such are the main problems and the ensuing tasks at the present stage of the national-democratic revolution, which were covered in detail in Babrak Karmal's speech at the 16th Plenary Meeting of the PDPA Central Committee. Yet, as evidenced by an analysis of these tasks, the greatest importance is attached to the most radical task of them all, that of extending the social base of revolutionary changes, which should be solved as soon as possible by the joint efforts of the PDPA, the DRA government, the National Fatherland Front, the country's mass organisations and all its patriotic forces.

The new approach envisages further improvement and activation of work among population groups adhering to a neutral stand, establishing contacts and cooperation not only with non-revolutionary forces and organisations but with some of those that are still hostile to the revolution. The PDPA takes into consideration the fact that disagreement is not only possible but often inevitable in this situation. However, the revolutionary government intends to do away with such disagreements not by force but by constructive dialogue that would be acceptable to the other party and would be based on loyalty to their homeland, the task of ensuring the country freedom and independence, preserving the Afghan people's honour and dignity, defending the people's right to life, the principles of humanism and Islam.

Putting an end to bloodshed, establishing stable peace and security in the country, creating as quickly as possible conditions for the unification and broad nationwide cooperation of all patriotic forces in the name of peaceful labour, building a new, democratic and prosperous society for all the Afghan people—such is the strategic aim of the PDPA and the DRA government.

To implement the Party and government decisions on extending the social base of the revolution, last December a group of non-Party leaders was introduced into the DRA government. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the National Fatherland Front held this January 33 candidates were approved for the posts of vice-presidents of the NFF Central Council and members of the Executive Committee. At a meeting of the DRA Revolutionary Council held the same month 79 new members were introduced into this supreme legislative body. Among the new leaders of the National Fatherland Front and the Revolutionary Council there are representatives of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, clergy, traders and other population groups. Most of them are non-Party people. A decision was taken to map out a draft constitution and a commission has been set up to this end.

It should be emphasised that the complications encountered by the Afghan revolution cannot be attributed wholly to the country's grim heritage—backwardness, poverty, ignorance—or to the mistakes made at the

initial stage of the revolution. The gains of the new Afghanistan would have been even more obvious had it not been for the armed interference in the country's affairs, an undeclared war against the Afghans started in 1978. The USA is the instigator and organiser of this war. Washington renders massive financial, military, material-technological, political and propaganda aid and support to the counter-revolutionary rabble. Immediately after the DRA was proclaimed, US special agencies set down to working out and then carrying out large-scale subversive acts against revolutionary Afghanistan, which became, according to the US mass media and Congressmen, the biggest secret operation conducted by the USA since the Vietnam war. The USA has turned neighbouring Pakistan into a bulwark of aggression against revolutionary Afghanistan. In the vicinity of the Pakistani cities Peshawar, Quetta, Nasir-Bagh, Landi Kotal, Parachinar and the Hadji and Laverlai-Zargun districts more than 100 camps training saboteurs and terrorists for infiltration into the DRA have been set up with US finances.

In 1985 alone the US Congress allocated \$470 million for interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, for overt aggression against a sovereign state, a member of the UN and the non-alignment movement, for an undeclared war against the Afghan people. The USA has spent over \$1,500 million for the massacre of Afghan civilians, the destruction of peasant cooperatives and farms, roads and communication lines, hospitals and clinics, for setting fire to and blowing up cinemas and airport buildings, schools and mosques, institutes and shops. In the country where approximately 90 per cent of the population was illiterate before the revolution the counter-revolutionary gangs destroyed nearly 2,000 schools. They razed 900 peasant cooperatives and nearly half all hospitals, 14 per cent of state-owned motor-vehicles, and three-fourths of all the communication lines. Direct damages inflicted by the subversive acts of the mercenary gangs on the country's national economy alone top \$1,000 million. Such is the price paid by the Afghan people for the US concept of "low-intensity" conflicts.

But who will name the price paid by the workers and peasants, teachers and drivers, doctors and tractor-drivers, activists of Party, TU, youth and women's organisations, the hundreds and thousands of men and women, old people and children who have been killed or maimed only because the USA finds it convenient to attribute every victory scored by the forces of democracy, national and social emancipation to the alleged "hand of Moscow"? The implementation of the doctrine of "new globalism" with regard to the DRA means the further escalation of the bloody war against the Afghan people. Already in January this year the US Administration made haste to supply the dushmans with another \$250 million. Regardless of what the USA may say of its alleged endeavour to achieve political normalisation of the situation in Afghanistan this fact confirms the essence of US policy towards the DRA.

In his speech before heads of diplomatic missions accredited in the Soviet Union on December 27, 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev said: "The endeavour to extinguish the hot-beds of tension, or at any rate to dampen them, is hindered by the habit of regarding conflict situations through the prism of political and ideological confrontation between the East and the West. Policy based on erroneous concepts is fraught with short-sightedness and danger. Conflicts take shape on local social, economic and political ground. That means they have to be settled without infringing on the peoples' legitimate interests, on their right to choose their way of life without outside interference, as well as on their right to protect their choice."

The DRA government, true to the principles of peace and friendship with all peoples proclaimed at the outset of the April Revolution, and in

full keeping with its well-known statements of May 14, 1980 and August 24, 1981, spares no effort to normalise the situation around the DRA in the interests of peace and security of all the peoples in the area. In the course of the Afghan-Pakistani talks held in Geneva through the personal representative of the UN Secretary-General the Afghan side applied every effort to achieve progress in this sphere, it has displayed goodwill and the most earnest intentions. A general agreement has been reached on the question of non-interference, international guarantees and the voluntary return of refugees. There remain a few details that could be settled by direct negotiation. However the USA is doing everything to hinder the completion of the Geneva talks.

In the Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress Mikhail Gorbachev said that counter-revolution and imperialism had turned Afghanistan into a bleeding wound. He stressed the following: "The USSR supports that country's efforts to defend its sovereignty. We should like, in the near future, to withdraw the Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan at the request of its government. Moreover, we have agreed with the Afghan side on the schedule for their phased withdrawal as soon as a political settlement is reached that ensures an actual cessation and dependably guarantees the non-resumption of foreign armed interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan".

In the past eight years Soviet-Afghan traditional friendly relations, which were initiated by the Treaty between the RSFSR and Afghanistan of February 28, 1921 and which was called by V. I. Lenin a "treaty of friendship", were further developed and cooperation between the two countries was strengthened and increased in virtually all spheres of life: political, social, economic, scientific and cultural, as well as in the sphere of training national cadres for the DRA. Over 30 national economic facilities have been put into operation in Afghanistan with Soviet assistance, and 90 more are under construction. All in all, beginning with the mid-1950s the Soviet Union has contributed to the building of over 200 projects. Over 60 per cent of all of the country's industrial output, 75 per cent of industrial output manufactured in the state sector, and two-thirds of all electricity comes from facilities built with Soviet assistance. In February 1986 a trade agreement for 1986-1990 was signed by the Soviet Union and the DRA in Moscow. Last December a programme on scientific and cultural cooperation was signed.

The Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation is geared to creating a certain production potential and a corresponding infrastructure, developing natural resources, resolving the food problem, increasing employment and raising the DRA export resources. Nowadays, this cooperation is a vital factor in upgrading the economy of Afghanistan and creating favourable conditions for carrying out progressive socio-economic transformations in the interests of the broad strata of the population. The Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Cooperation of December 5, 1978 serves as a legal basis for developing Soviet-Afghan cooperation.

The time-tested Soviet-Afghan friendship is an invaluable treasure of the two peoples. In his speech at the 27th CPSU Congress Babrak Karmal said that the Afghan people would never forget the tremendous, incomparable assistance rendered by the USSR. He said that only the birthplace of Lenin was capable of establishing such relations with a developing country.

As the young Afghan Republic enters its ninth year, its revolutionaries and all the true patriots of a free and independent Afghanistan may be sure that the sympathies of the Soviet people and their internationalist solidarity are on the side of the Afghan people's righteous cause.

Lack of Prospects for Imperialist Policy of Credit Discrimination Against the CMEA Countries

Professor Yu. K O N S T A N T I N O V,

D. Sc. (Econ.)

One of the imperatives of international life in our day is to revive the process of detente, and that calls for broad development of mutually beneficial economic cooperation between states with different social systems, which is inconceivable without normal monetary-financial and credit relations. Such relations can either help to create conditions for the development of trade and economic ties and scientific and technological exchanges or, if they are made to serve the policy of trade and political discrimination, considerably slow down the process of the global division of labour. The most reactionary circles of the imperialist powers are trying to follow such a discriminatory policy with regard to the socialist countries.

Here one can see a set of contradictions connected with relations between states belonging to the two systems, two formations, contradictions of long standing. As it was noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "Capitalism regarded the birth of socialism as an 'error' of history which must be 'rectified'. It was to be rectified at any cost, by any means, irrespective of law and morality: by armed intervention, economic blockade, subversive activity, sanctions and 'punishments', or refusal of any and all cooperation."

The CMEA countries believe that economic partnership, in particular between states with different political and social systems, is not only a major instrument for a solution of their national economic problems, but also a reliable factor of strengthening the security of the peoples and materialising detente. The detente of the 1970s showed very well that East-West trade and economic ties and exchanges of new technology are mutually beneficial. The rapid development of such ties involves an extension of monetary-financial and credit relations between socialist and capitalist states.

In that period, many monetary and credit transactions, in particular with US banks, were concluded and realised in the interests of the East and the West. Thus, the Bank of America, the capitalist world's largest bank in terms of assets, provided credits for the operations of the Italian company Fiat connected with the building of the Togliatti Automobile Works in the Soviet Union. After that, it gave credit cover to the deals between the Occidental Petroleum Company and Soviet organisations. The Chase Manhattan Bank, the USA's second largest financial institution, took part in crediting the purchases of machinery and equipment for the Kama Motor Works and the Soviet oil industry.

Monetary and credit deals considered to be traditional in international practice were developed on a particularly large scale. These included

funding under inter-governmental agreements on the terms of export credits, commercial bank credits (bank-to-bank and consortium credits), company, financial and other credits. In order to ensure timely payments in freely convertible currency, the banks of the CMEA countries actively bought and sold currency on the international market, took in and placed deposits, and carried out other monetary operations. The growing scale and long-term character of East-West cooperation also called for long-term bank credits, which helped to realise large-scale economic projects in the mutual interests of the socialist and the capitalist countries.

The US Administration which came to office in the early 1980s took an open line towards confrontation and socio-political revenge. As a result, many of the positive achievements of the 1970s were soon destroyed.

Western reactionary circles also geared their international monetary policy to the purposes of confrontation. In accordance with the specific conditions of individual socialist countries, imperialism adopted a dual monetary policy: in some instances, a policy of "cheap" money, and in others, a credit blockade. The "cheap" money policy was meant to tie the economy of an individual socialist country as closely as possible to the economy of the capitalist states, so that the imperialist circles could then switch over from the policy of encouraging economic ties with the West (through credits) to an international monetary blockade. The imperialist circles expect that, in view of the growing indebtedness of the socialist country involved, such a switch could have an adverse effect on its economy and financial standing. In other words, the policy of lending "cheap" money is nothing but a credit trap.

Since the early 1980s, the US reactionary circles, confronted with the strengthening cohesion of the socialist countries and the growing role of economic cooperation in the development of their national economies, have taken the road of trying to organise a credit blockade against them. The US Administration began to put pressure on private banks in the capitalist countries, urging them to scale down their credit relations with the CMEA countries, to extend fewer credits and toughen their terms.

The USA initiated the coordination of the Western countries' international monetary policy with regard to the CMEA countries. It was under US pressure that the 1982 Versailles summit of the seven leading capitalist states pledged a differentiated approach to economic relations with the socialist countries. It was decided to toughen control over the export of "strategic goods", and to exchange information on matters of economic, trade and financial ties with these countries. The summitters also agreed jointly to toughen the terms of credits to the socialist states. The USA, which had virtually stopped giving credits to the CMEA countries, demanded that the other countries of the Big Seven should also stop extending long-term credits under East-West trade and economic contracts.

The USA urged its allies to sign an agreement on limiting the volume of credits being extended to the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries, shortening maturity periods and raising interest rates. With that aim in view, the US Administration began putting direct pressure not only on the governments, but also on the private banks that continued cooperating with the socialist community countries. In that way, the United States intended to knock together a united credit front as an integral element of the economic war against the CMEA countries. Its purpose was perfectly clear: to create economic difficulties in the countries of existing socialism, to isolate them from the achievements of world science and technology.

The US Administration's credit policy is being coordinated by the treasury, economic, commerce and state departments. The leading capitalist countries have stepped up the coordination of their international monetary policy.

The reactionary imperialist circles are also pursuing the line geared to impede the independent economic and social development of the newly-free countries and to intensify their exploitation by transnational corporations and banks. This is one of the main causes of the foreign indebtedness of the developing world running into a trillion of dollars. The necessary conditions for solving this problem are, in particular, the lowering of the interest rates on loans and credits, the stabilisation of exchange rates.

The CMEA member countries are resolutely coming out for the normalisation of the international economic situation and the monetary-financial and credit relations. In January 1986 the USSR government forwarded to Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, UN General Secretary, a memorandum International Economic Security: An Important Condition of Healthy International Economic Relations. As it is stressed in the document, intercourse between states should be free from arbitrariness and illegal embargoes, boycotts, trade, credit and technological blockades and the use of economic ties as an instrument of political pressure.

It is no secret that the USA's swing from detente to confrontation was due not only to the antisocialist strategy of its ruling circles, but also to their hegemonistic striving to assert its domination over the other capitalist states, whom they regard not only as allies, but also as rivals. To reduce the latter's trade and economic competitiveness, the USA has resorted to such tools as manipulations with discount rates and the dollar exchange rates.

The mass media are being widely used by Western reactionary circles in their policy of economic confrontation with socialism. Slander and crude falsehoods, which are a favourite ideological weapon of imperialism, have been brought into play.

In particular the opponents of normalising the financial side of East-West trade have been plugging their thesis on the CMEA countries' allegedly big debts to the capitalist states, on their "overindebtedness". In the summer of 1985, for instance, the US magazine *International Reports* ran an editorial in which certain US banking circles expressed their scepticism over the state of the CMEA countries' economy and their foreign debt service payments.

In actual fact, even according to bourgeois sources the CMEA countries' external debt does not exceed three per cent of the total world debt and has gone down markedly over the past few years. There is nothing extraordinary about their indebtedness. It is due primarily to their imports of machinery and equipment from the capitalist countries, and these are now being sold on credit throughout the world.

The business and banking circles of the capitalist countries take a positive view of the socialist countries' creditworthiness. Special note is taken of the high creditworthiness of the Soviet Union, a fact admitted by the Western press as well. Thus, *The Wall Street Journal* has quoted an Italian banker as saying that the West would never have any problem with Soviet debt-service payments. And the British *Times* noted that West European and Japanese banks were competing with each other for the right to extend credits to the USSR, the most reliable borrower.

The other CMEA countries are also reliable partners in matters of credit. The conclusion drawn by the experts of such a prestigious body

as the UN Economic Commission for Europe is characteristic in this respect. They believe that the state of the CMEA countries' payments balances has markedly improved and their positions in trade with the West have strengthened.

At the same time, one is bound to see that the so-called debt problem of some socialist states is often engineered by the capitalist countries themselves, in particular, through discriminatory measures that prevent the socialist countries from exporting their goods to the West as a source of foreign-exchange earnings.

That is particularly evident with regard to Poland, when some creditors deliberately stimulate a situation which hinders debt service payments. For a long time now, the financial and economic circles of the capitalist countries have in effect been blocking Poland's imports, so holding back the growth of production, including growth in the export industries. In speaking at the Kora enterprise in Warsaw in October 1985, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee and President of the PPR Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski noted that "the West has continued its policy of sanctions against Poland, which hinders the fulfilment of some of its economic development tasks".

It is primarily the capitalist world itself that is threatened with the consequences of indebtedness. In the 1980s, many capitalist states have been hit by an unprecedented world-wide crisis of indebtedness. In 1985, the total debts of the capitalist world exceeded the total gross national product of all the capitalist countries. Estimates show that the internal and external indebtedness of the capitalist countries has been going up on average by 15 per cent a year and is growing several times faster than their gross national product.

Antisocialist propaganda has also frequently alleged that East-West credit relations meet the interests of the socialist countries alone. Meanwhile, credits are as old as international trade itself. Payment by instalment and financing of export-boosting programmes are a traditional practice. Moreover, credit is not a charitable gesture on the part of the creditor, but a mutually advantageous deal, a two-way street. And it is not only that the creditor receives interest. In our day, a sizeable batch of machinery or equipment, to say nothing of whole plants, can hardly be sold on any market without a commercial credit to the importer. That is a normal process in the sphere of international economic relations.

In implementing its energy programme, the Soviet Union, for instance, takes due account of the Western countries' interest in buying Soviet natural gas. Since it has a reciprocal interest, it has concluded long-term agreements with a number of foreign partners for the supply of machinery and equipment for main gas pipelines in the Soviet Union. Under these agreements, the USSR Foreign Trade Bank is being given long-term special-purpose credits, to be repayed from the gas revenues.

In developing mutually advantageous trade and economic ties with the capitalist states, the CMEA countries extend credits themselves. Thus, in terms of the balance between the volume of credits given and received (including credits to socialist, developing and industrialised capitalist countries), the USSR operates on the international money market as a creditor with regard to its foreign economic cooperation partners.

The socialist community states act on the assumption that the future of trade and economic ties is one of the vital questions of our day which are pivotal to the historical dispute between the forces of progress and reaction. The CMEA countries are convinced that life will decide that question in favour of the former. Even in the capitalist countries,

the idea of "economic warfare" meets with ever greater resistance. The non-aligned movement, progressive public opinion throughout the world, realistically minded politicians and businessmen have been coming out against the attempts to block mutually advantageous cooperation and to prevent a restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

The policy of holding back the development of East-West economic relations inevitably clashes with reality. Even at the time when world economic relations were deformed by the capitalist crisis and the policy of boycotts, the annual volume of the CMEA countries' trade with Western countries exceeded \$100,000 million. In the final count, many Western countries upheld their national interests and did not actively support the US policy of bans and sanctions, realising that it was fraught for them with grave negative consequences. As a result, the CMEA countries' trade with the Western countries has continued to expand, in spite of US pressure and resistance.

The mutually advantageous trade and economic deals between the East and the West went hand in hand with the development of credit operations between the West European and CMEA countries, even though the US Administration kept pressuring the former to mount a credit blockade against the socialist community. Realising that the CMEA countries are reliable borrowers, many West European banks have resisted that pressure and resumed the extension of sizeable credits to the socialist community states on relatively favourable terms.

A return to detente is actively promoted by many large-scale initiatives launched by the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries on the world scene and primarily in the sphere of security. Their moves have met with approval on the part of world public opinion and have been highly appreciated by the governments of many countries.

At the same time, the social ageing of the capitalist society reduces the chances of major changes in the policy pursued by the ruling circles and elevates the degree of its senselessness. As it was noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "that is why it is not easy at all, in the current circumstances, to predict the future of the relations between the socialist and the capitalist countries, the USSR and the USA." Meanwhile, the state of affairs between the latter is of great significance for the development of a normal international economic cooperation as a whole. And that is only natural, for, in virtue of their military, economic, scientific and technological potential and international weight, the Soviet Union and the United States bear a special responsibility for the state of international relations and the character of world development.

Of course, the two economic giants are able to develop without mutual trade, and that is what they actually do. Thus, the USA, the biggest trading power in the world, is only 13th in Soviet foreign trade and is far behind Finland, Belgium and Austria, while the USSR is 16th in US trade.

In view of their large economic potentials and numerous other trading partners, the USSR and the USA can in principle do without each other economically in the future as well. But that is not normal, primarily from the standpoint of politics. Indeed, lasting and stable relations capable of ensuring reliable peace should rest on a foundation of developed business relations.

Realising that political and economic detente in the present-day world is directly dependent on the development of relations between the USSR and the USA, each of which has many allies, the CPSU has taken a principled stand on this issue, spelling it out in the new edition of the CPSU Programme. It says: *"The CPSU stands for normal and stable relations*

between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.... Differences between social systems and ideologies should not lead to strained relations. There are objective prerequisites for the development of fruitful and mutually beneficial Soviet-US cooperation in various fields."

In the joint Soviet-US statement adopted as a result of the Geneva Summit in November 1985, the sides expressed their intention to extend the programmes of bilateral cultural, educational, scientific and technological exchanges, and also to develop trade and economic ties.

The Soviet Union's constructive stand was set forth in detail in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech on December 10, 1985, before the annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council (ASTEC). He emphasised that the development of trade and economic ties between the USSR and the USA is a political problem, notably because the main obstacles in their way are political rather than economic.

The annual ASTEC meeting showed the striving of the Soviet and the US business circles to deepen and develop their cooperation on a mutually advantageous basis. Thus, members of the committee on small business emphasised the significant role played in the development of Soviet-US trade by small- and medium-sized US companies, which have potentialities for buying Soviet goods and supplying equipment for the USSR's agro-industrial complex, the engineering and chemical industries. The Financial Committee came out for an extension of the most-favoured-nation treatment to the USSR in its trade with the United States, including commercial credits.

Such a position is of essential importance, for one of the obstacles to business ties is the USA's refusal to give the USSR most-favoured-nation treatment, which implies non-discrimination, primarily in custom tariffs. Meanwhile, about 120 countries now enjoy such treatment from the USA. As for the Soviet Union, the USA has been raising diverse barriers against the export of many Soviet goods to the US market, and that deprives the Soviet Union of the foreign-exchange earnings that are necessary to buy US goods. But the USSR cannot endlessly keep getting foreign exchange, say, from Western Europe and spending it in the USA.

The barriers being erected by the USA in the matter of credits put another brake on the development of Soviet-US trade and economic ties. Even during the run-up to the Geneva Summit, although the credit blockade against the CMEA countries had in effect collapsed, the US reactionary circles continued to insist on its organisation. A bill was put before the US Congress empowering the President to ban private bank credits to the socialist states. This bill has not been approved so far, but it remains among the as yet unrealised projects with the help of which the reactionary circles hope to talk to the socialist countries from a position of strength, notably, by intimidating them with credit sanctions.

Playing up to those reactionary circles in the West which seek to wind down its credit relations with the CMEA countries, some bourgeois periodicals are trying to question the strength of the socialist community's foreign-exchange potential. Their argument is an alleged inefficiency of the socialist economy, its lag in the field of scientific and technical progress.

But how can one say that the CMEA countries have a weak foreign-exchange potential if their overall economic potential is so strong? Their aggregate economic potential is now larger than that of the USA or that of the West European countries taken together. The CMEA countries' share in the world total now comes to 25 per cent of the national income, 33 per cent of industrial output, and 20 per cent of agricultural output.

The perspectives of the CMEA countries are even brighter. At the CMEA's 41st (extraordinary) Session, held in Moscow on December 17-18, 1985, they unanimously adopted a Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress in the CMEA Countries up to the Year 2000. The Programme provides a solid basis for consistent growth of the economic efficiency of their social production, and thus of their financial and foreign-exchange potential.

Any monetary-financial discrimination against the CMEA countries primarily goes against the interests of its organisers. Life shows that a policy of blockade with regard to the CMEA countries often serves to turn East-West economic, trade and monetary-credit problems into grave problems of East-West relations. And that is particularly noticeable in conditions when the rivalry between the main economic centres of the world capitalist system has been developing into an undeclared trade war, into a battle for resources and a currency war. In such a situation, the West European countries and Japan are bound to suffer huge losses if they give up their trade and economic ties with the CMEA countries; the contradictions between them are bound to increase.

Heavy losses are also suffered by the inspirer of the "economic war" against the socialist countries—the USA itself. Thus, at the height of that war (1980-1982), US firms lost a total of about \$25,500 million. Japan, which (in contrast to the West European countries) vigorously supported the USA in the "economic war" against the socialist community, also met with considerable losses. In 1980, for instance, Japan lost at least 10 long-term Soviet contracts valued at around \$100 million each. By 1983, its estimated losses resulting from its accession to the US sanctions against the USSR had reached \$4,000 million.

One should also bear in mind that if the organisers of the credit blockade venture to expand it, the consequences for them could be highly adverse. To break off the traditional credit ties with the CMEA countries is to weaken the business activity of the capitalist blocs, for the Soviet Union alone now maintains links with 1,840 banks in 131 countries of the world, including capitalist countries. A curtailment of credit ties with the CMEA countries could weaken the financial position of the Western banks, some of which are already sliding towards the brink of a financial collapse.

Moreover, it is not only in the sphere of finances that the capitalist countries feel the adverse effects of the erosion of credit ties with the CMEA countries. That erosion has led and continues to lead to a downturn in international trade and, consequently, to a curtailment of production.

The socialist community has all it needs to ensure economic growth. Besides, there is nothing essentially new about the policy of international monetary blockades against the socialist community states. The Soviet Union, for instance, has long been the target of such blockades, which are an integral part of economic blockades. In the past, Western reactionary circles resorted to two forms of monetary blockade: gold and credit. Owing to its major economic achievements, the USSR successfully overcame one form of monetary blockade after another. But at that time, Lenin said, "the blockade was in fact the principal, really strong weapon with which the imperialists of the world wanted to strangle Soviet Russia".¹ In the 1980s, it has no power at all, for the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries now have a large potential. Their industry is now able to produce all they need. As US experts have estimated, a cut in the export of industrial goods from the developed capitalist countries to the USSR projected for 1982-1983 could have cost the

Soviet economy \$4,500 million, while the total GNP of these countries themselves would have decreased by \$30,000 million.

Naturally, the socialist community countries have never forgotten that the capitalist countries are not only their economic partners on the lines of coexistence, but also their class adversaries. In order to service their mutual economic cooperation, the CMEA countries have their own international monetary-credit mechanism, with two successfully operating collective banks: the International Bank for Economic Cooperation (IBEC) and the International Investment Bank (IIB). These have their own socialist international currency: the transferable ruble. The CMEA countries international monetary-financial system stimulates the steady and dynamic development of their economic, scientific and technological cooperation and enables them to effect mutual trade and economic deals without resorting to the dollar or other capitalist currencies or to outside credits. Since the CMEA countries have their own monetary-financial mechanism, they are "insured" within their own region against the imperialist strategy of blackmail and the US policy of high interest rates.

Crediting-settlement services of the IBEC extended to the CMEA countries helped to expand intra-CMEA trade. To ensure smooth commercial payments, the Bank has granted about 66,000 million transferable rubles' worth of credits in the 1981-1985 period, including more than 15,000 million in 1985. The aggregate volume of mutual settlements through the IBEC in the 1981-1985 period has topped 885,300 million transferable rubles, including 211,000 million in 1985.

As for the CMEA countries' monetary-credit relations with the capitalist states, which have to be serviced with the use of their currencies, a credit blockade in this area could in principle have a negative effect on the development of East-West trade and economic relations. But, in view of the priority of the CMEA countries' mutual economic cooperation, that cannot disrupt their reproduction patterns.

The CMEA countries' ever stronger economic potential and technico-economic independence from the West provide a reliable basis for their exchange stability, making them invulnerable. In accordance with the decisions of the Economic Summit Conference, the CMEA countries have been consistently deepening their mutual economic cooperation, accelerating the development of production and the mutual supply of goods whose import is obstructed by Western discriminatory measures.

If the destabilisation of the political atmosphere continues, it is bound to hinder the development of economic ties and, consequently, of monetary-credit relations between the East and the West. East-West trade, economic and monetary-credit relations cannot flourish in a hostile political climate. So long as there are no positive changes in the political field, the general state of such relations will remain well below its potential level. But these relations themselves are also in need of improvement, something that would intensify the internationalisation of economic life. Such internationalisation is a natural process, for the present-day world is marked by ever greater interdependence.

Following a realistic international monetary policy, the CMEA countries do not shut their eyes to the possibility of new discriminatory moves in the field of credits, primarily on the part of the United States and, under US pressure, on the part of other capitalist countries as well. The socialist community states know that they have a reliable antidote to these intentions of the reactionary circles: it is their ever stronger planned socialist economy and their ability to multiply their strength through mutual economic, scientific, technological and monetary-credit cooperation.

THE USSR FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN ASIA

M. P E T R O V

The tension that persists in a number of areas of the Asian continent and in the waters of the Pacific and Indian Oceans adjoining it, where a large part of the planet's population lives, and the attempts of imperialist quarters to turn this area into the eastern and southern flank of their militarist policies demand more vigorous action towards improving the political climate in this part of the globe.

As the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out in its Political Report, "the significance of the *Asian and Pacific direction* is growing. In that vast region there are many tangled knots of contradictions and, besides, the political situation in some places is unstable. Here it is necessary, without postponement, to find the relevant solutions and paths. Evidently, this has to begin with the coordination and then the pooling of efforts in the interests of a political settlement of painful problems so as, in parallel, on that basis to at least take the edge off the military confrontation in various parts of Asia and stabilise the situation there.

"This is made all the more urgent by the fact that in Asia and other continents the *flashpoints of military danger* are not dying down. We are in favour of vitalising collective quests for ways of defusing conflict situations in the Middle East... in all of the planet's turbulent points. This is imperatively demanded by the interests of general security."

No matter how considerable the differences between the states of this area may sometimes be in their approach to the existing problems, it is still much more important that the peoples of Asia are united by common historical destiny and vital interests: they have to tackle much the same problems engendered by the past and checking their advance. This prompts the need for cooperation and goodneighbourly relations on the basis of a broad security concept which would meet the interests of each and all states of the region.

The many-faceted efforts towards more reliable security in Asia undertaken by the Soviet Union as both a European and an Asian and Pacific state are contributing considerably to the formation of this concept and its implementation through practical political work. The proposal advanced at the 27th Congress for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security and the principled foundations of such a system, and the way of improving the international situation in the Asian-Pacific region, which was indicated in the Congress documents, were highly appraised in the Asian countries.

That this country is interested in promoting Asian security is only natural. The turn taken by political processes in Asia will affect not only security interests of the USSR and its allies and friends, but also the future of world peace.

The vast experience accumulated by the countries and peoples of Asia in the struggle for peace and security on the continent has prompted

the main principles of the concept of Asian security and rendered it universal character. The cornerstones of this concept were provided by the *five principles of peaceful coexistence* (Pancha Shila)² and the *ten principles of the Bandung Conference* of heads of state and government of 29 Asian and African countries (1955). Elaborated back in the mid-1950s by joint effort of states, these principles have played an important role in the restructuring of international relations in Asia on a qualitatively new, democratic foundation, and have lost none of their significance today.

The core of the concept of Asian security is formed by *constructive initiatives advanced over recent years by the socialist and non-aligned Asian states*. Their principal purpose is to eliminate the conflict situations and hotbeds of tension which imperialist interference helps fan up in a number of regions of the Asian continent, specifically, in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Obviously, to settle the conflicts peacefully and with full and just consideration for the legitimate interests of all sides, suitable political platforms of the settlement must be elaborated which would not infringe on these interests, as well as a mechanism of negotiations adapted to each individual conflict.

It is important that through the efforts of Asian states political platforms for dealing with the very roots of conflict situations in Asia have either been or are being evolved. Suitable negotiations mechanisms have also been, or can be developed. This fact highlights the constructive and realistic character of the proposals advanced by peaceloving Asian states.

In the set of Soviet initiatives brought forward in the first half of the 1980s the following ones deserve special mention: on confidence-building measures in the Far East, a Middle East settlement and comprehensive approach to the issue of Asian security.

The proposal of the USSR advanced in 1981 to hold talks *on confidence-building measures in the Far East* provides for the participation in these talks of the USSR, the PRC, the MPR, the DPRK, and Japan, which have common frontiers in the Far East, as well as of the USA, which has military bases in Japan, South Korea and on the territories of some other countries and is conducting vigorous military activities there. As this initiative was elaborated in more detail, it was noted that the presence of all of these states at the negotiation table at the same time is not at all mandatory. Talks could begin on a bilateral basis.

In the *proposals on a Middle East settlement* advanced in July 1984 the Soviet Union suggested that an international conference be convened as an instrument for dealing with this problem with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The USSR and the USA should also take part in the conference as states which by virtue of circumstances are playing an important part in Middle Eastern affairs.

The Soviet Union advocates the convocation of such a conference "for the simple reason that it is in fact the only sensible and effective way to put an end to the state of war lasting for years in the Middle East and establish lasting peace there. This must be achieved without further bloodshed, intrigues and backstage deals between some countries at the expense of others but with due account for the lawful interests of all states involved without exception."³ This Soviet proposal, which in its main parts coincides with the common Arab platform elaborated at a summit

² The five Pancha Shila principles: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual advantage; and peaceful coexistence, were first elaborated in April 1954 in the Preamble to the Agreement between India and the PRC on trade and contacts of the Tibetan region of China and India.

³ *Pravda*, Oct. 12, 1985.

conference in Fez in 1982 has met with a favourable reception in the Arab world.

In May 1985, the Soviet Union advanced another important proposal, that *on developing an integrated and comprehensive approach to the issue of Asian security*. This proposal stems from the fundamental principles of the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet state, which for the first time in history declared the principle of peaceful coexistence. In his speech at the dinner in honour of Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, on May 21, 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev voiced the idea of a possible pooling of efforts of Asian states with a view to elaborating such an approach to the issue of Asian security, taking account of the recently advanced constructive initiatives of the continent's countries, as well as the experience of the European process. "Obviously", said Mikhail Gorbachev, "different methods may be of use here, both bilateral talks and multilateral consultations, including the possibility, in the future, of an Asian forum to exchange opinions and join efforts in order to find constructive solutions."⁴

The USSR's call for a concerted effort towards finding ways to consolidate Asian security has evoked a lively response throughout the world, and especially in the countries of the Asian continent. The reaction to this call shows that many Asian governments would like to exchange opinions and contribute their effort to a joint constructive settlement of these issues.

Unfortunately, another kind of response has not been long in coming. The Soviet Union's unambiguous approach to the question of Asian security has not been to everyone's liking. Efforts to belittle the significance of the Soviet initiative have again produced the much-used argument to the effect that due to "certain geographical 'sparseness' of the Asian countries, the security formula elaborated in Europe is inapplicable to Asia, etc.

True, the situation in the Asian countries is in many respects unique, the way of life and political and socio-economic realities there differ substantially from those of European countries. However, the USSR's suggestion that parts of the European experience be used does not at all mean that the Soviet Union wants to mechanically transplant the Helsinki scheme to Asian soil. But the point is that the peace is indivisible, and against the background of today's complicated situation any local conflict threatens to grow into a large-scale, even global, confrontation.

Besides, such basic elements of the European experience as respect for sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, non-use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes, the right of the peoples to decide their destiny, and development of equal, mutually beneficial cooperation are quite applicable to Asia. They are practically the same as the Pancha Shila and the Bandung principles.

At present, when imperialism has sharply stepped up its military activities in this vast area, there is urgent need to pool efforts aimed at consolidating Asian security, the steps that are advocated by the Soviet Union. It is necessary to protect Asia from foreign interference. This alone can help create conditions allowing the Asian countries to live in peace and friendship as befits good neighbours. That is why, advancing the idea of a comprehensive approach to the issue of Asian security, the Soviet Union at the same time suggested that *each member of the UN Security Council undertake not to interfere in the affairs of Asian, African and Latin American countries, not to threaten to use force against them, and not to involve them into military blocs*. For its part, the Soviet Union declared itself prepared to assume such an obligation.

⁴ *Pravda*, May 22, 1985.

A place of importance in the concept of Asian security by right belongs to the constructive proposals of other Asian socialist countries. This is, first and foremost, the proposal advanced by the MPR in 1981 *on the elaboration and signing of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between Asian and Pacific states*. Its provisions are to be elaborated by all states wishing to become signatories to it. Should this initiative be put into practice, a major political step forward would be made on the Asian continent.

Increasingly broader support is being extended by the peace-loving Asian states to such important proposals of the DPRK as the one *on signing a peace treaty instead of the existing agreement of the truce, on adopting a declaration on non-aggression between the North and the South, on a mutual reduction of the armed forces and on turning the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear free zone*. Implementation of these proposals, which can serve as a sound foundation for a political settlement of the Korean problem, could do a great deal to improve the situation in Korea and in the Far East as a whole.

A constructive contribution to promoting goodneighbourliness, confidence and cooperation in Southeast Asia is made by three states of Indochina—the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The summits of the leaders of these states held in Hanoi and Vientiane in 1985 have confirmed their wish to *turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and cooperation*. The countries of Indochina have declared their readiness to take part in an international conference on issues of peace and security in Southeast Asia in order to ensure the implementation of the accords which would be reached between them and the ASEAN countries. They have also announced their support for the ASEAN countries' proposal to turn Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone, and confirmed their wish to improve relations with the People's Republic of China on the principles of peaceful co-existence.

In response to the suggestion of the ASEAN countries to hold direct and indirect negotiations for the purpose of regulating the situation in Southeast Asia and normalising the Kampuchean issue, the states of Indochina have stressed that it is a matter of major importance to draw up a list of participants. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is ready to open negotiations with the various Khmer groupings abroad on condition that Pol Pot's criminal clique is removed from the political arena. In 1985, Vietnam and Kampuchea announced their intention to continue the stage-by-stage withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer units from Kampuchea completing it by 1990.⁵ The proposals advanced by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have clearly defined the political framework for establishing good-neighbourly relations between the ASEAN countries on the one hand and the states of Indochina on the other.

It is a matter of great political importance to realise the idea of the non-aligned littoral states of the Indian Ocean to turn it into a zone of peace, where all foreign military bases would be dismantled and where no one would threaten the security, independence and sovereignty of these states. Unfortunately, obstacles to this course are being erected by the USA, which is determined to build up its military presence in the region. The main issue in the campaign for *declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace* is that of convening an international conference on this problem not later than 1988 as was decided by the 40th UN General Assembly Session.

⁵ In 1982, 1983, 1984 and 1985, a number of Vietnamese volunteer units returned home having fulfilled their internationalist duty in people's Kampuchea.

The sound elements of international relations in Asia would be consolidated by attaining a *political settlement around Afghanistan*, this sovereign non-aligned state which has become a target of large-scale and well-coordinated armed intervention from the outside, above all from the territory of Pakistan. The course adopted by Islamabad towards militarising the country with Washington's assistance is becoming a serious destabilising factor in South Asia threatening the security of neighbouring states, including India.

The way to reach a settlement around Afghanistan is to put into practice the constructive proposals of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. As Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, President of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, said in an interview for *The Muslim* newspaper of Pakistan, an early settlement of the situation around Afghanistan requires direct talks between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Afghanistan considers willingness to take part in such talks a sign of a sincere desire to reach a settlement in this field.

The initiatives advanced by the peaceloving Asian states, which form the core of the concept of Asian security, embrace virtually all major regions of the continent, including the Far East and Middle East, Southeast and South Asia, and the areas of the Pacific and the Indian Oceans adjoining the Asian continent. These initiatives stem from the wish of these countries to make, as early as possible, the principle of non-use of force the law of interstate relations in Asia.

The concept of Asian security should take full account of realities of the present nuclear age. Serious concern among the Asian peoples is caused by US plans to build multilateral military-political structure to the east and south of the Soviet Union along the pattern of NATO in the west, and to turn East and South Asia and the coastal waters of the Pacific and Indian oceans into a bridgehead where forward-based nuclear means may be deployed, something the USA has already done in Western Europe and the Atlantic Ocean. The Asian continent is covered with an extensive network of US military bases (about 350 in all), where nuclear weapons capable of reaching the territories of Asian socialist and non-aligned countries are stationed.

The mounting nuclear threat in Asia, a consequence of the militarist policies of imperialism, prompts the need for extending the formula of Asian security to include such measures and steps as the *commitment of all nuclear powers to refrain from first use of nuclear weapons either in Asia or elsewhere; non-use of nuclear arms against the states and regions in Asia maintaining the non-nuclear status; adoption by the states which do not possess nuclear weapons of the three non-nuclear principles: not to have, not to produce, not to import them; the signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons by those Asian states which have not yet done so; complete termination of nuclear weapons tests, including in Asia and the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins.*

As for the USSR, it strictly abides by these principles in its policies both in Asia and on the other continents. Soviet efforts are directed at preventing, despite the intrigues of imperialist quarters, an arms race in Asia and not allowing this continent to be turned into an arena of nuclear rivalry.

Peoples of Asia have appreciated the USSR's solemn commitment not to be the first to use nuclear arms made public at the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament in June 1982. Of great significance is the fact that a similar commitment has been as-

sumed by the People's Republic of China. Should the rest of the nuclear powers take the clearcut commitment this would in fact amount to a ban on the use of nuclear weapons throughout the world, including the Asian continent.

Back in 1978 the Soviet Union stated that it would never use nuclear arms against the states which refrained from their production and purchase and have no such weapons on their territories. Simultaneously, this country voiced its readiness to conclude a special agreement on this issue with any of such non-nuclear states. Remaining in force is, for instance, the Soviet proposal to guarantee, by concluding a pertinent treaty, non-use of nuclear arms against Japan on the condition that the latter would undertake to strictly and steadily abide by its non-nuclear status.

An important factor of security in Asia, as well as of the other continents, is the obligation of the nuclear powers to prevent proliferation of nuclear arms in any form. The USSR did a great deal to make it possible for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to come into force. It was concluded in 1968 and signed by over 130 states, including the majority of Asian countries. But about 30 states have not become signatories, with two nuclear powers, France and China, among them. It has been reported that Israel has acquired a nuclear arsenal, and Pakistan is taking steps to produce the first "Islamic" bomb. This cannot but arouse grave concern among these countries's neighbours.

A big step on the road towards reducing nuclear armaments would be their qualitative and quantitative freezing which the Soviet Union has been steadily advocating. A lively response was aroused in Asia by the initiative to this effect advanced by heads of state and government of India, Argentina, Greece, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden in their Declaration of 1985. This initiative was highly acclaimed in the Soviet Union.

The socialist and many of the non-aligned Asian states extend full support to the constructive approach of the USSR to the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva, specifically, to the Soviet proposal to the USA to reach an accord on the complete ban of attack space weapons and the radical reduction of the nuclear missiles capable of reaching each other's territory. The peoples of Asia realise that the outcome of the talks will to a large extent determine the progress in the issue of Asian security.

It is clear that the concept of Asian security must provide for *refusal of the Asian and Pacific states to take part in the plans for militarising outer space*. Opposition to an arms race in space is mounting in many of the Asian countries. People there are coming to realise that the building of armaments for "star wars"—the real objective of the American "strategic defense initiative"—will only enhance the danger of a nuclear war and further destabilise the situation in the world, Asia included.

A negative stand towards the American "star wars" plans has been adopted by the PRC. At the 40th UN General Assembly Session, Wu Xueqian, PRC Minister of Foreign Affairs, spoke out in favour of the early conclusion of an international treaty which would completely ban and eliminate space weapons, since space belongs to the whole of mankind and should be used solely for peaceful purposes and mutual benefit.

It would be desirable to extend the concept of Asian security to embrace such steps as *freezing the levels of military activity in Asia and the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins; preventing the establishment of new and expansion of the existing military blocs in the region; creation of a zone of peace and nuclear-free zones in various parts of the Asian and Pacific region; elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of Asian states and in the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins; refusal to support from the outside the subversive antigovernment and terrorist armed groupings*.

Mikhail Gorbachev's programme advanced in his Statement of January 15, 1986, *for eliminating all nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of the current century*, received a wide response in the Asian countries. The Soviet programme is in harmony with the sentiments of the peoples of the Asian continent for whom the problems of peace and security are no less urgent than for the peoples of Europe.

The realisation of the Soviet programme for eliminating, stage-by-stage, nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of the current century, would fundamentally change the situation in Asia, rid the nations in that part of the globe of the fear of these deadly weapons and bring the security in that region to a qualitatively new level.

International developments in the 1980s have confirmed that Asian countries are opposing imperialists' overtly hostile attitude to these countries' drive towards regional cooperation, a stand detrimental to their security. The imperialists regard this drive almost as an excuse to increase interference in one region of Asia or another. The USA continues to encourage revanchist tendencies in the policies of the ruling circles of Japan. It is also working to build up a militarist Washington-Tokyo-Seoul alliance, is trying hard to revitalise the ANZUS bloc formed back in 1951, and is unceremoniously annexing, in fact, Micronesia seeking to turn this trust territory of the United Nations into a new military strategic bridgehead.

The project of forming a "Pacific Community" is being speeded up. The United States sees it as a chance to "coordinate" the military and economic policy of states in this vast region, specifically, to tighten its grip on ASEAN. Washington's plans have so far evoked a negative response in the ASEAN countries, which fear that should the "community" be formed, they may find themselves dependent on the USA and Japan first economically and then politically and militarily.

The Soviet Union, on the contrary, has consistently advocated a freeze on the level of military activity in Asia and in the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins. Proof of this are Soviet proposals aimed at turning the greatest possible part of the World Ocean into a zone of peace in the very near future. In March 1982, the Soviet Union voiced its readiness to reach an accord on the mutual limitation of naval activities of the opposite blocs. This country has also declared itself willing to discuss the question of extending confidence-building measures to the basins of seas and oceans, especially the areas where the busiest sea routes lie.

The USSR has stated more than once that it is prepared to resume the Soviet-American talks on limiting military activities in the Indian Ocean basin (the talks were unilaterally broken off by Washington). Also remaining in force is the Soviet proposal advanced back in 1982 that all states whose ships plough the waters of this ocean should refrain from any steps which might complicate the situation in the region without waiting for the convocation of an international conference on declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

For its part, the Soviet Union would have no objections to extending similar measures on the limitation of military activity to the Pacific Ocean. Implementation of these proposals would have a major significance for consolidating security in Asia washed by these two oceans, where the military activity of the USA has reached a dangerous level.

Against the background of sharp exacerbation of the international situation through the fault of imperialism, increasing importance is attached to the measures proposed by different Asian states with a view to improving the situation in individual regions and creating peace and nuclear-free zones there. These zones, in the opinion of the Asian peoples, could be established along the following principles—removal of all foreign military bases from this region; non-deployment of nuclear weapons;

non-interference in the internal affairs of states; peaceful settlement of disputes without foreign interference.

The USSR has responded favourably to the *establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean*. A corresponding agreement was concluded by the insular states of Oceania, Australia and New Zealand at the 16th Session of the South Pacific Forum held in Avarua (Cook Islands) in August 1985. Under the agreement, deployment, production and testing of nuclear weapons have been banned there forever.

A major place in the concept of Asian security should belong to *developing all-round trade and economic and other cooperation of the continent's states on a bilateral and multilateral basis, which could do a great deal to make the international climate in Asia healthier*.

Good headway is being made in the relations between the USSR and Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos, Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Kampuchea, which are developing on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. A new strong impetus to the multi-faceted contacts with these countries, including coordination of actions for peace and security in Asia, has been given by the talks between Soviet leaders and Iambyn Batmönh, Le Duan, Kaysone Phomvihane, Kim Il Sung, Heng Samrin held recently.

In the joint Soviet-Mongolian statement on the results of the visit to the MPR by Eduard Shevardnadze in January of this year, it was particularly stressed that a reasonable alternative to the heightened tension in Asia are the constructive and concrete proposals of the USSR, the MPR and other socialist countries, as well as the non-aligned states, including the well-known Bandung principles. Mongolia, which is invariably supporting the Soviet idea of a complex approach to ensuring peace and security in Asia, considers the Soviet Union's new comprehensive proposals on disarmament as an important contribution, whose implementation would fundamentally change the situation on the Asian continent as well and would bring security in this vast region of the world to a qualitatively new level.

Effort by the continent's socialist countries to normalise relations with the People's Republic of China are also contributing substantially to the consolidation of peace in Asia. Beginning in October 1982, Soviet-Chinese political consultations between special representatives of both governments have been held on a regular basis. In December 1984, Ivan Arkhipov, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers visited China, and in 1985, Yao Yilin Vice Premier of the PRC State Council came on a visit to the USSR. During these visits, the sides signed a number of agreements on economic and scientific and technological cooperation. As was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, "One can say with gratification that there has been a measure of improvement of the Soviet Union's relations with its great neighbour—socialist China. The distinctions in attitudes, in particular, to a number of international problems remain. But we also note something else—that in many cases we can work jointly, cooperate on an equal and principled basis, without prejudice to third countries".

A vivid example of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is provided by the Soviet-Indian traditionally friendly relations which are marked by a great variety of forms and extend to many spheres. In the talk between Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi held on October 26, 1985, the sides voiced their wish to increase cooperation on the world scene in order to promote the cause of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

There has been an advance in the mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and the ASEAN countries. A recent contribution to it

was the visit of Yakov Ryabov, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Indonesia and Malaysia, which took place in autumn 1985.

An important place in improving the international situation in the Far East and Asia as a whole belongs to Soviet-Japanese relations. Unfortunately, owing to Japan's increasingly active adherence to US and NATO military strategy, their present state fails to live up to what could be expected. Another factor that does nothing to make this relations better is the non-existent "territorial issue" resurrected by the Japanese side.


The USSR has always wished to maintain friendly, extensive and many-sided relations with Japan. Soviet proposals still stand to conclude a Soviet-Japanese agreement on goodneighbourliness and mutually beneficial cooperation, which would help create a favourable atmosphere for continuing the talks on the peace treaty. The Soviet Union has also advanced other proposals, which pertain, specifically, to economic cooperation and cultural contacts. Helping facilitate the development of bilateral relations was Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Japan in January of this year, during which an agreement was signed on trade turnover and payments between the two countries for the period 1986-1990.

The response evoked by Soviet peace initiatives among the political quarters of Asian countries has shown that they are aware of the need to improve the international situation on the continent. And this is only natural, for Soviet policy of peace and cooperation meets the wishes and hopes of the countries and peoples of Asia and of other regions of the world.

Undoubtedly, the Soviet Union hardly intends to impose a ready-made formula of Asian security on other Asian nations. The USSR calls on the Asian countries to jointly take part in working out such a formula, using bilateral as well as multilateral contacts.

Obviously, working through and actually implementing the conception of Asian security is a long-term goal. In order to effectuate this objective, a step-by-step approach is necessary, beginning with the simple and advancing to the more complex. Taken into consideration is the fact that from those bilateral and multilateral agreements which have already been reached in one or another area of the continent, the Asian governments would advance to agreements of a more serious nature, covering many aspects in that way, gradually extending the base of durable peace and stability on the continent as a whole. And, of course, it is crucial that concrete steps be commenced with the aim of stabilising the situation in those regions of Asia where the "hot spots" of war danger are still smouldering.

The Soviet concept of Asian security, which calls for concerted effort in order to promote the security of all Asian states, whether large or small, proceeding from the experience gained both on this continent and elsewhere, is a sound basis for furthering understanding and cooperation among Asian states, and for establishing reliable peace there.



INFORMATION IMPERIALISM AND ITS CLASS ESSENCE

Yu. M A G A R I N

As soon as the first newspapers appeared in the world, both information and the means of spreading it came to be seen in the capitalist world as a commodity, which could be bought and sold. The owners of newspapers and magazines (and, later on, of radio stations and television companies) used information to derive economic and political benefit. Naturally, it would be a mistake to see every newspaper publisher as a deliberate misinformer, but it is a fact that private property in the means of information, as Lenin noted, objectively makes it possible "systematically, unremittingly, daily, in millions of copies, to deceive, corrupt and fool the exploited and oppressed mass of the people, the poor".¹

A distortion of the picture of the surrounding world in the daily torrent of news brought down by Western propaganda on the heads of thousands of millions of people is the result of a deliberate political choice made by the exploiter classes, which seek to maintain and perpetuate their rule over the peoples by distracting them from the struggle for their rights, by sowing enmity and hatred. It is a manifestation of a policy known as "information imperialism", whose essence is mass-produced imperialist propaganda.

The "information imperialism" notion was introduced into the international political vocabulary about a decade ago. One of the first to use the expression was Urho Kekkonen, the then President of Finland, who pointed out that two-thirds of all the information being spread in the world derive in one way or another from the US information and propaganda complex, which is the backbone of the mass media of world imperialism.

Western news agencies undoubtedly have full sway in the world information market beyond the borders of the socialist countries. According to UNESCO, they control from 80 to 90 per cent of the news being circulated in the non-socialist world. They hold particularly strong positions in a number of developing countries, where they act as agents of neocolonialism. Together with the other Western mass media they carry on subversive ideological activities against the newly free states.

Mention is also made of the USA's predominant position in the output of radio and TV news, its indisputable superiority in the manufacture and marketing of technical mass-communications facilities, and the one-way flow of information, which is being channelled from the developed capitalist countries, the USA above all, across the whole world, including the young developing states.

CONCENTRATION OF THE PRESS

At the beginning of this century, 95 per cent of all newspapers and magazines in the USA, the leading capitalist country, were independent capitalist enterprises, but gradually the process of the concentration and

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 376.

centralisation of production turned the mass media into an appendage of the monopolies.

The first newspaper trust (or "chain") in history—the Scripps chain—was set up in the USA in 1878, soon to be followed by the Hoerst, McCormick, Patterson and other ones. *In our day, more than one-half of all US periodicals belong to big newspaper and magazine concerns (or, in UNESCO terminology, newspaper "networks").*

According to one of UNESCO documents, since 1945 the number of newspaper networks in the USA uniting from 2 to 80 daily newspapers and belonging to one and the same owner increased from 60 to 165. These groups control over 60 per cent of all the daily newspapers being published in the country.²

Over the past half-century, the number of daily newspapers in the USA has markedly declined, whereas the number of newspaper networks has increased almost 5.5-fold, and the number of press organs within these, 7-fold.³

There have also been similar processes in other leading capitalist countries. In Britain, for instance, 9 of the 111 daily newspapers account for 60 per cent of their sum total circulation.⁴ The newspaper tycoon, Rupert Murdoch, who was granted US citizenship in 1985, calls the tune on the British news market.

In France, strong positions in the field of the mass media are held by the Hersant trust, which includes 18 newspapers, 9 weeklies and 10 specialised editions. In West Germany, more than one-half of all newspapers and magazines belong to 10 concerns. The press concentration process in the FRG has whittled down the number of newspapers being published in most regions of the country to one, while the other newspapers have either been put out of business by their stronger rivals or have been swallowed up by the latter.

The monopolies influence the press not only through the specialised trusts, or newspaper networks but also directly. As is noted in the above-mentioned UNESCO document, *concentration in this field often goes hand in hand with the emergence of multisectoral conglomerates, as periodicals are merged with other mass media and as industrial companies and banks gain control over the press.*

Groups of newspaper and magazine publishers and individual publishers in the USA simultaneously own something like 650 radio and 190 TV stations. In about 60 populated localities, newspaper owners also run their own TV stations servicing the same regions, and in 200 localities newspaper owners have their own radio stations.

In Britain, by the early 1970s, 5 companies accounted for 71 per cent of the circulation of daily newspapers, 74 per cent of all homes using the commercial TV system, 78 per cent of cinema tickets, 70 per cent paperback book sales, and 65 per cent of the sale of records.⁵

Yet another form of monopoly control over the press, radio and television is payment for the advertisements run by the latter and enabling the monopolies to promote their goods. In the budgets of newspaper-publishing trusts, advertising revenues far exceed their revenues from the sale of newspapers and magazines. This means that without direct remittances from the advertisers most Western periodicals would have gone bankrupt long ago. Advertising in the hands of Big Business is an instrument of political pressure and control over the publishers.

² International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. Concluding Report. UNESCO, 1980 (hereafter referred to as the MacBride Report), p. 89.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

According to UNESCO, annual advertising expenditures are now estimated at \$64,000 million, bringing tremendous profits which are higher than the profits in other sectors of the economy. The bulk of that amount is being spent in the USA, but the figures for the other major capitalist countries (Britain, France, the FRG, Japan and Canada) are also impressive: more than \$1,000 million for each of these countries. The advertising revenues received by US radio and TV companies total almost \$10,000 million. For some radio and TV companies in the USA and Latin America, advertising revenues come to nearly 100 per cent of their overall budget.

STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITAL AND INFORMATION

The coalescence of the monopolies with the state machinery of the imperialist powers and emergence of state-monopoly capitalism were bound to have a profound effect on the sphere of mass communications as well. The state in the West began to intervene on an ever growing scale in the affairs of the press, radio and television. The main aim of that intervention was to influence public opinion so as to dupe the masses both at home and abroad, to set them against socialism and the national liberation movement.

The mechanism of state-monopoly intervention in the sphere of information and communications is particularly pronounced in the USA. Even before the end of the Second World War, US President Harry Truman took the first step to the formation of a whole system of government bodies meant to control the preparation and spread of propaganda material in support of monopoly policy. In 1950, President Truman formulated the mission of US propaganda, saying that the Americans should make the world listen to them. That task, he said, did not differ from the other elements of US foreign policy and was inseparable from it. That year, the US Congress trebled the appropriations for foreign policy propaganda. Such were the origins of the future US Information Agency (USIA).

The heads of the Washington Administration urged the mass media to step up the broad anti-Soviet campaign. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles complained that the USA was spending too little on the "war of ideas". His affected concern helped the stage-managers of the USA's ideological "crusade" to build up a powerful material base for the official US information and propaganda complex (IPC). Today, the USA's annual outlays on IPC activities abroad come to around \$5,000 million, and total employment in that sphere is over 350,000.

An official decision to set up the USIA as the spearhead of ideological neocolonialism was taken by the US Congress on August 1, 1953. The US researcher, Theodore Sorensen, subsequently wrote that the USIA had arisen on the tide of the cold war.

When James Carter became President of the USA, he somewhat reorganised the agency and changed its name to International Communication Agency (ICA). Some units of the State Department, including the cultural exchange service, were handed over to the main foreign propaganda agency of the USA. Apart from extending radio propaganda, the ICA increased the number of reports meant for publication in the foreign mass media (up to 12,000 words a day). Telegraphic information, official statements by the US government, books and pamphlets were being sent by the ICA to 2,700 foreign publications.

The incumbent President has renamed the agency back into USIA. In the 1986 fiscal year, the USIA's budget will amount to the record figure of \$974 million. Most of that amount goes to maintain the USIA's huge apparatus in other countries (214 offices in 129 countries), and also

to expand and technically re-equip the agency's services in the USA and abroad.

But the USIA is not the only government body in the USA whose task is to influence and shape public opinion at home and abroad. Much is also being done along these lines by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Besides using the opportunities offered by the USIA, it also applies its own specific methods. According to reports in the US press, the CIA has set up a global propaganda network and has been supplying the press, radio and television with trumped-up information on a large scale. The CIA's task is to carry on "black" and "grey" propaganda,⁶ and to prevent a decolonisation of the mass media in the developing countries.

Another channel along which US state-monopoly capital exerts a direct influence on public opinion is provided by the mass media controlled by the US Department of Defense. According to the foreign press, the Pentagon's own publications include more than 1,000 newspapers and about 400 magazines, and also diverse bulletins with a total circulation of more than 12 million copies. Most of these publications are intended for US servicemen, but the high military command has also been trying to influence the general reader. The propaganda service of the US Navy alone circulates among the civilian mass media more than 1,100 press releases and tens of thousands of photographs.

Over the past two decades, the Pentagon's outlays on propaganda have multiplied 15-fold. As a result, notes the US researcher Herbert Schiller, the Pentagon has built up the biggest information system in the world and has turned into a highly organised machine for manipulating people's consciousness.

The Western powers' press, radio and TV offensive against the socialist countries and the young developing states is being coordinated by NATO's information service, where the key positions are also held by the US military command. In this way the IPC of the United States gets the propaganda machines of the other imperialist powers to serve its own purposes.

TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS TRUSTS

At the present stage, transnational corporations (TNCs) are assuming the role of strike weapons in the expansion of capitalism. Their name shows that they do not operate within the framework of a single state (although most of them are headquartered in the USA), but across the whole capitalist world.

"The strengthening of transnational corporations, which make huge profits by exploiting working people on a world scale," says the CPSU Programme (new edition), "is a direct result of capitalist concentration and internationalisation of production. They not only undermine the sovereignty of newly free states, but also encroach on the national interests of developed capitalist countries."⁷

In the late 1970s, there were more than 11,000 TNCs with about 82,000 foreign affiliates. These controlled the economy in the former colonies, as well as in the West. They held in hand roughly 40 per cent of industrial production in the developing countries and one-half of their foreign trade.

⁶ "Black" propaganda is the spread of patently false information, and "grey" propaganda is a mixture of truth, half-truth and misinformation.

⁷ *Pravda*, March 7, 1986.

Naturally, the TNCs could not bypass such a major field as mass communications. As was noted in the MacBride Report, the expansion of TNC activities in the field of mass communications influences the world market, trade, employment, and even the stability and independence of some countries. The authors of the document point to the phenomenon of transnational communications. In that field, just as in the other sectors of the transnational economy, in industrial and financial operations, they say, there are centres which control production, servicing and the peripheral markets for which they cater.

That conclusion was reaffirmed by a 1983 study carried out for UNESCO by Denis Peguin, who is on the staff of the International Economics and Finance Centre, Marseilles University. He analysed the activities of 180 TNCs and came to the conclusion that the information market is being controlled not only by big firms which specialise in information and communications, but also by purely industrial monopolies. In other words, big monopoly capital does not always resort to the services of specialised TNCs in order to influence public opinion, but often acts directly, regardless of whether its main sphere of activities is electronics, metallurgy, electrical engineering, arms production or anything else. According to Peguin's data, 81 transnational corporations control 75 per cent of the world's news output and circulation.⁸

The world news agencies, which supply most of the news for the press, radio and television in different countries, are big transnational enterprises. The most powerful of these are the Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), Reuters and France-Presse (AFP). Each of these gathers and circulates round-the-clock information running to several million words, has its own subscribers in about 100 countries, and operates branches and correspondents' posts on all continents.

The British sociologist O. Boyd-Barret and M. Palmer of the French National Research Centre analysed the activities of the transnational news agencies on the strength of a wide array of factual material. Noting the global nature of their activities and the speed with which they gather, process and spread news, the authors come to the conclusion that this information is oriented primarily towards the "cultural and social values of the ruling classes", towards "helping them govern" the masses. An interesting admission made by the researchers is that such news agencies are often in close contact with the Western intelligence services.⁹

The book contains figures showing the scale on which the transnational agencies operate. In the early 1980s, it says, the Associated Press had 657 correspondents abroad, France-Presse 441, and Reuters about 400. Thirty-four per cent of them were accredited in North America, 28 in Europe, 17 in Asia and Oceania, 6 in the Middle East, and only 4 per cent in Africa. These figures clearly show that the Western agencies regard the developing countries as no more than a secondary source of information, concentrating their news-gathering activities primarily in the developed capitalist countries.

The US researcher William Reed, one-time director of the East Asian regional department of the Voice of America, says that the transnational information trusts have taken such firm root in other countries that the only word for the phenomenon is "ubiquity". As he has estimated, the Associated Press and UPI are trying to hold more than a 1,000 million people in the focus of their assessments of international events.

Such Western domination has led to glaring disproportions in resources, in the means of communication and the international circula-

⁸ D. Peguin, *Les sociétés transnationales dans les secteurs de la communication et de l'information*, SS-83/WS/69 UNESCO, Paris, 1983, p. 14.

⁹ O. Boyd-Barret, M. Palmer, *Le trafic des nouvelles*, 1981, pp. 36-38.

tion of news. Here are some figures cited at a meeting newsmen held in Sri Lanka in 1977. The Associated Press transmits along its channels from New York to Asia an average of 90,000 words a day, whereas the reverse flow along these channels is only 19,000 words a day. The general information service of another news agency, UPI, transmits from New York to Asia roughly 100,000 words a day, and back from Asia to the United States only 40,000 to 45,000 words a day.

A study of the content of TV programmes held in 91 developing countries indicated that imported programmes made up from 30 to 75 per cent of all the programmes shown on local television.

Statistical data on the distribution of the periodical press across the world also point to disproportions in meeting the public's information requirements in different regions. Towards the beginning of the 1980s, the developed capitalist countries had 324 copies of daily newspapers per 1,000 inhabitants, whereas the developing countries had only 95 copies in Latin America, 70 in Asia, and 20 in Africa.

"INFORMATION IMPERIALISM" AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

"Information imperialism" is not only the technical superiority of the Western mass media and the extraction of profits from the developing countries, but is also an ideological expansion by the West, a drive to trample under foot the political independence and cultural specifics of other countries and peoples.

Here are some of the concrete manifestations of "information imperialism":

- concentration of newspapers, magazines, radio, television and other means of communication in the hands of a few powerful specialised corporations;

- direct control by multi-industry monopolies of a sizeable part of the mass media and communications facilities;

- open intervention by the organs of state-monopoly capital, including the monopoly-controlled state machinery of the capitalist countries, in the sphere of ideas and information;

- predominance on the capitalist world's news market of information supplied by communications transnationals;

- ever more extensive use of misinformation by the Western press, radio and television to provide propaganda backing for the domestic and foreign policy of imperialism.

One of the manifestations of "information imperialism" can be judged from a blunt admission by A. Silvester, former US Assistant Secretary of Defense for links with the mass media. It is an inalienable right of the government to lie, that high-ranking official declared. If you think that any official in the USA is going to tell you the truth you are simply a fool, he said.¹⁰

"Information imperialism" is directed against all countries and peoples, including the Western public, which it keeps misinforming day after day. The heaviest slander is being levelled at the policy of socialist and developing states and the peoples' struggle for peace and security.

But it is the developing countries that suffer most from "information imperialism". In practice, Western concepts of a "free flow of information" boil down to a one-way flow of ideas from the West to its former colonies, which have neither the means nor the strength to turn that flow into a two-way street. The non-aligned countries' news bulletin, published in Delhi, notes in this context that the imperialist powers obstruct the development of national culture in Asian, African and Latin

¹⁰ See B. Ladd, *Crisis in Credibility*, New York, 1968. p. 3.

American countries, and that these countries cannot achieve genuine cultural progress so long as the West retains its domination in the mass media.

The Indian *National Herald* has also noted that the Western mass media use their predominance in the international news market for an ideological enslavement of the developing countries.

So, "information imperialism" is not only a concentration of the mass media in the hands of a few "press barons", but also an intervention by state-monopoly capital in the affairs of the press, radio and television. It is also crafty misinformation on a global scale, misinformation from which the newly free states are the most to suffer.

"Information imperialism" provides a basis for intensifying "psychological warfare". It is spearheaded against world socialism, the international communist movement, the national liberation and mass democratic movements. The US-led reactionary circles of imperialism have stepped up their attempts to impose their ideas on all the peoples of the world through information and propaganda, hoping to provide an ideological cover for their militarist foreign policy line and, at the same time, to discredit the peace policy of the USSR and the other socialist community states. "There is no need for special political vision," Mikhail Gorbachev said at the CPSU Central Committee's Plenary Meeting in April 1985, "to see that in recent years imperialism has intensified its subversive activities and is coordinating its actions against the socialist states. That applies to all spheres: political, economic, ideological and military."¹¹

The thought was further developed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress, which emphasised that "The psychological warfare unleashed by imperialism cannot be qualified otherwise than as a special form of aggression, of information imperialism impinging on the sovereignty, history, and culture of peoples. Moreover, it spells out direct political and psychological preparations for war, having, of course, nothing in common with a real comparison of views or with freedom of exchanges of ideas, about which they speak hypocritically in the West. There is no other way for evaluating actions, when people are taught to look upon any society uncongenial to imperialism through a gun-sight."

The developed capitalist states involved in the activities of "information imperialism" have increasingly coordinated their efforts in the ideological sphere, seeking to apply pressure and blackmail in order to obtain benefits and advantages in the political, economic and military spheres. The main role in that coordination drive is played by the US information and propaganda complex, which is the core of "information imperialism".

The mass media in our day are more responsible to the peoples than ever before for a revival of the policy of detente, a transition from confrontation to cooperation, a replacement of the inequitable economic relations with a new and just international economic order, and a renunciation of the methods of "psychological warfare". In view of these tasks facing the international community, it is ever more important to combat "information imperialism", the information and propaganda complex of imperialism, as a tool in the hands of the hegemonists and neocolonialists.

¹¹ *Pravda*, Apr. 24, 1985.

THE FIRST VICTORIOUS BATTLE FOR SOCIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Pedro Miret P R I E T O,

Political Bureau Member,
CPC Central Committee,
Vice-President,
Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba

Twenty-five years separate us from April 19, 1961. On that day the world witnessed an unprecedented event in the Western Hemisphere: at Playa Giron imperialism suffered its first significant defeat in Latin America inflicted by the Cuban people.

This alone was enough to mark the historic significance of the Cuban people's victory at Playa Giron. However, the importance of this event lies not only in the fact that their heroic struggle made short work of the army of mercenaries which was financed, armed and trained by the CIA, but first and foremost because it was the first victorious national battle for socialism in Latin America.

From the moment when following the storming of the Moncada barracks young lawyer Fidel Castro Ruz delivered his speech for the defence "History Will Acquit Me" work was begun to develop the progressive people's programme of the Cuban revolution, which in the objective and subjective conditions of that period reflected as fully as possible the people's aspirations.

With the victory of the revolution of January 1, 1959, the Cuban people secured the freedom and the right to begin the complicated task of translating the gains of the revolution into life. Since then radical economic, political and social changes were introduced in fulfilment of the political programme that was not of a socialist nature itself but nevertheless paved the way to socialism. The foundations of moribund structures of the semi-colonial exploitation that had existed in Cuba for over half-a-century were undermined.

The measures taken by the revolutionary government brought dual results: while putting an end to Cuba's economic dependence and thus promoting the feeling of self-respect among the impoverished masses that for the first time learned the true meaning of the word "freedom", they set off a wave of hostility to the Cuban revolution on the part of the national oligarchy, a small population stratum which was rapidly losing power and class privileges.

While the country was being gripped by acute class struggle instigated by the activities of hundreds of counter-revolutionary groups enjoying the

The author is a participant in the fighting at Playa Giron.

direct support of US imperialism, the principles of social justice enshrined in the laws that were adopted in the people's interests promoted the growth of the working people's class consciousness and their ideological and political maturity in the course of revolutionary struggle.

The jobless, illiterate and exploited masses, who were the subject of Fidel Castro's historical speech, gradually turned into full-fledged masters of their country's wealth, which had previously been exploited by the national bourgeoisie and foreign capital. They grew aware of their new role and at the same time realised the need to defend their gains and achievements at any cost.

As the revolution adopted ever more radical measures against US capital, imperialism increased its economic and political pressure on Cuba, ranging from its refusal to grant loans, supply oil, and keep up its traditional sugar purchases and the decision to set up a rigid trade blockade of Cuba, to the unleashing of unbridled propaganda campaigns against the country.

Imperialism set down to hatching sinister plans for exterminating Cuban revolutionary leaders, devising schemes for regular acts of sabotage at industrial enterprises, transport facilities and in the economy in general. It was out to deprive the country of doctors, engineers and other specialists; it tried to impede the purchase of military equipment for the country's defence, and to draw to its side Cuban diplomats, employees, seamen and engineers who were outside the country, offering them huge sums of money to keep them from returning to the homeland; it spared no means to isolate Cuba politically and economically, using to this end diplomatic manoeuvres, bribing some compliant Latin American governments, and foisting numerous anti-Cuban resolutions at different international organisations and forums.

Until the Cuban revolution proclaimed its socialist nature, and while it confined itself to implementing the programme outlined in Castro's speech "History Will Acquit Me", the US Administration justified its aggressively hostile policy by the vicious thesis that socialism is incompatible with the inter-American system.

The history of Latin America gives ample proof that the USA has always resorted to the notorious "big stick" policy against governments that challenged Washington's imperial ambitions. It annexed more than a half of Mexico's territory. It unscrupulously plundered Nicaragua and ended up by installing in power the ominous Somoza dynasty that for more than four decades had oppressed the courageous Sandino people. Today when the heroic people of Nicaragua have put an end to imperialist rule they are forced to give a rebuff to the dirty war organised and financed by US imperialism where it employs the same shopworn methods that proved futile in Cuba. These methods will bring the same results in Nicaragua which is now fighting for independence. In the Dominican Republic the USA had installed its stooge, notorious dictator Trujillo, an acolyte of imperialism, and in 1965 launched one of its usual interventions against the country. In Guatemala it cut short the progressive changes that had been introduced by Jacobo Arbenz's regime. In Haiti it restored the odious Duvalier regime, which it is now trying to save, the dictator having fled, despite the wave of popular unrest that is sweeping the country. To this one can add the coups d'état that were regularly instigated with the help of a handful of CIA-recruited mercenaries, thereby dashing Latin American peoples' hopes for justice and a better future.

The specifics of the Cuban revolution prevented the USA from using its usual arsenal of devices for instigating putsches and destabilising the situation. The war for national liberation in Cuba culminated in the full victory of the workers and peasants' army, the victory of an impoverished people over the forces that were armed and equipped by impe-

rialism. For the first time the Cubans felt like real masters of their future, for the people's government did not confine its work to empty phrases but in fact gave the working people that which was theirs by right and which they had been illegally deprived of for centuries: the right to work, education, health protection, freedom, human dignity, and life.

It was not easy for the USA to employ its subversive methods against the revolutionary government which did not hesitate to oust the US military mission from Cuba on the grounds that its presence was an insult to the country's sovereignty and accepted with dignity the US government's decision to break off diplomatic relations with the country.

Imperialism's traditional methods of aggression were doomed to failure. Owing to the people's vigilance, which was the result of the broad support by the masses for revolution, the internal counter-revolution, organised and supported by the CIA, failed in all its obstinate efforts to destabilise the situation in Cuba.

After abortive attempts to employ economic aggression, sabotage, blockade and counter-revolution the USA had only one other method in reserve, and that was armed aggression. As pointed out by Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, Playa Giron was its last chance, its final blow that was calculated at destroying the Cuban revolution which was fighting back tooth and nail.

The invasion of mercenary troops in April 1961 was contemplated as a kind of prelude to the irresponsible US actions that were to follow. However, the United States had failed to take into consideration the courage, resolve and invincible unity of the Cuban people who had rallied around their revolution with its Commander-in-Chief, Fidel Castro.

The bourgeois exploiters and their apparatus of repression which continued to retain power by illegal means had no intention of yielding to the demands made on them by history's triumphal march. Imperialism refused to give up the wealth it had sapped from this small island in the Caribbean. It did not intend to be a passive witness to how Cuba's example inspired the enslaved American peoples for the struggle for independence. The Cubans, on their part, were not going to give up the freedom that had been won by the blood and sacrifices of generations of revolutionary fighters.

That is why immediately after the popular victory of 1959, when economic, political and social changes were being wrought in the country and the struggle to do away with obsolete structures of government was at its height, Cuba set itself the task of building its armed forces. Its fulfilment became possible owing to the people's decisive contribution to creating an army of a new type, an army that had inherited the patriotic behests of the preceding generations of freedom fighters and succeeded the victorious army of insurgents. These creative efforts helped build up the country's Revolutionary Armed Forces—the armed hand of the revolution, and the People's Revolutionary Militia—the tested contingent of workers, peasants and students who turned every single factory, field and school into an insurmountable barrier in the path of the class enemy.

This was a people's army in the full sense of the word, and one that had been armed owing to the internationalist assistance of several socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union. Prior to the invasion of mercenaries the people took up arms, vowing under the banner of socialism to defend the revolution of the "unfortunate, done by the unfortunate, for the unfortunate".

On April 16, 1961, in his historical speech at the funeral of the victims of US bombings the Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro proclaimed the socialist nature of the revolution and outlined the radical changes it would introduce. It received warm support from the embattled people who supported these changes discarding old prejudices and doubts.

The proclaiming of the socialist nature of the Cuban revolution infused the Cuban people with courage and the conviction that their struggle was a just one, especially when the danger of aggression was looming over the country and the people were preparing to fight for the cause they had vowed to defend and develop to its logical end.

Lenin wrote: "In the final analysis, victory in any war depends on the spirit animating the masses that spill their own blood on the field of battle. The conviction that the war is in a just cause and the realisation that their lives must be laid down for the welfare of their brothers strengthen the morale of the fighting men and enable them to endure incredible hardships... every mobilized worker or peasant knows what he is fighting for and is ready to shed his own blood for the triumph of justice and socialism."¹

The events at Playa Giron confirmed Lenin's instruction on the defence of the socialist homeland. The victory achieved by workers and peasants who had left their working places and taken up arms in defence of their gains was also the result of their belief in the ideals of the revolution and their utter readiness to defend these ideals. Having expropriated foreign monopolies, local latifundia owners and the bourgeoisie in favour of the impoverished masses, the revolution has awakened the people's revolutionary consciousness, which quickly developed into progressive social thinking. This was practical confirmation of the just nature of the social system which by its first step had elevated the people and given them more than in all the 50 years of the previous development.

Hence, for the Cuban people the struggle for socialism was the conscious and clear-cut expression of their ideological and political conviction, of their sovereign resolve to secure a better future for their country and strengthen the unity of all Cuban revolutionaries in the Party that would lead the country firmly along the revolutionary road.

The victory of April 19, 1961, was undoubtedly a landmark: its significance, according to the Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, is that the battle at Playa Giron had given more freedom to the American peoples.

The Cuban people's victory over the mercenary gangs has dispelled the myth of imperialism's invincibility and consolidated the positions of socialism in the Western Hemisphere. This victory has instilled even more hope into the hearts of the oppressed masses in the continent. These hopes were engendered by the Cuban revolution, which chose the only correct road, the one charted by Marxism-Leninism in keeping with the laws governing social development, and became the culmination point of the struggle for independence begun in the last century.

The heroes of 1868 and 1895, the champions of the republic, the participants in the storming of the Moncada barracks, the partisans of Sierra Maestra fought for the ideals of freedom and social justice which grew ever more radical with every new historical stage and in the aspirations of present-day revolutionaries found the only correct expression: the socialist revolution.

To fight for socialism at Playa Giron meant loyalty to the behests of the champions of independence, freedom and social progress; it meant justifying the hopes of Latin American peoples that were brought to life by the victory of the Cuban revolution. It confirmed Cuba's close and inalienable ties with the international communist movement and the moral superiority of the people of a small country over imperialism, the people that 25 years ago inscribed a glorious page in the history of battles and victories, for theirs was a just cause and they were ready to fight for its victory.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 137.


THE 27th CONGRESS OF THE CPSU AND ITS INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

For ten days in February and March, the attention of the whole planet was focussed on Moscow, on the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. There was no place on the Earth where people did not listen to the voice of Moscow, some with hope and others with poorly concealed irritation. Of course, there are many more of those who sympathise with the ideas expressed at the forum of the Soviet Communists, and that is only natural. The Congress was attended by 152 delegations from 113 countries of the world. Mankind has duly assessed the global importance of the 27th Congress, calling it a historic event.

It took place at a complicated moment—actually, a turning point—in internal and international development, orienting the Party and the Soviet people towards the maximum use of all the potentialities of the socialist system, towards a qualitative perfection of the productive forces and the relations of production.

The doubling of the country's economic potential by the year 2000, as projected by the Party, not only provides a basis for a steep rise in the Soviet people's material standards and spiritual level, but also marks an important step in making socialist ideals more attractive for millions of working people across the world.

Socialism and peace have long become synonymous. The Soviet state has invariably put the whole of its economic, scientific and technical potential at the service of peace. That is why any economic success scored by the Soviet Union—a success to which every Soviet citizen contributes his labour—strengthens the material basis of universal security and raises an effective barrier against the aggressive intrigues of the imperialist forces, which count on military confrontation and harbour an idea of social revenge on a global scale. That is why the plans of peaceful construction approved at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet people's firm belief that these plans can be realised, and the Soviet Union's constructive and large-scale foreign-policy initiatives are justly seen by world opinion as a reliable guarantee that the dangerous tendencies in the development of the international situation can be reversed by the joint efforts of all the peace forces.



It is up to history to give a full assessment of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. But one can already say that the Congress took place in an atmosphere of Party unity and a principled Party approach, exactingness and Bolshevik truth, an open exposure of shortcomings and failings, and an in-depth analysis of the internal and external conditions of the Soviet society's development. As General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev emphasised, the Congress "has set a high moral, spiritual tone for the Party's activity and the life of the whole country".

The Congress made a Leninist assessment of present-day realities, elaborated a well-grounded and carefully balanced programme of action for years and decades to come, and adopted documents of a truly revolutionary character, which were a blend of collective Party thought. The CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the Congress, its Resolution and the new edition of the Party Programme embody the Party's theoretical wisdom, political realism and orientation towards the future; the Party Rules testify to the abiding firmness, precision and flexibility of the CPSU's organisational forms; and the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the

USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000 are marked by a clear-cut practical approach, concreteness and a definite time scale.

The decisions of the Congress have a powerful political, ideological and moral charge, with the help of which the Soviet society can rise to a qualitatively new level and will undoubtedly do so, fully revealing the socialist system's inherent advantages in the economy, science and culture, democracy and the whole way of life.

Such is the programmatic goal advanced by the Party Congress. And the only true, though highly complicated way to attain that goal, a way that will require the maximum effort, is that of an all-round acceleration of the country's socio-economic development and a drive to strengthen peace on the Earth. That general line of the Party's domestic and foreign policy, approved and adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, is its main political result.

While doing justice to the country's achievements (and these are impressive indeed: thus, in the past quarter-century, the country's national income has almost quadrupled), the Congress did not in effect leave a single sphere of our life without a critical analysis. The important point is that the most serious lessons have been drawn from the negative processes that came to life in the 1970s and the early 1980s.

Today, the priority task of the Party and the whole people, it was emphasised at the Congress, is resolutely to break the unfavourable tendencies in economic development, to inject it with dynamism and give free scope to the initiative and creativity of the masses, to genuine revolutionary transformations. So, acceleration is the key to a solution of all pressing problems, both immediate and long-term, economic and social, political and ideological, internal and external.

The plans projected for the future are vast, but realistic. Over the next 15 years (up to the year 2000), the task is to double the country's economic potential. The national income to be produced in 1986-2000 is to total 12 trillion roubles, which is more than the total produced in all the preceding years of the Soviet power. Labour productivity is planned to go up from 2.3 to 2.5-fold. These targets must be attained in order to resolve the urgent internal problems, social problems above all, and to ensure the country's security.

A crucial step in this direction is to be taken in the 12th five-year-plan period. In this period, the country is to turn towards efficiency, towards higher labour productivity, which will pave the way for subsequent rapid progress. Suffice it to say that the national income in the 12th five-year-plan period is to increase by an average of 3.5 to 4 per cent a year.

The international importance of the CPSU's innovatory strategic line towards a new qualitative state of the Soviet society, and the ways and means of attaining that goal, projected in the documents of the 27th Congress, can be judged from the immense interest, attention and approval with which these have met in the fraternal socialist countries, the newly-free states, and broad circles of international public opinion. Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, said at the 27th Congress: "It is not for us guests to evaluate the achievements of your wonderful, heroic country, and it is not for us to advise you upon what can or should be done. We can only express once again our deep admiration and firm conviction that this people and this Party will be able to overcome any difficulties and meet any challenge on the unexplored road of communist construction." In assessing the importance of our majestic plans, the leader of people's Poland Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "Your rich experience of socialist construction is of universal importance. To draw on that experience and make creative and dialectical use of it in the historically concrete conditions of each country—that is the surest way for socialism to grow stronger day after day." The historical importance of the 27th Congress was pointed out by Le Duan, CC General Secretary of

the Communist Party of Vietnam, who said at the forum of the Soviet Communists: "Your Congress is of truly historic importance. It opens a new and crucial stage in the development of the Soviet country, the stage of a perfection of socialism and a further confident advance along the road to communism."

Many Western mass media also paid close attention to the work of the supreme forum of the Soviet Communists, notably, to its internal-policy decisions. "The Soviet Union," wrote the Italian *La Repubblica*, "has issued an 'industrial challenge' to the West. That is how one should see the Soviet Party leadership's decision to double the country's industrial production and national income by the year 2000."

Our constructive plans have met with a broad response on the Asian continent, particularly in Japan, one of the leading capitalist countries. "The Congress," wrote the Tokyo newspaper *Asahi*, "is marked by a sharply critical, open and business-like atmosphere. And the goals set by the Kremlin are not intended to make an impression... By its realism, which indicates that the Soviet Union has started moving towards major changes, the Congress has indeed taken an important step forward."

In speaking of the international significance and the foreign response to the decisions of the Congress bearing on the Soviet Union's internal development, one should note that some observers in the West make no secret of their irritation or even animosity against the documents of the Party forum. In our majestic plans of peaceful construction they see a growing threat to themselves.

In view of the steadily growing might of the socialist countries, it is futile to attempt a military confrontation with socialism. In these conditions, the centre of gravity in the contest between the two systems in the international arena is shifting towards their peaceful competition, primarily in the economic and social sphere. The history of that competition goes back several decades. Forty years ago, in the early postwar period, the USSR noticeably lagged behind the USA. At present, the development levels of the two countries have drawn much closer together. In many indicators we have caught up with the USA, and in some have surpassed them. Of course, no one in the USSR makes any secret of the fact that the scientific and technical level of a number of its industries is still insufficient. But we are confident that we shall attain the highest world indicators in this sphere as well, for the dynamics of the economic competition work in favour of socialism.

As for the social sphere, socialism has long left capitalism behind. That is where the supreme goals of socialism are realised, and where its humanistic nature and its qualitative distinction from capitalism are particularly manifest. A steady implementation of the principle of social justice is seen by our Party as an important condition of the people's unity, the political stability of the society and its dynamic development. That is evident, in particular, from the plans approved by the Congress.

By the year 2000, every Soviet family is to have a separate flat or house. Sizeable resources are to go into urban and rural development. By 1990, the most significant changes over the past few five-year periods are to be made in the structure and quality of the people's diets. There is to be considerable growth and more efficient use of the social consumption funds. Only as a result of nation-wide measures to raise wages, pensions and allowances in the 12th five-year-plan period, the incomes of more than half the population are to increase. Over the next 15 years, the volume of resources going to improve the Soviet people's living conditions is to be doubled. All of that is taking place at a time when bourgeois governments have launched an offensive against the working people's vital interests and are cutting back social programmes. And it is quite clear that as the Soviet Union's development accelerates, the social advantages of socialism will be revealed at an even faster pace.

That is precisely what our adversaries in the West are afraid of. They fear that socialism's realisation of its potentialities will finally expose the antipolar essence of the capitalist system in the eyes of the Western working masses, capitalism's inability to ensure in practice the interests of a vast majority of the population. Capitalism can not compete with socialism in the field of creating dignified, truly human material and spiritual conditions for all peoples, in cherishing the chief asset of our planet—man himself. As for this country, it has got down to implementing plans "not merely to satisfy the needs of its members, but with the object of ensuring full well-being and free all-round development for all the members of society".¹ The principle by which the CPSU has scrupulously abided in every sphere of its activity is everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of the people.

The CPSU is justly known as a party of history-makers. History-makers are the architects of the future. The 27th Congress of the CPSU was historic primarily because it was held by a party oriented towards the future and determined to make it a peaceful future. That is why its international prestige is so high. That is why there is growing confidence in its peace strategy among the peoples of the world, for each new day brings fresh proof that a world without wars or weapons is the socialist ideal, which the Soviet people are steadily translating into life under the CPSU's guidance.

Such has been the essence of the Soviet state's political line ever since its establishment. As it was emphasised at the 27th Congress, the Party will continue its active international policy based on present-day realities, so ensuring the continuity of its foreign-policy strategy.

As a continuation of domestic policy, our foreign policy demonstrates the huge potential of peace, reason, good will and concern for the future of the Earth. The British *Observer* writes, for instance, that there is no reason to doubt the frankness of Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals, his sincere desire to throw off the burden of the "star wars" and of the arms race in general. To understand that, one need only look at the gigantic scale of the socio-economic transformations proposed by the Soviet leader.

The whole course of the 27th Congress convincingly showed that at the present social stage Lenin's Party promptly responds to the imperatives of the times. The documents of the Congress contain a profound and all-round analysis of the main content of the epoch, its major problems and conflicts, and the balance of forces in the world; they characterise the crisis of capitalism and the motive forces of the world revolutionary process, closely tie in the tasks of domestic and foreign policy, and formulate the basic principles for a comprehensive system of international security.

All the conclusions drawn by the Congress are based on the solid and immutable foundation of a strictly scientific approach and derive from a profound knowledge of the uniformities of the socialist society, from a thorough and all-round assessment of the main tendencies of world development.

All the propositions contained in the documents of the Congress are free from any subjectivist assessments, from any striving to embellish reality. Such a sober, bold and innovatory approach to the existing problems and contradictions, such realism in setting new tasks and projecting ways of their resolution invest the materials of the 27th Congress with special international significance.

The nature of imperialism has not changed. It keeps creating hotbeds of aggression and threatens to unleash a world thermonuclear war. The Soviet Communists have no illusions and do not oversimplify reality. And present-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, p. 54.

day reality is that mankind has for the first time in history created means of warfare which are capable of destroying all life on the Earth.

All the foreign-policy decisions of the 27th Congress hinge on that truth. They are imbued with the logic of peace, the logic of saving mankind, and are based on a clear and explicit idea: it is necessary to learn to live in peace, without encroaching on each other's interests. That is not an abstract appeal, but a well-thought-out, realistic and concrete programme of action, whose implementation opens up before all peoples the possibility of peaceful and progressive development.

The historical mission of socialism, of all the progressive forces in the world is to prevent a nuclear war, to save mankind from a fatal catastrophe. The 27th Congress of the CPSU made a tangible contribution to the solution of that epoch-making task along various lines.

New objective conditions have taken shape on the international scene. The scale and character of the threat looming over mankind have confronted it with difficult problems. The need to solve these problems is vital and imperative, and it should impel the peoples to joint action. That compelling need makes it necessary to give deep thought to the existing conditions. The 27th Congress of the CPSU is an excellent example of such thought. Its documents contain a conclusion of fundamental theoretical and practical importance: in the objective conditions that have taken shape in the world, the contest between capitalism and socialism can proceed solely and exclusively in the forms of a peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry, and there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence.

On the strength of that, the Congress instructed the Central Committee to take consistent, balanced and persevering action in order to resolve the problems of international security, orienting the Soviet Union's foreign policy towards an undeviating line of peaceful coexistence, towards firmness in upholding our principles and positions, tactical flexibility, a readiness for mutually acceptable compromise, dialogue and mutual understanding. The Congress, said its Resolution on the Political Report, emphasises the need for a further invigoration of Soviet foreign policy in every area, a quest for a just and peaceful settlement of hotbeds of tension, and development of neighbourly, mutually advantageous relations with all states.

The task of curbing the arms race is the most burning task facing mankind in our day. That is why the 27th Congress noted that the central line of Soviet foreign policy in the years to come should be a struggle to implement the programme for eliminating mass destruction weapons and averting the threat of war, set forth in a Statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on January 15, 1986. With the implementation of that programme, which is historic in scale and importance, mankind would enter a fundamentally new stage of development and would be able to concentrate on construction alone.

There is no type of weapon which the USSR would not be prepared to limit or ban on a mutual basis and under effective control. It is particularly important now, before it is too late, to shut out all weapons from outer space. The peoples are demanding real progress in the field of reducing nuclear potentials. A cessation of nuclear tests and a dismantling of Soviet and US medium-range missiles in the European zone could be a major step forward in this direction.

The attainment of a military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO, says the new edition of the CPSU Programme, was a historic achievement of socialism. It strengthened the international positions of the USSR, the other socialist countries and all progressive forces in general, dashing the hopes of the aggressive imperialist circles for a victory in a world nuclear war.

At the same time, the level of the nuclear potentials of the sides is much too high. In fact, it ensures nothing but equal danger for the opposing par-

ties, and that only for the time being. A continuation of the arms race, as it was clearly emphasised in the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the Congress, could bring that equal danger up to a point where even parity would no longer be a factor of military-political deterrence. Hence the need to lower the level of the military confrontation by a wide margin. Real equal security is guaranteed by the lowest level of the strategic balance, from which all mass destruction weapons should be excluded altogether. Our country is in favour of putting a ceiling of reasonable sufficiency on the military potential. But the nature and level of that ceiling continue to be limited by the positions and actions of the USA and its NATO partners. As it was once again unequivocally stated at the Congress, "the Soviet Union lays no claim to more security, but it will not settle for less".

One of the main lines of the CPSU's international activity is its European line. Europe's historical perspectives lie in peaceful cooperation, in the use, development and enrichment of the experience of detente. Reliable security of the European countries is possible on the basis of the Helsinki process, radical cuts in nuclear and conventional weapons. The importance of the Asian and Pacific line is also on the increase. In this area, there should be a quest for solutions in the interests of stability and the cause of peace.

An integral part of the Soviet Union's course of improving the international situation is its struggle to eliminate the hotbeds of tension that emerge in different regions of the planet as a result of the expansionist, neocolonialist policy of imperialism, US imperialism above all. The conflict situations can be defused only by political means, once the peoples are enabled to exercise their right to decide their own future. Such is the Soviet Union's firm and invariable position.

The essential basic principles for a comprehensive system of international security, formulated in the Political Report, could be described as the tendency to mankind's self-preservation translated into the language of political reality. It is an appeal to all the governments, parties, public organisations and movements that are truly concerned for the future of world peace, to all the peoples of the Earth, urging closer and more fruitful cooperation in order to make peaceful coexistence the supreme universal principle of interstate relations.

In the basic principles proposed at the 27th Congress, all the aspects of the modern conception of international security—military, political, economic and humanitarian—are for the first time presented as a single whole. In the military field, the nuclear powers are urged to renounce war against each other or against third states, to prevent an arms race in outer space, to stop all tests of nuclear weapons and eliminate these weapons altogether. In the political field, the basic principles include unconditional respect in international practice for each people's sovereign right to choose the ways and forms of its development, and measures to build confidence between states.

Of much importance are the basic principles of economic security, which envisage a renunciation of any discrimination, blockades and sanctions, a just settlement of the debt problem, the establishment of a new world economic order and other measures. In the humanitarian field, there should be objective information, a mutual acquaintance of the peoples with each other's life, a stronger spirit of mutual understanding and accord between them, eradication of genocide and apartheid.

The basic principles for a comprehensive system of international security proposed at the 27th Congress could provide a starting point and a framework for a direct systematic dialogue between the leaders of different countries—both bilateral and multilateral.

The USSR's latest large-scale peace initiatives create real prerequisites for a radical change, an improvement in the international situation, and they are most timely. The USA, its military-industrial machine remains the locomotive

tive of militarism, and there is no sign of its moving into lower gear. The White House continues to call to use force, which is seen there as the most convincing argument in world politics. Someone in the USA is apparently afraid of the new opportunity for a serious and long-term thaw in the Soviet-US relations and the international situation as a whole.

The forces of militarism and aggression would apparently prefer to perpetuate the confrontation. Mikhail Gorbachev said in his closing speech at the Congress: "But what should we do, comrades? Slam the door? It is possible that this is just what we are being pushed into doing. But we very clearly realise our responsibility for the destinies of our country and for the destinies of the world. We do not intend, therefore, to play into the hands of those who would like to force mankind to get used to the nuclear threat and to the arms race."

Our task and our duty is not to slam the door to peaceful negotiations, but to bolt and bar the door leading to war. The international reactionary forces refuse to surrender their positions, but they are not omnipotent. The development of the world revolutionary process and the rise of mass democratic and antiwar movements have considerably expanded and reinforced the huge potential of peace, reason and goodwill which is a powerful counterbalance to the aggressive policy of imperialism.

The long and tortuous history of the talks on disarmament shows that all serious and important proposals have invariably met with fierce resistance on the part of the reactionary and militarist forces. At present, there is a similar situation, but with one qualitative difference. It is that Western politicians will have to, whether they like it or not, answer this question: are they actually prepared to give up nuclear weapons, do they intend to take concrete practical steps in this direction?

In March and April of this year the US Administration bid defiance to the whole world community by carrying out a number of test nuclear explosions in Nevada. Such a flagrant show of contempt for the demands of world opinion and the American people themselves raised a storm of indignation both in the USA and abroad. The explosions were sharply criticised even in the top echelons of the US ruling elite. Many Congressmen assessed them as a rash and unreasonable step, as a deliberate attempt to undermine whatever chance there is of containing the arms race.

Naturally, the peoples of the world cannot be content with such an "answer" to the clear-cut and explicit Soviet proposals. They are resolved to make the White House and its NATO allies abandon their line of military confrontation, which is fraught with truly tragic consequences.

Today modern civilisation is experiencing a turning point in its development. The time has come for all who are capable of reasoning, responsibly and rationally, to take a clear, distinct position, regardless of ideological and political differences. The mechanism for humankind's self-preservation must be put into operation. We can not afford to lose time. Today we are standing on the borderline which requires maximum responsibility. The consequences of the nuclear race can become dangerously unpredictable. We must act in unison.

The whole course of modern history calls for constructive and creative interaction between states and peoples on a global scale. A competition, a historical contest between the two systems combined with a tendency to ever greater objective interdependence and interaction within the world community—such is the real dialectics of present-day world development. The struggle of opposites engenders a contradictory but interconnected and largely integral world, and the CPSU bears that in mind in its foreign-policy activity.

The CPSU's foreign-policy line takes into account the dynamism of the economic and political development of the world socialist system. The Con-

gress drew essentially important conclusions from the generalised experience of the development of socialism as an international phenomenon. World socialism is a powerful international community based on the principles of socialist internationalism and uniting one-third of mankind, many countries and peoples which are following the road that will bring out the entire intellectual and moral wealth of the individual and the society. This community has its own way of life, whose distinctive features are collectivism and comradely mutual assistance, a triumph of the ideas of freedom, indissoluble unity of the rights and duties of each member of the society, personal dignity, and genuine humanism. The socialist world has a large production, scientific, technical and defence potential.

The documents of the 27th Congress give a realistic assessment both of the advantages and achievements of world socialism, and of the complicated problems and contradictions that arise in its development. One should note that however complicated, diverse and difficult the rise of world socialism may be, one thing is certain: the new social system makes it possible to solve the urgent problems of our day on a collectivist and internationalist basis. This system has immense reserves for self-perfection, and its moral and material influence on the development of the modern civilisation is ever stronger.

The Party welcomes every step that brings the socialist states closer together, every positive change in the relations between them. The Congress noted with satisfaction the definite improvement in the relations with the Soviet Union's great neighbour—socialist China.

The Soviet Communists' forum convincingly showed that the Party's line would continue to aim at socialist economic integration of the socialist community countries, at a further development of their political cooperation, which has always centred on the cooperation of the ruling Communist Parties, at a refinement and renewal of its forms and methods, at a mutual exchange of ideas and experience in socialist construction, and at a quest for mutually acceptable solutions to the most complicated problems. This conclusion of the Congress was fully supported at the Party forums held this spring in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the GDR.

The 27th Congress convincingly demonstrated that the Soviet Communists have strictly abided by the line of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement, which has nothing in common with uniformity or hierarchy, with interference by some parties in the affairs of others, or with some parties' claim to a monopoly in truth; the line of strengthening the solidarity and cooperation of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle for common goals: peace and socialism.

The USSR's foreign-policy course is that of solidarity with the forces of social emancipation and national liberation, close interaction with socialism-oriented countries, with revolutionary-democratic parties and the non-aligned movement, development of contacts and cooperation with social democracy. It is a line of extending ties with all those who are for international security, closer cooperation in the struggle against nuclear war.

In the intensive and dynamic struggle between progress and reaction, the tendency to a change in the international balance of forces in favour of peace has been gathering momentum. That tendency is steady and in principle irreversible. The 27th Congress of the CPSU gave a new and powerful impulse to that tendency. The way to peace mapped out by the Party's supreme forum has met with the unanimous support of the Soviet people and with the profound approval of the whole of peaceloving mankind.

That does not mean, however, that the Soviet Communists intend to stop at what has already been achieved. As it was emphasised in the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report, "the problem of international security cannot be resolved by one or two, even very intensive, peace offensives.

Success can only be brought by consistent, methodical and persevering effort".

The need to join efforts for the attainment of that major goal is an imperative of the epoch. That was reaffirmed at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, held in the Polish capital soon after the 27th Congress of the CPSU. Its Communique said: "Joint, energetic and persevering action by governments and peoples, by all realistically minded forces can effect a turn for the better in European and world affairs, for a revival of the policy of detente and constructive cooperation.

"The states represented at the meeting fully support the programme for a complete elimination of all nuclear and chemical weapons and the banning of the strike space weapons until the end of the present century, set forth in the Statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on January 15, 1986. In emphasising the great importance of that programme, they are fully resolved to do their utmost for its implementation."

Steadily intensifying the struggle for peace, for a prevention of thermonuclear war, an end to the arms race, and a general and complete elimination of mass destruction weapons, the CPSU and the Soviet state have been following a firm, consistent and purposeful policy aimed at strengthening peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. All Soviet people are involved in the struggle for peace. For them, the front of that struggle runs through their work places, and their selfless work to strengthen the economic, scientific and technical potential of the socialist society is their contribution to lasting peace.

The impact of the USSR's domestic and foreign policy on the course of world events is powerful indeed. As Lenin forecast back in December 1920, "the events are teaching the peoples to regard Russia as a centre of attraction... Socialism has the force of example."² In the past decades, that power of example has immeasurably increased. Today, the Soviet Union and world socialism have become a centre of attraction for all people of goodwill, who want lasting peace and a happy life for themselves and for the coming generations. Numerous comments on the 27th CPSU Congress are a vivid testimony to the fact.

The Soviet people are fully aware of their historical responsibility. Rallying ever closer round their Leninist party, they see their main task in strengthening the country's economic might. At the meeting with the workers of the city of Togliatti on April 8, 1986 Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the following: "In the final count the essence lies in the labour of each of us. In a nutshell, a strong, healthy economy secures success for the policy of peace, as well. That is exactly called the interconnection between foreign and internal policies." Together with all those who are concerned for the future of the Earth, the Soviet people will do their utmost to turn all swords in the world into ploughshares and so to realise mankind's long-cherished dream.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, pp. 453, 457.

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

(45th Anniversary of the Start of the Great Patriotic War)

Marshal of the Soviet Union V. P E T R O V


First Deputy Minister of Defence of the USSR,
Hero of the Soviet Union

For the Soviet people the Great Patriotic War began almost 45 years ago when they repelled an attack by the shock force of the armies of the fascist bloc which invaded the USSR on June 22, 1941.

Nazi Germany launched that criminal and treacherous surprise attack at a time when its armed forces were in their prime and the conditions were most favourable in the terms of the traditional strategy of aggression. On that day the Second World War exceeded the bounds of the capitalist world: the Soviet Union's entry into the struggle against the most aggressive and reactionary forces of international imperialism completed the complex process of its becoming an antifascist and just war of liberation. The centrepiece of the armed struggle against Nazi Germany and its satellites shifted to the Soviet-German front, which remained the main front of the Second World War for the next four years.

It was on that front that the Soviet Armed Forces stopped the Nazi aggressors in their drive for world domination. By their courage, staunchness and combat skill the Soviet soldiers achieved what not a single army of the West was able to achieve. Having routed the enemy thus dispelling the myth that the Nazi Wehrmacht was invincible, the Soviet Army and Navy effected a radical turn in the war and in severe battles smashed the bulk of the enemy troops and materiel and, together with the Allies, forced the enemy to surrender, so teaching a lesson to the forces of aggression and militarism.

The consolidation of the antifascist forces and the formation of the anti-Hitler coalition headed by the USSR, the USA and Great Britain were greatly facilitated by the heroic actions of the Soviet Army in the battlefield and the political goals of the Soviet Union which were not only to eliminate the threat of destruction overhanging the first socialist country but also to help the peoples of Europe to free themselves from Nazi enslavement and topple the Nazi regime. These goals were an expression of the Soviet people's vital interests and met the hopes of the population in the occupied countries and of the progressive forces the world over. Therefore the USSR became a centrepiece around which the peoples languishing under Nazi oppression, or threatened by enslavement on the part of the invaders, united. And the more the grim events of 1941 fade in the past, the more obvious it becomes that no other country could withstand those heavy trials. Only the heroic Soviet people, led by the Leninist party, could rise as an insurmountable wall in the way of the Nazis striving for world domination and rout their Armed Forces.



The imperialists started preparations for a war against the USSR long before the main seats of war emerged and formed a system of coordinated actions extending to every sphere of public life. With the growth of the contradictions among capitalist countries, their desire to build a united front against the Soviet Union on the common platform of

anti-communism and anti-Sovietism increased. When the Nazi dictatorship was established in Germany and then the anti-Comintern alliance of Germany, Italy and Japan was set up, the reactionaries in Britain, France and the United States decided to defeat the Soviet Union with the help of that alliance and thus to resolve the main imperialist contradiction of the epoch in favour of capitalism. The leading groups of countries set out to elaborate a strategy for a joint war against the USSR thus hoping to smooth out interimperialist contradictions.

As they gained a foothold in power and grew strong, the Nazis and militarists created seats of war in the West and the Far East, all of which was possible due to the favourable international situation. That situation was brought about by the policy of "appeasement", "non-interference", "connivance" and "encouragement" of aggressive ambitions, the policy pursued by Britain, France and the USA which planned, by making territorial, economic, political and military concessions to Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan to direct their expansionism against the Soviet Union.

As a result of the policy of encouragement, entire regions and even independent countries were given up to the aggressors. The Italian aggressors were appeased at the expense of Ethiopia and Somalia, and the Japanese ones at the expense of China. The Anglo-French policy of appeasement, which went as far as national betrayal, culminated in the Munich deal of 1938 when sovereign states of Eastern Europe—Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland—were sacrificed to Hitler as payment in advance for the aggression being spread further east, to the Soviet borders. That radically improved the strategic positions of the Nazi invaders, while the balance of the world forces was upset in their favour. The surrender of the ruling elite in the Western powers and Czechoslovakia kindled the aggressive ambitions of the German monopolists and facilitated their new acts of aggression in Europe.

The British, French and American imperialists, blinded by hatred towards the Soviet Union, were prepared to go all lengths to prolong their domination in the world. The fixed ideas of anti-Sovietism, with which the leaders of those countries were guided at that time, gave rise to the hope that Germany, Italy and Japan would fight only against the USSR, but not against them. And so long as the aggressor attacked other nations, the governments of Britain, France and the United States, which were a good deal stronger than the aggressor, cared for their own selfish interests and made still greater sacrifices to the insolent invader.

Pushing Germany towards a war against the Soviet Union, the US, British and French monopolies sometimes attached more importance to helping the fascist bloc than to building up the military potentials in their own countries. It was not by chance that at the crucial moment Britain, France and the USA found themselves poorly prepared, though they were strong economically. At the same time, they lavishly supplied the fascist states with loans, strategic raw materials, patents, and licences for the use of the latest scientific and technological achievements.

Using this generous aid and the resources on the seized territories, the countries of the fascist bloc set out to build up the material base of aggression, increasing military production. They did everything possible in good time to forestall the Soviet Union in mobilising economically and in launching beforehand the large-scale manufacture of the main items of combat equipment with a view to achieving military and technological superiority. As a result of the occupation of many European countries, with a number of European states having joined the fascist bloc, the potentialities of Germany's military economy more than doubled in the production of electricity, cast iron, steel, and motor vehicles in the period between 1938 and 1940. The resources for oil and

bauxite production increased dozens of times over. Due to the full-scale use of the economic resources for war preparations, the volume of military production shot up 22-fold within the six-year period from 1934 to 1940.

On that material base the Wehrmacht built up its muscle at a high pace. Though the aggressors first attacked capitalist countries, their primary goal was to destroy the Soviet state by force of arms, wipe out its social and state system and communist ideology, and annihilate most of the Soviet people. Announcing the goals of that horrible war, Hitler declared: "We mean a struggle for destruction... In the East, cruelty itself is a benefit for the future."

To attain its villainous goals, the Nazi command drew up various scenarios of warfare against the USSR, devising most effective methods of recruiting a massive army, perfecting it organisationally, and stationing strategic groupings in planned theatres of warfare and areas of future combat operations. Nazi Germany combined its vigorous activity in Europe with strategic pauses during which it was regrouping and covertly building up its Armed Forces. Simultaneously it was devising aggressive theories and studied the possibilities of using its arms of the service and combat equipment for blitzkrieg strikes in a supposed brief and victorious war. The armed forces were being rapidly deployed. In building up the fighting strength of the Wehrmacht special stress was laid on training offensive shock forces—armoured and motorised units and bomber aviation. By the spring of 1941, that is, by the time the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union, the German Armed Forces were the most powerful military force that had ever existed in the capitalist world in terms of technical equipment, numerical strength, combat composition, experience in warfare and aggressive fanaticism of their personnel.

The imperialists attached immense importance to ideology as they were getting ready for a war against the Soviet Union. The operative strategic plans and decisions and all the news media were imbued with the spirit of anticommunism and militarism. A large assortment of bourgeois ideological and political, legal, philosophical and religious conceptions and views was used to ideologically prepare the peoples in the countries of the fascist bloc for a war. Partaking in ideological preparations for the war were also right-wing socialist leaders together with extreme "left" renegades who used splitting tactics and assumed an anti-Soviet stance, and in some instances opposed the tactics of the united antifascist front.

The hasty war preparations of Nazi Germany were at the basis of its domestic and foreign policies, of its official science and culture, sports and public education. A product of imperialism, the terroristic regime jointly with the military turned Germany into a country of war that openly announced its claims to world domination. Everything there was subjected to the policy of militarisation with the purpose of building up the spirit of German "militancy". The propaganda of a cult of war, kindling of nationalistic sentiments, revanchism, "geopolitical" views on winning *Lebensraum*, aggressive ambitions, and falsification of history for militaristic purposes—everything was used to prepare for aggression.

The Hitlerites were drumming the ideas of "pan-Germanism" into the burghers' heads, telling them Germany was a "God's chosen" nation. Social demagoguery and lies were brought into play to make the Germans believe in the advantages of the fascist system, in their racial supremacy, and make them hate other peoples. The Wehrmacht personnel was most thoroughly brainwashed. It was taught extreme cruelty towards the Soviet people. The brainwashed officers and men of the Hitler army were

convinced that the smoothly operating Nazi war machine would roll rapidly and without hindrance across the Soviet Union, as it did across other European countries in 1938-1940.

By late 1940, the Nazi political and military leadership completed the strategic planning of the military campaign against the USSR. Its plan, based on the blitzkrieg doctrine and codenamed Barbarossa, envisaged a series of political, economic, ideological and military strategic measures, devised in utter secrecy. They were expected to ensure a quick victory over the Soviet Union. But the fascist strategists were wrong in thinking that Soviet socialist society was a "house of cards" lacking national stability and that the morale of the Soviet people and its army was very low, and therefore the Wehrmacht was given unrealisable tasks of winning an easy victory within a few months.

In that situation, difficult and tense as it was, the USSR, which was surrounded by capitalist states, was confronted with the threat of a war on two fronts: with Nazi Germany in the West and militarist Japan in the East. The Communist Party and the Soviet government duly took into account Lenin's instructions to the effect that "the present policy of *all* bourgeois states is the *preparation* of *fresh* imperialist wars", and that "we must remember that the whole capitalist world is armed to the teeth and is only waiting for the moment, choosing the best strategical conditions, and studying the means of attack."¹

Considering the situation at that time and a possibility of changing the developments, the Leninist Party used all its energies and organising skills to strengthen the positions of socialism and help the people become more vigilant and work better to be prepared to defend, arms in hand, the gains of the revolution and fulfil to the end their internationalist duty before the working class and the oppressed of all nations. It pursued a far-sighted policy of delaying the inevitable clash with fascism, preparing the country, the people and the army for repelling the imminent aggression, preventing the establishment of a united anti-Soviet imperialist front, moving the line of possible confrontation with the Wehrmacht to the West, and studying the lessons of the Second World War which was already going on.

Owing to the active and flexible Leninist foreign policy, these tasks were, on the whole, accomplished. In the early 1930s, the series of Soviet non-aggression and neutrality treaties were greatly expanded, giving the Soviet Union quite a long respite for building socialism. During that time the Soviet Union won greater prestige as the main stronghold in the struggle for peace. The Soviet government's line of peaceful coexistence was widely internationalist and served as an effective means of countering the theory and practice of imperialism. Throughout its intensive activities Soviet diplomacy at that period proceeded from this principle: "You should not wait for peace but fight for it".

Working to ensure a collective rebuff to the aggressors, the Soviet Union repeatedly proposed to Britain and France to sign a treaty between the three countries on mutual assistance. Those proposals were a clear-cut programme of creating a reliable front for defending peace in Europe, which envisaged measures on extending immediate aid to victims of aggression. Moreover, the Soviet Union expressed its readiness, in case of attack by Germany, to render effective assistance to Britain, France and also to countries like Poland, Romania, Greece, Turkey, Belgium, and Finland, to provide 136 divisions, 9,000 to 10,000 tanks,

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, pp. 340-341, 487.

5,000 heavy artillery guns, and up to 5,500 combat planes. But Britain and France avoided any specific commitments and the reactionary Polish bourgeois government refused to let the Soviet Army pass through Poland. Moreover, British diplomacy conducted secret talks with Nazi Germany, trying to direct its aggressive ambitions against the USSR as soon as possible. At that time the reactionary forces in the Western capitalist countries attempted most persistently to place the USSR in complete international isolation and to bring it down through a joint attack by all the imperialist powers. However, those treacherous schemes failed to be realised.

To change the situation, which was unfavourable for the USSR, and to delay as long as possible the attack of the aggressor, the Soviet government accepted Germany's proposal to sign a non-aggression treaty with it in August 1939. This step which it was forced to take was the only correct one that could be taken after Britain and France refused to sign an agreement with the Soviet Union and when all other attempts to ensure the security of Soviet frontiers and protect the interests of the Soviet state failed. That treaty gave the Soviet Union twenty two months of peace so needed by the country for economic development and for taking additional measures to strengthen its defence capability.

During the three prewar years, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union solved many major political and military strategic problems. After the Polish bourgeois-landlord state collapsed, the USSR took under its protection the peoples of Western Byelorussia and the Western Ukraine which had been earlier torn away from the Soviet country. As a result of the liberation march of the Soviet Army, the border of the USSR was moved 250-350 kilometres westwards, and so the Hitler command was left no chance to use the western regions of Byelorussia and the Ukraine as springboards for aggression. In the autumn of 1939, the Soviet Union guarded the Baltic states against encroachments by Nazi Germany. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia joined the USSR to meet the wish of their peoples. A similar decision was taken by the population of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. After the signing of the peace treaty with Finland in March 1940 the borderline running across the Karelian Isthmus and along the coast of the Ladoga Lake was moved to the north-west. The neutrality pact signed with Japan in Moscow in April 1941 became a major element in the series of measures taken by the USSR to provide its security.

Due to the active foreign policy pursued by the Soviet government from 1938 to early 1941, the attempts on the part of the imperialists at uniting for joint aggression against the USSR were frustrated and conditions were provided for setting up an anti-Hitler coalition. The Soviet peace initiatives proved to be a powerful factor restraining the aggressive course of the reactionary forces of imperialism. Those initiatives encouraged the progressive forces to oppose war and gave the masses confidence in the possibility of defeating fascism through joint actions. The Soviet idea of collective security sowed the seeds of future victory. Britain and France, which pursued a shortsighted policy, found themselves on the spot in 1940.

Successful fulfilment of the five-year economic development plans in the period of peaceful construction enabled the USSR to become technologically self-sufficient and build a sound economic base for the country's defence capability. In the mid-1930s, the Soviet Union was the first in Europe and second in the world as to total industrial output. To achieve stability in the country's defence, productive forces had to be expanded in the Urals, Siberia and Central Asia. Effectively using the advantages offered by a planned economy and the increased potentialities of the defence industry, the Communist Party set out to boost military

production at an ever higher pace. The average annual manufacture of aircraft and tanks in 1935-1937 more than quadrupled as compared with 1930-1931, and that of artillery guns increased by 160 per cent. In 1938-1940, the development of technologies and large-scale production of new types of combat equipment and weapons were speeded up in the defence industry, and research and development of more advanced weapons systems was completed.

By 1940 the defence industry was ready for the mass production of up-to-date aircraft and tanks in keeping with the tactical and technical standards of the Second World War. The strengthening of production discipline, the tougher austerity programmes and the continued improvement of planned economic management proved crucial in preparing the national economy for wartime conditions. It is important to note here that in 1940 nearly one-third of the state budget and in 1941, 43.4 per cent of that was allocated for the defence programmes.

All this enabled the Soviet government to start technically re-equipping the Soviet Army and begin launching a large-scale programme to prepare the country economically for rebuffing possible aggression. The re-equipping programme included both the provision of new technical facilities for the Armed Forces and the training of the entire military personnel in methods of handling the new equipment. Special stress was placed on the development and strengthening of the land forces and the air force, since the prospect of continental warfare was supposed to be most likely. Their might was built up so that they could carry on an effective struggle for a long period against the armies of the coalition of imperialist states and conduct large-scale operations.

To build a sound morale potential ensuring the accomplishment of the tasks to rebuff aggression, the Party educated the Soviet people in the spirit of patriotism, readiness to defend the socialist Motherland, and hatred for fascism. It evoked among Soviet people a sense of national pride for the great achievements of socialism and for the leading role played by the Soviet Union in the world revolutionary process, and the sense of personal responsibility for its fate. The seeds of mass heroism, which sprouted under the influence of communist ideas, flourished proudly in the battlefields later. The Soviet people were, therefore, highly patriotic-minded as the war broke out.

Due to the enormous efforts of the Communist Party and the people, the Soviet Army at the start of the Great Patriotic War was up to the standards of mobile warfare as regards its composition, organisational setup, and the level of training. Its combat abilities were not inferior to those of the strong armies of the capitalist states and it surpassed them by a broad margin in moral-political terms. Nevertheless, as the war started the Soviet Army found itself at a great disadvantage: it had too little time for direct preparations for that war. The Soviet command had no time to complete the concentration and deployment of troops and the formation of groupings envisaged by the cover-up plans of beating off the attacks of the aggressor. There was too little time also for outstripping the enemy by the start of the war in the production of electricity, cast iron, steel and coal. The industry was behind schedule in launching the large-scale manufacture of new tanks, planes, antitank and anti-aircraft guns and ammunition.

In the situation that formed in 1941, fascist aggression was not averted. The forces opposed to war acted separately and proved insufficient to remove the threat of war overhanging the Soviet people. The working class in the capitalist countries was divided and the national potential of the Soviet socialist state was not great enough to entirely restrain the fascist invader without outside help.

Soviet troops had not yet finished the deployment along the Western

border and by June 22, 1941, were dispersed along a front of more than 4,500 km and over 400 km in depth. Therefore the enemy, possessing a huge invasion army consisting of 190 divisions, and armed with 47,200 pieces of artillery and mortars, over 4,000 tanks and assault guns and about 5,000 combat planes, exceeded the numerical strength of the Soviet troops 3 to 4 times over in the areas where the Nazis had their shock groupings poised for the main strikes. Those were the troops of an invader, fully mobilised, well-trained and having two years of war practice. Availing themselves of their temporary advantages and seizing the strategic initiative, the Nazi tank and motorised units, supported by the air force, rushed to the East deep into Soviet territory. The Nazi command planned to capture Moscow, Leningrad and the Donetsk Basin in no time and reach the Astrakhan-Arkhangelsk line. It seemed to the invaders that a quick victory lay in store for them.

But the enemy displayed triumphant sentiments too soon, it was confronted with the heroic Soviet troops. In the fighting in the border regions and in the heavy defensive battles the Soviet troops were containing the aggressor in its offensive thrust, the enemy crack divisions were smashed and shock groupings exhausted and weakened. At the lines of fire the Soviet troops held on to the last and displayed unparalleled staunchness, courage and resolve. It took 17 months of intensive fighting against the superior forces of the enemy to foil entirely all the schemes of the Nazi aggressor who had planned to rout the Soviet Army, occupy the country and liquidate the USSR's socialist gains. The Soviet Army and Navy, the strategic initiative being securely in their hands, dealt successive crushing blows at the enemy in 1943-1945, liberated the Soviet land and moved on to the enemy territory, thus ultimately eliminating the main seat of war and bringing about the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany.

The staunchness and determination with which the Soviet people began to fight against the Nazi invaders stimulated the expansion of the antifascist movement in the capitalist countries, the invigoration of the Resistance Movement and the spread of the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples. The Soviet Union was seen by the freedom-loving nations as a powerful material, moral and military force capable of not only stopping an aggressor but also of foiling its plans and defeating it. The common vital interests of a number of states and the liberating character of the war against the aggressive bloc cemented the international front of different social and political forces which was formed for the first time in history.

Soviet foreign policy greatly facilitated the setting up of the anti-Hitler coalition, the main role in which was played by the heroic Soviet people and its Army. Considering the difficult military situation at the time, the Communist Party followed Lenin's instruction not to reject military agreements with one of the imperialist coalitions against the other in those cases in which such an agreement could, without undermining the basis of Soviet power, strengthen its position and paralyse the attacks of any imperialist power".² The formation of the anti-Hitler coalition created objective conditions for a military cooperation of states whose armed forces took part in the struggle against the fascist bloc. Of course, in those circumstances the war could have been shortened and the losses could have been far smaller, had the USA and Britain not deliberately delayed the opening of the second front in their bid to exhaust the Soviet Union.

Leaving the USSR all alone in the struggle against the main forces of the fascist coalition, the US ally did not hurry to open the second

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Moscow, 1965, p. 361.

front but looked for a "golden mean" and waited for a good chance to gain the utmost military strategic advantage with a minimum of losses. All this delayed victory and made the path of the Soviet people and the peoples of other countries to victory still more arduous. The US government was not concerned about the length of the war and the losses of others. It had its timetable of advancement towards success without overstraining its own forces. Only after the Battle of Kursk, when the outcome of the war in Europe was predetermined and the Soviet command held ever more strategic initiative, the United States, minding its own interests, agreed to support the Soviet Union and took practical steps to coordinate the war plans. It took Soviet diplomacy a good deal of intensive effort to complete the setting up of the anti-Hitler military alliance of the USSR, Britain and the USA and to ensure their successful cooperation in the anti-Hitler coalition.

The main lesson of the past war is that the Soviet Union defeated the forces of fascism and aggression, which has been historically predetermined by the entire development of the Soviet state, by the objective possibilities inherent in socialism. The socialist social and state system stood a severe test of strength during the war and proved viable. It demonstrated its economic, political, ideological and military advantages over the capitalist system. The chief source of strength for the USSR was its socialist economy which, being strained to the utmost and having a relatively smaller industrial potential than the enemy had provided the Soviet Armed Forces with everything necessary for waging a victorious war against a strong enemy.

During the war the USSR manufactured 100 per cent more and better weapons than Nazi Germany did. Between July 1941 and September 1945, Soviet industry produced 102,800 tanks and self-propelled gun mounts, 825,200 pieces of artillery and mortars, and 134,100 planes. The socialist economy demonstrated that in extremely hard wartime conditions, too, it had a vast advantage over the capitalist economy. This was seen in the steady restructuring of the economy for military needs, in a faster growth of military production, and in a more rational use of material, financial and manpower resources for the military industry. The mobile Soviet economy allowed for the sustaining of a high growth rate of military production, the introduction of new types of weapons and materials, which saved the USSR time in the technical race with the enemy, and maintained the superiority of Soviet troops in the battlefields.

In 1941, the most difficult period of the war, the great moral strength of the Leninist Party, the immense power of its ideas and the wisdom of its policy were revealed even more fully. The Party managed to ensure the monolithic unity of Soviet society, its strength both at the front and in the rear, the people's unreserved confidence in the Party, and channelled the energy and titanic strength of the people for defeating the enemy. The severe trials revealed the powerful vitality of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Profound ideological conviction and unreserved belief in the correctness of the great Leninist cause were the inexhaustible source of the spiritual strength of the Soviet people and their moral and political unity around the Communist Party.

At every stage of the war the Party displayed utmost flexibility and great foresight in its foreign policy activity aimed at forming and consolidating a fairly viable anti-Hitler coalition and disrupting the attempts of the reactionary forces to build a common anti-Soviet front. This won growing international support for the Soviet people and their Armed Forces and gradually placed the enemy in isolation, compelling it to fight on two fronts at the concluding stage of the war. The active

participation in the armed struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Albania contributed to mounting attacks from the east on the fascist invaders.

The past war against the USSR, which had been prepared by imperialism and unleashed by Nazi Germany—its shock force—and ended in its disgraceful downfall remains a serious warning to those today who are fond of military adventures. Capitalism suffered an immense and irreparable setback. It was weakened as a system and lost many of its positions. A number of countries broke away from it in Europe and Asia, while socialism emerged from the struggle stronger, its prestige increased, and the world socialist system was formed. The calculations and hopes of the imperialists that a protracted war would bleed the Soviet Union white proved wrong.

The Great Patriotic War showed that the striving of the militarists for world hegemony, for domination over other nations was doomed. Imperialism failed to attain its chief goal in that war—to destroy socialism. The victory over the dark forces of reaction was won not only by the struggle in the battlefields, but also by the triumph of the humane socialist system over the system of capitalist exploitation and suppression, by the superiority of democracy over reaction and of socialism over imperialism.

The rout of fascism set off a powerful tide of social and political change in the whole world, speeded up the world revolutionary process, and caused the growth of the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples, which led to the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. The failure of the "crusade" of the crack forces of imperialism against the Soviet Union spelled the failure of the socio-economic system of monopoly capital and its ideological and political superstructure. These facts acquire great significance at our time for those who do not ignore lessons of history.

The Munich policy of concessions pursued by the governments of Britain, France and the USA made it clear that in order to further their selfish interests the imperialists are prepared to strike a deal with an aggressor and sell out the sovereignty of other nations, the cause of peace, and the freedom and independence of the peoples. Hatred for communism, which blinded the leaders of the Western states, prevented them from seeing the true danger to the very existence of their own countries. What the long and growing hatred for the Soviet Union led to, as well as the collusions and bellicose anti-Soviet sentiments in the imperialist quarters of the West should, today, too, serve as a serious instructive warning to them.

The lessons of recent history show that the policy and ideology of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism have always benefited the most aggressive militarist and chauvinistic forces, presenting a great threat to world peace. Even minor underestimation of, not to mention connivance at, imperialist reaction, whether it acts as fascism or in any other form, would be of utmost danger to the destiny of nations. An ideological and political struggle should be mercilessly and uncompromisingly waged against this reaction. The history of the 1930s and 1940s proved beyond doubt that terrorist dictatorships by the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie, in whatever form, present a military threat to all nations.

The lessons of the past war have shown that the aggressive forces of imperialism tend to employ the most dangerous method of starting a war—a treacherous surprise attack with powerful and duly prepared forces. Invasion of foreign territory without declaring a war has become a norm for brigandage of imperialist aggressors. In such conditions the invader is able to seize the initiative which is then too hard to retrieve.

Launching a surprise attack, backed up by propaganda lies, the invader faces all peoples, including the population of his own country, with the fact of a war going on. Drawn into the whirlwind of death-dealing events against its will the people of the country is powerless to effectively oppose aggression from within. Considering all these facts, history prompts us this conclusion: in order to prevent a surprise attack by an aggressor one should watch closely the war preparations of the militarists, expose their schemes and intentions in time, and take effective counter-measures. It is necessary to expose those who encourage an aggressor and render him moral, scientific, technological and material aid, those who have a hand in setting up aggressive blocs and groupings.

Recalling the recent past, the peoples have learned to remember the danger of war to humankind. The appearance of nuclear weapons has made it most obvious that the use of warfare for solving disputes between states is inadmissible. The large-scale use of these weapons can cause the death of whole nations and jeopardise world civilisation. Nuclear war preparations alone, which are now being conducted by the aggressive forces of imperialism, involve a formidable plunder of public wealth. The production of lethal weapons and the development of space arms, conducted by the military-industrial complex of the imperialist powers, consume immense material and spiritual resources of nations and put the brakes on social progress.

This is why it is imperative that the danger of a new war must not be underrated. It is necessary to mobilise all peace forces, launch a worldwide movement against the war threat, and expose revanchists, neofascists and other apologists of imperialism who are ready to use any means, from diktat to threats of direct armed intervention, to achieve their aggressive ends. This must be done now, before it is too late. Imperialism is trying to weaken and roll back socialism, to check the growth of the national liberation movement and satisfy its own expansionist hegemonic ambitions by using armed force, as it did 45 years ago. More often than not, the peaceable verbiage of the US political leadership is designed to conceal war preparations and reliance on strength. Its actions are clearly intended to kindle enmity and distrust, and to revive the atmosphere of confrontation. Any calculations of present-day reactionary forces in the USA and its partners in the aggressive bloc to hold back the growth of the socialist countries and the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America for national freedom and social justice by resorting to threats, economic blockades or armed intervention are reckless to say the least.

The past war has shown that states with different social systems can fight jointly against an aggressor. Aggressive ambitions of imperialism can be restrained by might and by a wise and well-balanced policy of peaceloving states, by the people's determination to foil the dangerous plans of those who set out to achieve world domination. Historical experience tells us that peace can be safeguarded through vigorous and united actions by all peace forces against the aggressive and adventure-some course of imperialism, by enhancing the vigilance of the peoples and augmenting the gains of socialism.

To fight for peace means to upset the aggressive schemings of the imperialists, to unveil the ideology of war, to rebuff anticommunism and anti-Sovietism which had led to the Second World War and now underlie the policy pursued by the reactionary forces of imperialism. Lenin said: "It is highly naive to think that peace can be easily attained, and that the bourgeoisie will hand it to us on a platter as soon as we mention it."³ The struggle for peace demands the exertion of utmost efforts on

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, Moscow, 1964, p. 345.

the part of all those who hold dear the present and future of our planet.

To the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the struggle for peace is the strengthening, in every possible way, of their economic and defence might. The approximate military strategic parity reached between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, objectively serves the cause of peace and helps restrain the aggressive intentions of imperialism. Peaceableness and determination to guard themselves against an aggressor and to protect the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity of states are fused together in the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The US Administration's obsession with the pipe-dreams of military superiority is futile and dangerous policy nowadays. The material and intellectual potential makes it possible for the Soviet Union to develop any weapons, if it is compelled to do so. But the USSR is fully aware of responsibility before the present and coming generations. The Soviet people are convinced that they should enter the third millennium not with "star wars" programme and more sophisticated nuclear weapons but with large-scale programmes of eliminating nuclear weapons entirely and exploring outer space for peaceful purposes through the efforts of the whole of mankind. And the sooner this programme is carried into life, the more secure the life on our planet will be, and the sooner mankind will be relieved of the fear of a nuclear catastrophe. There is no task more urgent, noble and humane than to pool the efforts of all to attain this lofty goal.

As it is pointed out in the Resolution of the 27th Congress of the CPSU on the Political Report, the main direction of the Party's activity on the international scene in the foreseeable future will be the struggle against the nuclear threat and the arms race, for the preservation and consolidation of peace. Modern weapons are such that they leave no state with the hope of defending itself only with military and technical means, since not only nuclear war itself, but also the arms race cannot be won. The objective conditions now obtaining on the international scene are such that confrontation between capitalism and socialism can proceed only and exclusively in forms of peaceful competition and peaceful contest. Therefore the task before Soviet foreign policy is to come out actively in all directions, searching ways of achieving a just peaceful settlement in the seats of tension and promoting good-neighbourly and mutually beneficial relations with all states. The policy of the USSR is aimed at safeguarding peace and saving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe.

Aware of its great historical responsibility for the security of the peoples of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries, the personnel of the Soviet Armed Forces stands vigilantly on guard of peace. The Communist Party has equipped it with the Marxist-Leninist teaching which gives it an inexhaustible source of ideological conviction, political maturity, militant actions and class hatred for an aggressor. The Soviet people can be sure that the present generation of the defenders of the Soviet Motherland is a worthy successor of the heroic generation which defended in the battlefields of the past war the honour and independence of this country and routed the aggressor. There is no force in the world which can weaken their belief in the victory of communism. The growing economic and defence might of the Soviet state, the ever stronger unity of the army and the people, and the wise and far-sighted guidance by the CPSU of entire communist construction and the defence of our socialist Motherland are an earnest of this.

A Celebration of Working People Unity and Solidarity

R. V I L D A N O V

A hundred years ago, on May 1, 1886, when workers' blood was shed in Chicago, the United States' industrial centre, the glaring contradiction between the slogans of the capitalist ruling elite and the realities of the capitalist system became amply clear. For millions of immigrants from the Old World America proved not to be the Promised Land where every boot-black could become a millionaire or even President but the country of rightlessness and merciless exploitation. Driven to despair, 40,000 Chicago workers went on strike, followed by a demonstration of 80,000 people demanding an 8-hour workday. The authorities responded by shooting down the demonstrators.

Back at that time, anticipating the line of argument which imperialist reaction was to use in the 20th century to "uncover" "Communist intrigues" and the "insidious hand of Moscow", the American bourgeoisie chose to interpret the "8-hour madness" as the first sign of "fierce and virulent Communism" and "anti-Americanism". It was then that it first applied the repressive means which since then have been in constant use, including slander, police provocations, strike-breaking, shooting down demonstrations, and legalising the concept of "bullets for the mob, nooses for the leaders".

To commemorate the demonstration and honor those workers who lost their lives in the Chicago massacre, in July 1889 the Paris Congress of the Second International passed a decision to hold annual workers' demonstrations in all countries on May 1. The Congress characterised the events in Chicago and the subsequent changes in the manifestations of class solidarity as the emergence of a drastically new stage in the development of the working-class movement. *May 1 was declared the revolutionary holiday of workers the world over, the day of international solidarity and fraternity of all the working people, a parade of the revolutionary forces.*

**FROM THE FIRST MAY-DAY MEETINGS
TO THE SUMMITS OF SOLIDARITY**

The decision to celebrate May Day in many countries showed that the proletariat's class consciousness was advancing and the level of its international organisation and solidarity increasing, and that the organised working-class movement was closing up with the spontaneous movement of the toiling masses.

The May 1 events in Chicago displayed the growing might of the proletarian ranks and at the same time their internationalist character. It is completely natural that its first powerful action and the consequent sacrifices triggered off an impassioned wave of solidarity on the part of the working people throughout the world. Responding to the appeal of the Second International, already in 1890 the working people in many European and American countries held May-Day celebrations. Hailing the growing solidarity of the European and American proletariat, Engels

wrote on May 1, 1890: "And today's spectacle will open the eyes of the capitalists and landlords of all countries to the fact that today the working men of all countries are united indeed. If only Marx were still by my side to see this with his own eyes"¹

In 1891, a group of Social-Democrats organised May-Day celebrations in St. Petersburg, and since that time onwards, May-Day meetings have become a tradition with the Russian proletariat.

After the accomplishment of the Great October Socialist Revolution, May 1 celebrations and the movement of proletarian solidarity acquired new features. Speaking on May 1, 1919 in Red Square, Lenin said: "The conditions under which the proletarian festival was being celebrated had changed in other countries as well. The workers in all countries were taking the path of struggle against imperialism".² Indeed, the class struggle of the working people, and the May-Day actions within its framework, have in the epoch of imperialism and socialist revolutions grown from a predominantly social and economic struggle into a political struggle. The Second International Congress resolution urged the workers to demand an 8-hour day and force the capitalists to make other improvements in the working people's conditions. In the 20th century, the working class is advancing another type of demand, prompted by the struggle against militarism, for peace and political freedom and for more democratic suffrage and solidarity with the working class and the peoples of other countries.

Hundreds of thousands of internationalists from among the working class, citizens of many countries, took part in the October 1917 Revolution, the routing of domestic and foreign counter-revolutionary elements, and the campaigns demanding "Ilands Off Soviet Russia!", and helped organise assistance to the country's working people. Acquisition of machinery and materials for the first collective farms, food parcels to people in Soviet Russia and participation of specialists in the USSR's industrial and cultural reconstruction—these are only a few forms of aid rendered by the world proletariat to the first socialist country in the world in 1920s and 1930s.

Campaigns of solidarity with the victims of the White terror and organisation of a collective rebuff to the mounting fascist and war threat involved millions of working people on all continents. In 1932, 14 million members of the national branches of the International Aid Organisation for Revolutionary Fighters in ten countries collected money for victims of terror. In 1933, 500 million people took part in the international campaign in support of Georgi Dimitrov and other Communists falsely charged by the Nazis with setting fire to the Reichstag. A variety of forms of international conferences and weeks of solidarity, and even the formation of international military brigades fighting on the side of Republican Spain were evolved by the movement of solidarity with the people of Spain, who in 1936-1939 waged a national revolutionary war against the domestic fascist putsch and the Italo-German interventionists.

In the postwar years, the solidarity movement has grown to embrace virtually all anti-imperialist and antimonopoly segments of the planet's population. Life has exposed the unsoundness of the views of Marx's contemporary "opponents" (both right- and left-wing ones) who are trying to deny or belittle the role of working class in the system of social production, in the struggle for social progress. The working class has grown both numerically and qualitatively. While in the early-20th century it numbered 90 million, at the turn of the 1980s the figure rose to reach over 660 million.

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. One, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 104.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 328.

One of the features of the present stage of class struggle is a greater scope of the strike movement and its increasingly political acuteness. While in 1974-1978 class conflicts in the capitalist countries involved 260 million people, in 1979-1983 this number has grown to 340 million. In 1976-1982, from 17-18 to 20 million people took part every year in economic strikes alone. The number of participants in political actions rose correspondingly, and this against the background of more frequent class conflicts and mounting crises phenomena in the capitalist economy.

The principal achievement of the international working-class movement and the core of the anti-imperialist solidarity movement is the world socialist system established on three continents, with one-third of the world's population living under it and over 40 per cent of world industrial production falling to its share.

The positions of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class have also consolidated. The communist movement has become a major ideological and political force in today's world. The world communist movement embraces almost 90 million people; Communist parties work in about a hundred countries—wherever the working class already exists or is forming. New forms of Communists' international cooperation have been developing, including bilateral and multilateral meetings and consultations, theoretical conferences and regional and, if necessary, international conferences of Communist Parties.

The consistently class-oriented course serves to enhance the prestige of Communist Parties despite the imperialist quarters' descrimination of and reprisals against Communists and overt anti-communist propaganda combined with support for those elements within the working-class movement which oppose a class-oriented policy and international solidarity, advocating social conciliation and partnership with the bourgeoisie.

The postwar period has witnessed consolidation of unitary tendencies in trade unions. In 1945, against the background of heightened anti-imperialist action, trade unions of 54 countries formed the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). At present, despite the persevering split in the world trade-union movement, the WFTU with its over 200 million members remains the most important international centre of the trade union movement (all in all, the trade unions embrace 300 million people). The Soviet working class and its trade unions have not lost their role as a major factor strengthening the working people's international unity.

The WFTU and Soviet trade unions believe that the new peaceful initiatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state open up favourable opportunities for further promoting the trade unions' international cooperation aimed at curbing the arms race and averting the threat of a nuclear war. This year, which has been declared the International Year of Peace by the United Nations, the Soviet trade unions are making an active contribution to the campaign of trade unions and the working people for peace and jobs. Its main events, alongside with the centenary of May Day celebrations, will be the day of trade-union action for peace and the 11th World Trade Union Congress, etc.

The working class and its organisations form the base of extensive world campaigns of solidarity with the peoples of Korea, Vietnam, the Arab East, Southern Africa, Afghanistan, and Central America, which have of late become targets of aggression and provocations by imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, Zionism, racism and international terrorism. The working class and its organisations have stood and will continue to unswervingly stand up for their class brothers and sisters—leaders of the working people of the capitalist countries and a number of developing countries who suffer cruel persecution and repression at the hands of the authorities because of their progressive convictions, their active struggle to meet the vital political and economic demands of the

masses, for their socio-economic and political liberation.

Thus, the workers' May-Day actions are only one part of the world-wide struggle of the working people for their vital interests and rights and for peace. In the course of one century, action by a handful of workers pursuing a very limited goal—a shorter workday—has grown into a mass movement of the working people, a demonstration of the growing political awareness and maturity of the multinational army of the proletariat.

NEW OBJECTIVES OF INTERNATIONALISM

Proletarian internationalism has always been the basis of the world movements of solidarity. Conveying the very essence of the working class and the character of its emancipatory role, *proletarian internationalism stems from the community of vital interests of the working class in all countries in its campaign for a socialist transformation of society and against all forms of exploitation and oppression, be it at the national or the international level. It permeates all aspects of the working class' consciousness and existence, its politics, ideology and morality, finding practical expression in actions of solidarity of workers of different countries and nationalities.*

The internationalism of the proletariat is a result of the similarity of conditions of its life, work and struggle irrespective of state boundaries. It is determined by its composition, the features of its formation in the epoch of imperialism and the structure of the organised working-class movement, which has reached its summit in the world communist movement and in the work of international trade-union centres. The international character of capital and the growing degree of coordination of the policies pursued by world bourgeoisie demand that the working people also unite and coordinate their actions. The theoretical and ideological basis of the revolutionary proletariat's internationalism is a materialist outlook and scientific communism.

The growing complexity of international political, economic and public life and of the political structure of contemporary society are setting new goals before the international workers' solidarity movement. Further aggravation of crisis phenomena and exacerbation of contradictions of modern capitalism, the development of capitalist integration, the activities of the giant transnationals and the flow of labour—all exert a powerful influence on the condition of the working class and serve to objectively enhance the unification tendency within the working-class movement.

For instance, new forms of joint struggle of the working people in different countries have evolved within the framework of the leading TNCs: international coordination trade-union committees are being set up for the purpose of exchanging information about the state of affairs within the different TNC branches and the international strategy of their management; strikes are held simultaneously in different countries by workers employed by the same TNC, international days of struggle are organised, etc. A number of EEC countries have already accumulated some experience of practical solidarity actions with striking workers in this or that country, the struggle for "European" collective contracts, holding regional conferences by Communists on pressing socio-economic issues, etc. Both the participation of migrant workers in class battles and the working-class action in the countries of mass immigration against racism, national chauvinism and discrimination against foreigners—their class brothers have been gaining in scope.

At the same time the advance of the solidarity movement has not been entirely free from problems, difficulties and contradictions. The dynamism of this movement both enriches and complicates the very content of pro-

letarian solidarity, the principles of proletarian internationalism, and the composition of the movement.

Profound changes in the structure and composition of the working class and in its numerical strength are taking place against the background of the scientific and technological revolution. Traditional proletarian contingents leave the political arena to be replaced by new ones. The range of participants in solidarity activities, including May-Day actions, is expanding. Alongside the working people of the socialist countries are the workers of the industrially developed capitalist states, the workers of those regions swept over by the national liberation movements, non-proletarian strata of the population, participants of antiwar, ecological and other democratic organisations and movements, who are increasingly drawn into the struggle for solving the key problems of our epoch—preventing nuclear war, preserving peace, environmental protection, and other general democratic issues concerning all humankind.

All this gives fresh acuteness to questions, including those arising within the working-class movement itself, of understanding the role of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism, the character of the solidarity movement, its future, the relationships among its members and its leadership, the correlation of the proletarian, socialist and general democratic goals, both immediate and long-term, etc. In this situation, the adversaries of scientific communism are trying hard to spread the myth about the "crisis" of proletarian internationalism and to oppose the "old" and allegedly "outdated" internationalism with "new internationalism". They insist that as the membership of the movement and the range of its goals, particularly global ones, expand, proletarian internationalism with its "narrow class orientation" becomes ineffectual giving way to broad internationalism filled with universally humanistic content.

However, it is a fact that neither the theory of scientific communism nor the history of class struggle have ever erected a barrier between the working class and the other democratic forces. The CPSU Programme identifies world socialism, the working class and communist movement, the peoples of the newly-free countries and mass democratic movements as the principal forces of social progress campaigning against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression and for democracy and social progress. Proletarian internationalism remains the core of anti-imperialist solidarity.

New meaning has recently been attached to the question of the nature and content of international solidarity with the peoples and countries which have become the target of imperialism's subversive and aggressive activities launched in connection with the events around Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Cuba, Angola and Nicaragua. A discussion has been in progress in various political and public quarters concerning, specifically, the compatibility of tangible manifestations of solidarity, including military aid, with the principles of non-interference and sovereignty in interstate relations. At times, this discussion ignores the basic difference in the nature and goals of the foreign policy of socialism and of imperialism, which has even given rise to doubt as to the justifiability and legitimacy of the military aid extended by the USSR, in particular, to democratic Afghanistan.

Considering that imperialism, other outside forces and internal counter-revolution instigated from abroad are interfering in a most tangible way into the affairs of Afghanistan, the content and volume of international solidarity actions with the revolutionary regime, which has fallen victim to imperialist interference, cannot be restricted to moral and diplomatic support and to publicly voiced wishes of success and condemnation of the aggressor. The history of the revolutionary movement in Spain in the 1930s and in China in the 1920s and 1930s has confirmed the moral

and political legitimacy of the most effective forms of solidarity, including material and even military ones, should the situations require it. To call for some thing else, to deny the peoples the right to support from the states where the proletariat has won, would mean to recognise imperialism's monopoly on the export of counter-revolution and to return to the time when it could strangle revolutionary actions in all regions of the globe with complete impunity.³

The emergence of a new group of global problems which affect the very foundations of mankind's existence, i. e. environmental pollution, exhaustion of natural resources, etc., requires a new and higher level of internationalism, making a decisive shift and a drastic restructuring of humankind's international collective thinking. The number one task is to unite mankind in the campaign to save human civilisation and make further social progress possible by preventing a nuclear war into which the more aggressive and reactionary imperialist quarters are prepared to plunge the world. In order to accomplish this, the working class and its communist vanguard are sparing no effort to build up and realise the antiwar, anti-imperialist potential of all contemporary democratic progressive movements. The Communist and Workers Parties of the socialist community have set and continue to set an example of this.

Stressing the gravity and importance of the tasks facing mankind, Mikhail Gorbachev said at the 27th CPSU Congress: "The course of history, of social progress, requires ever more insistently that there should be *constructive and creative interaction between states and peoples on the scale of the entire world*. Not only does it so require, but it also creates the requisite political, social and material premises for it.

"Such interaction is essential in order to prevent nuclear catastrophe, in order that civilisation could survive. It is essential in order that other worldwide problems that are growing more acute should also be resolved jointly in the interests of all concerned."

REALISATION OF MAY-DAY IDEALS: FRATERNITY, PEACE, LABOUR

On the eve of May 1, 1891 Engels wrote: "A new social order is possible in which the present class differences will have disappeared and in which... the means for existence, for enjoying life, for the development and employment of all bodily and mental faculties will be available in an equal measure and in ever-increasing fulness. And that the workers are becoming more and more determined to win this new social order will be demonstrated on both sides of the ocean by May the First, tomorrow...."⁴

The necessary and favourable opportunities for dealing with the international tasks of the working class and for realising its ideals have been opened up by the establishment of socialism as a real force and the formation of the world socialist system. As representatives of the working-class movement abroad were unanimous in stressing at the 27th CPSU Congress, the achievements of the working people and the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, the strengthening of fraternal international friendship and cooperation between the working people and the nations of victorious socialism are a source of inspiration for the working people the world over.

Life in the 1980s has refuted the allegations of socialism's opponents who are trying to belittle the universal character of the Soviet Union's experience and to find proof for defining socialism as a local and limited

³ See *The Working Class and Anti-Imperialist Solidarity*, edited by S. A. Agayev, Moscow, 1984, pp. 182-184 (in Russian).

⁴ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. One, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 149.

phenomenon. Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world are building socialist societies in their countries. "The experience of the USSR and other socialist countries convincingly demonstrates the indisputable socio-economic, political, ideological and moral advantages of the new society as a stage in mankind's progress that is superior to capitalism and provides answers to questions that the bourgeois system is incapable of solving.... The Marxist-Leninist theory of building the new society has been verified in practice on an international scale, socialism has asserted itself on vast expanses of the Earth," says the CPSU Programme.

At the same time, the emergence of the world socialist system has made an important contribution to the principles and content of internationalism. A new type of international relations has taken shape based on the solid foundation of socialist internationalism, class solidarity, friendship, cooperation, mutual assistance and equality. The relations of new, socialist internationalism have found the most complete expression in the socialist community. Its countries are thoroughly coordinating their actions on the international scene; within its framework, international relations have really and truly become relations among peoples, serving to greatly enhance the potential of internationalism, expand the basis of solidarity and render it more efficient.

The world socialist system is the live practical embodiment of the lofty ideals advanced by Marx, Engels and Lenin and by the world communist and working-class movement. As the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress noted, "a new way of life has taken shape, based on the principles of socialist justice, with neither oppressors nor oppressed, neither exploiters nor exploited, where power belongs to the people. Its distinctive features are collectivism and comradesly mutual assistance, triumph of the ideas of freedom, unbreakable unity between the rights and duties of every member of society, the dignity of the individual, and true humanism."

Ever since socialism has become a world system, the attitude of anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has become a major factor of international relations, a major aspect of the development of internationalism.

History has shown that there can be no effective revolutionary policy that would exclude day-by-day practical actions of solidarity with the world socialist system or consider inessential a resolute political and ideological resistance to opponents of socialism, to anti-Sovietism and attempts to discredit socialism. The international working-class and communist movement has always proceeded from the conviction that solidarity with the USSR and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the touchstone for any internationalist, for exposing the principles, honesty and sincerity of each political and public figure and each party. Today, solidarity with victorious socialism is a necessary condition of solving the key problem facing the international working class, that of preventing war and saving human civilisation.

Receiving international support, world socialism is in its turn making a decisive contribution to the progressive, truly revolutionary development of the system of international relations and to solving the main task of the contemporary movement of anti-imperialist solidarity—that of averting the threat of a destructive world war. Viewed from this angle, the world socialist system is above all the prototype of future international fraternity of the countries and peoples free from national and interstate discord, unjust and unequal political and economic relations, subjugation of the weaker to the stronger, and oppression and exploitation of one country by another. This is the way to remove the very causes of war.

Moreover, supported by its political, economic and defence potential and its foreign-policy prestige world socialism has also assumed the

world historic initiative undertaking to transform the overall complex of international relations in a way that would forever eliminate the threat of war from the life of mankind.

The comprehensive set of Soviet proposals, in particular the programme advanced on January 15, 1986 for eliminating all nuclear weapons by the end of this millennium is striking evidence of the USSR's desire to realise the ideals of the working-class movement through practical actions. Peace and Fraternity—these are the watchwords inscribed on May Day banners, the main objectives of world proletarian solidarity.

The ideals of internationalism, the ideals of the May-Day movement have provided the basis for the new, truly worldwide solidarity of the working people, of the broad popular masses, all anti-monopolist, anti-imperialist forces. May Day slogans have united a great variety of public movements and trends that constitute the potential of peace.

The world working class can take satisfaction with the fact that in these May days in the capitalist countries are unfolding massive demonstrations under banners of peace and solidarity among nations and peoples. It can also be satisfied with the fact that the Krefeld Appeal against the deployment of new American missiles in West Germany has been signed by over 5 million citizens of the FRG. The ideas of the peace movement as it stands in the mid-1980s have prompted huge masses of the population in Britain, Italy, Denmark, Holland, Norway, Belgium and other countries to take part in the antiwar and anti-nuclear movement. The working class may well be satisfied with the fact that in Japan, over 17 million people have already signed the Appeal, drawn up in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1985, to eliminate all nuclear weapons.

It is, however, apparent that the world movement of proletarian anti-imperialist solidarity continues to face highly important tasks. To attain them, further consolidation of the unity of all revolutionary, democratic, progressive forces is necessary. In this work, the peoples of the world can always count on support of the Soviet people, and its vanguard, the Party of Lenin, the party of internationalists.

IMPERIALIST POWER POLITICS AND THE REALITIES OF THE PRESENT-DAY WORLD

Professor V. K O R T U N O V,

D. Sc. (Hist.)

History has proven many a time that there is nothing more dangerous in foreign policy than the force-decides-everything postulate inherited from the Stone Age. Cynical disregard for the destinies of nations, the ideology of permissiveness, the unbounded great-power ambitions, reliance on military superiority, and militant adventurism have always been indispensable components of this mode of thinking which has brought untold sufferings to more than one generation of people.

At the same time, the record of history shows that everything created by an iron fist and bloodshedding has in the long run proven to be very unstable. Those who enslaved other peoples, no matter how powerful they were, could not consolidate, in any meaningful manner, their hold on the positions seized. The "eternal" Roman Empire collapsed; the "thousand-year" German Reich drew its last breath; and the colonial system of imperialism tumbled down. They have been all wiped out by the peoples unwilling to bear the yoke of foreign domination.

Nonetheless, throughout many a century power politics has always found its advocates in the exploitative society: the more wealth and power concentrated in the hands of its ruling elite, the more unbridled its international ambitions. An ever growing role in world politics has been assigned to guns.

The 20th century has added new dimensions and new content to power politics. On the one hand, it has reached its limit, i. e. the imperialist powers have set to fighting for world domination. On the other, following the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, that struggle has become closely intertwined with the plans for "crusades" against the Soviet state. These two factors have made it even more reactionary and adventuristic than ever before for they have set knowingly infeasible goals before the traditional power politics of imperialism, the goals running against the main trends of world development and being clearly beyond the limits of the actual possibilities of that politics.

The criminal clique of Hitler's aggressors has vividly shown to the peoples the evil essence of militant anticommunism which has set its sights on world domination, and the Second World War has conclusively demonstrated the utter untenability of such adventuristic designs. But even that tragic lesson has failed to make imperialism bring its foreign policy in line with the realities of the present-day world. The new edition of the CPSU Programme as adopted by the 27th Party Congress has revealed the root causes of that in the following terms: "As the course of historical development more and more weakens the positions of imperialism, the policy of its more reactionary forces becomes increasingly hostile to the interests of the peoples. Imperialism is putting up fierce resistance to social progress, and is trying to stop the course of history, to undermine the positions of socialism, and to avenge itself socially on a world scale."

The strategists of a social revenge, i. e. the international alliance of

the reactionary forces headed by the American hawks, are not stopped by the fact that they wish to execute their plans in the nuclear missile age which has turned in fact the war and peace option into a question of survival or death for all humankind. Unlike all previous wars when people could not foresee all possible results of the hostilities and when the aggressors, unleashing, say, Roman legions or Napoleon's "big battalions", colonial troops or Wehrmacht tanks, invariably tended to expect victory, the consequences of a nuclear war are well known in advance, namely, that mankind would not be able to survive. In the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev has stressed that "the modern world has become much too small and fragile for wars and a policy of force. It cannot be saved and preserved if the thinking and actions built up over the centuries on the acceptability and permissibility of wars and armed conflicts are not shed once and for all, irrevocably".

But while world socialism appeals to respond to that historical challenge in the spirit of its fundamental policy of peaceful coexistence, possesses a thoroughly elaborated programme for strengthening international security, and takes vigorous actions to that end, it has raised issues before the ruling quarters of imperialism which they have thus far failed to find reasonable solutions to. It is precisely this crucial parting of the ways between the interests of monopoly capitalism and the vital interests of the peoples in the issues of war and peace that constitutes today an unprecedentedly acute crisis of imperialism's foreign policy. In a bid to blend the incompatibilities and to combine their traditional power politics with the perilous realities of the nuclear age, when history has already switched on the red light in their road, American strategists have been tossing about in the vice of that contradiction for over four decades now, stubbornly unwilling to draw proper conclusions from the obvious lessons taught by that period.

As is known, the Soviet Union and the United States met the advent of the nuclear age with fundamentally different ways of looking at things. The Soviet Union saw a most grave threat for mankind in the militarisation of atomic energy. As early as June 1946 our country submitted to the UN Atomic Energy Commission a draft international convention on banning the production and use of weapons based on the utilisation of atomic energy for the purposes of mass destruction. There is obviously no need to say that at that time when the atomic threat was only beginning to germinate it was relatively easy to nip it in the bud, once and for all. That that was not done was due to the US position.

It stands to reason that Washington, too, could not fail to realise the dangerous consequences ensuing from the emergence of weapons hundreds of times more powerful than any previous arms. Yet, the Truman Administration saw therein primarily a different thing, namely an argument advocating the policy of unlimited licence to do what it wished and a favourable opportunity to fulfil American imperialism's cherished dream of military supremacy and world hegemony.

That was an irresistible temptation. In the early months of his presidency, Truman used to say that neither Chinghiz Khan nor Alexander the Great nor Napoleon nor Louis XIV had power equal to that possessed by the US President. The fever-driven imagination of the Washington geopoliticians was picturing a prospect of international relations when American imperialism would be in a position to single-handedly dictate its will to other nations, to wield the power over them while at the slightest provocation the superbomb would do its bit and bring the entire world to submission. In that scenario, the US atomic monopoly was naturally

perceived as a permanent or, at any rate, long-term fixture of international life.

Everyone is well aware of how Washington used its short-lived military superiority. The tragic fate of Hiroshima and Nagasaki gave humanity yet another instructive lesson teaching that imperialism, counting on its impunity, would stop at nothing and would always be ready to resort to any villainy. Immediately after having annihilated peaceful residents of the two Japanese cities, American strategists set about hammering out more far-reaching plans of atomic war. As early as 1945, the US military and political leaders considered the possibility of using atomic weapons against the USSR. Subsequently, that maniacal idea was constantly under the scrutiny of the top echelons of the US governmental hierarchy and, what's more, found its concrete embodiment in the then secret operative plans of the Pentagon, which were later turned public. The Charioteer plan drawn up in 1948 provided for 133 A-bombs to be used against 70 Soviet cities. The Dropshot plan mapped out in 1949 increased the number of those bombs to 300 while the Trojan plan dated 1950 envisaged an atomic strike against 100 Soviet cities using over 300 A-bombs.

In the final analysis, all the above-listed and many other similar projects ended up in the archives of the US military departments. But this happened not because the United States allegedly could execute those plans but had no wish to do so due to some moral considerations, as has been subsequently asserted on more than one occasion by the incumbent US President. Here, the cause and effect have been deliberately interchanged because, for all its yearning (otherwise, there seems to have been no point in drawing such plans at all), Washington could not put them into effect since the atomic arsenal available then to the United States and the delivery vehicles, i. e. the bomber aircraft, did not assure it of a swift and smashing victory over the Soviet Union.

The main thing, however, was that the correlation of forces between the USSR and the USA in the military and strategic field as well as on the world scene in general proved to be, in fact, a by far more complex problem, not merely in military and technical but above all in political terms, which was clearly discounted by the nuclear maniacs. While being aware to a certain degree of the situation, Washington, however, had no wish whatsoever of reconciling itself to it, believing that if it succeeded in taking full advantage of modern science and technology, they would ultimately provide the United States with a sort of "absolute preponderance in force" permitting to resolve the historical dispute between the two systems in favour of capitalism.

And indeed, the present-day scientific and technological revolution has added new dimensions to the historical confrontation of the two systems. The new edition of the CPSU Programme runs that "the question of what goals the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution should serve has become pivotal in the present-day socio-political struggle". The aggressive quarters of the United States have rushed to usurp its achievements primarily for military purposes. The mirage of a social revenge and world hegemony by using technological breakthroughs to achieve military superiority seems to have deprived trans-Atlantic strategists, for many a year to come, of an ability to see things just as they are in reality.

The first to spring up have been the relapses of a sort of chronic ailment, which the ruling quarters of Western powers have been afflicted with since the October 1917 Revolution, namely, the underrating of the historical potential of socialism. In the past, the apologists of the bourgeois order took much pains to persuade themselves and others about the political instability of the Soviet system. Underlying many an anti-Soviet act, that obsession has invariably fallen flat. The entire record of Soviet

society has confirmed its unshakeable ideological and political unity unknown to any other multinational state entity in the world.

Western ideologues and politicians have pinned countless hopes on the untenability of socialism as an economic system, virtually falling over backwards to weaken and undermine it. Life itself has proven to the contrary. History has convincingly demonstrated that, relying on its advantages and even finding itself in extremely unfavourable international conditions, socialism has, in a matter of only several decades, managed in its own way and on a new and higher level to make headway in the industrial development of the huge and once relatively backward country, which took several centuries under capitalism.

With the advent of the nuclear era when the competition of the two systems spread to the sphere of scientific and technological progress in a greater degree than ever before, Washington began counting on the Soviet Union's inability to compete with the USA in that field. It was assumed that the Soviet Union, which had not yet staunched the bleeding wounds inflicted by war, would not be in a position, at least for many years to come, to catch up with America in an exorbitantly costly pursuit such as research in nuclear energy. The United States had come out of the war with a considerably stronger economic potential. It was able to throw down on the scales enormous financial resources and a gigantic industrial might and succeeded in involving the then available development studies and highly skilled personnel from other capitalist countries, in particular from Nazi Germany, in the so-called Manhattan Project (related to developing an atomic weapon). In short, it achieved a head start at the beginning of the atomic age.

Surely that seemed to be more than enough to predict a Soviet lagging behind the USA in atomic and subsequently in hydrogen weapons for many a decade on end. Yet, the following development proved to the contrary. Despite all sorts of prognoses assigning to the Soviet Union a role of prospective victim to the US atomic and hydrogen strategy, it mustered enough strength to rapidly and effectively respond to the challenge. Within the briefest possible span of time, the USSR built up powerful defences, fully in keeping with the present-day level of scientific and technological development, to oppose the would-be aggressor.

It took only several years to do away with the US atomic monopoly. All its further attempts to preserve, whatever the cost, its preponderance by developing ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction and delivery systems, be it new types of nuclear warheads, ballistic or cruise missiles, MIRVed missiles, or nuclear-powered missile-carrying submarines, could no longer achieve that goal. By the 1970s, the USSR made in general its nuclear missile potential equal to that of the United States. A military and strategic parity was attained between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO.

Thus, the confrontation of the two systems in that area, too, has ended up with a historic triumph of socialism. An important and no longer reversible threshold has been passed in the struggle for international security. For the strategic balance between the two most powerful military and political alliances of the present-day—the Warsaw Treaty and NATO—is not simply a rough parity in their armaments at a specific moment of time but also proof of the comparability of the levels of their economic, scientific and technological potentials.

In its evolution, the modern scientific and technological revolution has manifested another very substantial characteristic, namely, that, while disclosing ever more broadly the unlimited creative capabilities called upon to serve all mankind, it has concurrently restrained and would ultimately reduce to nothing the objective possibilities of using its results in war. A fundamentally new situation has evolved for the first time in his-

tory. On the scales of global politics, military power appears to be turning into its own opposite, i. e. the more it augments its destructive potential, the less possible it becomes to use it as an instrument for achieving political aims and, even less so, for ensuring national security which today is directly contingent on universal security.

The Soviet-US military and strategic parity has been established at a level at which the two sides are capable of overkilling each other while a nuclear clash between them would inevitably result in the destruction of world civilisation and life itself on Earth. From this point on, a further buildup of nuclear arms appears to be senseless because neither side can resort to them without incurring the risk of self-annihilation. In the meantime, it has been estimated that over the recent decade and a half alone the number of nuclear warheads (all other nuclear powers, i. e. Britain, France and China, should also be taken into account here) has trippled, amounting to 50,000. This nuclear arsenal is equivalent to a million of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and is sufficient to visit upon mankind 6,000 wars similar to the Second World War.

Six thousand such wars plus disastrous climatic, ecological and other aftereffects which a nuclear holocaust would inevitably produce. Where would mankind go from there? Elementary common sense seems to say nowhere. For the continuation of the nuclear arms race can bring it to a line beyond which even the parity ceases to be a military and political deterrent. In other words, the nuclear age leaves humanity with a very limited option, i. e. either to survive together or to die together.

This historical reality demands that the political leaders of the West thoroughly revamp their traditional postulates. As has been stressed by Mikhail Gorbachev in answering questions put by *L'Humanité*, "it does not even require unprecedented foolishness or a crime to have the worst thing happen. It is sufficient to act in the way that people have acted for millennia- to rely on weapons and military force in resolving international issues and, when needed, use them. All these millennia-long traditions must now be mercilessly broken; they must be given up totally. Otherwise, the problem of mankind's survival may prove to be insoluble. In this nuclear age it is impossible to live, at any rate to live long, with Stone Age psychology, habits, and rules of conduct."¹

This simple and incontestable idea, self-evident for all who are concerned for the destinies of the present and future generations, expresses the primary injunction of our times, namely to stop mankind's sliding down to a nuclear catastrophe and to turn the march of international developments from the fatal line of universal self-annihilation to the strengthening of universal security.

It would be no exaggeration to say that never before has any other problem been raised before humanity as acutely as the task of preserving peace in the mid-1980s. At the same time, that problem seems to be the most difficult one ever confronted by all the previous generations. Affecting all countries and nations and all spheres of human activities, it presupposes a drastic overhaul of the entire system of international relations turning from mistrust to mutual understanding, from confrontation to cooperation, and from the arms race to disarmament. Furthermore, this has to be done in a situation where the leading quarters of imperialism, primarily in the United States, which have already driven humankind to the edge of a disaster, do not wish to soberly evaluate the realities of the present-day world or to draw serious conclusions from the historical experience, and persist in their dangerous and reckless policies of rabid militarism.

¹ *Pravda*, Feb 8, 1986

One would certainly be hard put to assume that any Western political leader in his sound mind would deliberately wish to drive the world to a nuclear carnage. But one thing is their subjective intentions which are also susceptible to the influence of various groups of monopoly capital and, more often than not, contingent on some considerations of expediency or others, and quite another the overall direction of the political course, objectively leading either to war or to peace. As has been noted by Mikhail Gorbachev "in the nuclear age the world armed to its teeth and continuing to arm itself is fraught with a possibility of the outbreak of nuclear war, even if one were to assume that no one wants that".²

Even more perilous is that a sort of psychological syndrome has of late become quite evident in the political thinking of the ruling quarters of the West, primarily of the United States. No matter what is at issue, whether it be overall prospects of international development or Soviet-US relations or even arms limitation talks, the bottom line is usually the same, i. e. the United States and other NATO countries should arm themselves as much as possible—to arm for the sake of talks with the USSR, for preservation of peace and stabilisation of international relations.

If one were to cast aside the peaceable rhetoric which these days often accompanies statements of the kind as well as pharisaical allusions to a notorious "Soviet threat", in evidence is the clear-cut desire of American imperialism to consolidate itself, come hell or high water, on the positions of traditional power politics.

Disregarding the realities of the present-day world, the genuine security interests of their own country and the destinies of all mankind, the "iron triangle" in the United States, i. e. the Pentagon, the military business and its lobby on Capitol Hill, wishes to resolve primarily two tasks for attaining its egoistical, self-centred purposes: first, to secure military supremacy at any cost and, second, to "inscribe" preparations for nuclear war, if not nuclear war itself, and nuclear blackmail in its foreign policy as the latter's fixed elements.

Washington's obsession with achieving military superiority currently finds its most graphic expression in its stubborn desire to move military confrontation into outer space. It is this focal point that contains today the Gordian knot of curbing the arms race and, consequently, determines the prospects of international security as a whole. This is where not only two standpoints but also two approaches, two security concepts have clashed, namely, the Soviet concept of equal security for all parties through arms reductions and disarmament, down to and including complete elimination of all types of mass-destruction weapons, and the American concept based on the dangerous illusion of ensuring it above all through military and technical means, through a new "superweapon" which in this particular case means space strike arms. In evidence is the selfsame absurd premise of "first arming oneself and then disarming", hoping that in outer space the United States would succeed in securing what it has failed to achieve, over the four decades of the nuclear age, either on Earth or in air or at sea, that is military supremacy over the Soviet Union.

While making a stand for the "star wars" programme, the US Administration hides it behind the outwardly harmless title of strategic defense initiative (SDI) and tries to make everyone believe that this is nothing but a means of rendering modern nuclear weapons "obsolete and unnecessary". Why, then, wouldn't Washington give up any single programme for offensive arms deployments? Simply because the "space shield" has not been conceived by US strategists as a substitution for the "nuclear sword".

Initially, statements were made to the effect that the "space shield"

² *Pravda*, Jan. 29, 1986.

would render the whole globe safe; subsequently its role was reduced to a more modest task, i. e. that of protecting US cities; and only later it was established that the "shield" was designed to protect American missiles. Moreover, it so happens that some components of space weapons can be used against targets on the Earth, as well. Thus, upon closer scrutiny, the "shield" assumes the form of a "sword", to speak nothing of the fact that today it is very difficult, and at times impossible, to draw a line between offensive and defensive weapons.

Nor has it been possible thus far to imagine what form the SDI will assume, should it be translated into reality. Today, the only thing that can be authoritatively stated is that what is involved here is a qualitatively new stage in the evolution of military hardware, with many unknowns. Furthermore, it is highly indicative that, while describing the "inerts" of the "star wars" programme, SDI advocates pay scant attention to the views of scholars engaged in fundamental research. Otherwise, it is hard to explain why their political decisions precede scientific and technological research rather than result therefrom. Moreover, those decisions are taken contrary to the findings of experts who express a lot of doubts about and extreme concern over the "star wars" scheme and judiciously admonish politicians that the SDI is a blind game with fire.

What will happen if militarisation of outer space is not prevented? In this case it is relatively easy to assume that people would have to shift responsibility for their own destinies to computers. For space armaments would necessarily constitute fully automated complexes because "star wars" technology cuts time for countermeasures down to a few seconds. Decisions would no longer be taken by people but by automats, with all their intrinsic defects, errors and malfunctions which, as has been vividly demonstrated by the recent disaster with the US space shuttle Challenger, cannot be foreseen by man. The probability of accidental outbreak of a nuclear-missile war is increasing manifold.

The danger peculiar to the SDI is that this is not merely a question of a new type of armaments like, for instance, nuclear weapons after atomic or a MIRVed warhead after a single one, but of an utterly new phase in the arms race, both in outer space and on the Earth, with a lot of unpredictable consequences. In a certain sense, the situation which has taken shape now, in the mid-1980s, is similar to that the world was faced with four decades ago at the threshold of the atomic-hydrogen age. At that time, the adventurist longing of the American hawks, intoxicated by the muscle flexing in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to consolidate their military superiority stood in the way of halting the nuclear arms race in its very beginning. Now again, at the advent of the space era, the selfsame forces attempt for the selfsame reasons to enter outer space clad in military armor, thus dooming mankind to many decades of reconciling itself to the trigger-happy omnipotence of militarism, even assuming that things would not worsen to a point of war (and there is no guarantee of that either).

The more distant prospects of the SDI are yet quite vague while its immediate military, strategic and political consequence are, on the contrary, very clear. If realised, the "star wars" venture would provoke a new, particularly dangerous stage in the arms race and would erode the entire negotiating process by violating earlier agreements on curbing the arms race in specific areas. It would undermine the possibility of lessening tensions between the USSR and the USA and, consequently, the hope of stabilising the political situation throughout the world.

Washington cannot certainly fail to understand all that. Hence, the question as to maybe there are some people there who are hatching plans for exactly that course of developments. This question becomes even more logical if one takes into account the fact that the US military-industrial complex holds powerful sway over all spheres of public life, i. e. economy,

politics and ideology, to the point that now there is every ground to consider it to be a self-sufficing force which, on the one hand, is propped up by the ruling top and, on the other, determines the latter's policy in many respects. As is stated in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "the monopolies that manufacture arms, the military, the state bureaucracy, the ideological machinery and militarised science, that have merged to form the military-industrial complex, have become the most zealous advocates and makers of policies of adventurism and aggression. The sinister alliance of the death merchants and imperialist state power is a pillar of extreme reaction, a constant and growing source of war danger, and a convincing confirmation of the capitalist system's political, social and moral untenability."

Last January 17, the United States could have observed a remarkable date which the American press thought best shame-facedly to pass over in silence. We mean the twenty-fifth anniversary since Dwight Eisenhower delivered his farewell speech in which he warned the American public against the threat posed by the military-industrial complex. Before resigning the President's chair in the White House, Eisenhower said that the coalition of the huge military establishment and the vast war industry was a new phenomenon in American life. Its economic, political and even spiritual influence was felt in every town and city, in all state governments, and in any, cabinet of the federal government.

Over the past quarter of the century, the United States has not shown much inclination to recall that signal of alarm. On the contrary, almost all US presidents after Dwight Eisenhower have sought to refute it with a surprising sense of unanimity. They have said that military industries hold a relatively insignificant and, what's more, isolated place in the country's economy and allegedly for that reason they cannot exert much influence thereon. They have asserted that Pentagon's orders are distributed among dozens of thousands of companies and are controlled by the government. They have repeated time and again that the Constitutional norms reliably protect American society against the dominance of the war business, and so on and so forth.

Yet, words are simply words, and life has been taking its own course. With every passing year, major military-industrial corporations have been gaining in strength and subordinating the nation to their own selfish interests, gradually increasing their influence on the government and, through it, on the US domestic and foreign policies. The state of affairs in today's America is such that the question raised by senator William Proxmire is only logical: Do defence contractors work for the government, or the other way around?

The war business requires excess profits and, consequently, needs a constant expansion in arms production. And it manages to lay its hand on the largest share of the national product. The reckoning here has long been made in hundreds and thousands of billions of dollars, with all considerations of and allusions to "US national security" needed only as a camouflage. A pretext for augmenting military outlays has always been found in the so-called Soviet threat. For example, the present US Administration, which has inherited from its predecessors a truly colossal war machinery and a stupendous military budget, has nonetheless found a "vulnerability window" in US defences.

Les Aspin, Member of the House of Representatives, queries in this regard what the two trillion dollars have been spent on if the "vulnerability window" still exists. True, this is rather an academic question because the US Congressman is supposed to know perfectly well that a better part of those trillions has wound up in the bottomless strongboxes of military monopolies, above all a dozen major companies such as McDonnell Douglas, General Dynamics, Lockheed, Boeing, General Electric, Hughes,

United Technologies Corp., Litton, Grumman Corp., Martin-Marietta, and Rockwell International Corp. It can be stated in parenthesis that at least half of those corporations are directly linked with orders related to SDI projects.

Since 1980 alone, that is since the Republican Administration set about executing an "America's rearmament programme", the profits earned by the Pentagon's largest contractors have, on the average, tripled. But "star wars" preparations hold the promise of even bigger winnings for the war business. Over the past decades, military concerns have flourished largely due to orders for equipping the nuclear ground, naval and air forces. Militarisation of outer space would enable them to unremittingly multiply their superprofits for many a decade to come, provided, certainly, that the world would not be smashed to smithereens in the meantime.

The very last consideration, however, does not seem to worry the death merchants. "Star wars" is a thing of the future while money is a thing of today. The scientific, technological, political and other aspects of the SDI are of secondary importance to them. They need the programme itself, the costlier, the better. Let the Americans, to say nothing of other peoples, pay as much as possible for the SDI, which will only help the military business to continue lining its pockets.

Nevertheless, no matter how great is the role of economic interests provoking the influential quarters of the American business to drag the nation along the perilous road of the arms race, it is even more significant that militarism in the bourgeois world, and in particular in the United States of today, has deep social roots and performs purely class functions. In the words of Lenin, militarism is "the principal implement of class domination of the bourgeoisie".³ This description fully retains its relevance today as well. It is precisely in militarism that the overall crisis of capitalism finds its most ominous expression. According to the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, owing to its social nature, imperialism ceaselessly gives rise to aggressive, adventurist policy while its outgrowth—militarism which has been swollen out of proportion by the arms race—"is becoming the ugliest and the most dangerous monster of the 20th century".

Militarism takes the form of an undeclared war which the international reaction headed by the USA wages against world socialism, the national liberation movement, the working class, and the working masses in capitalist countries in general.

American imperialism opposes the entire multifariousness of today's world with a cult of force materialised primarily in the unprecedented arms race. War preparations and nuclear blackmail become a regular fixture of its foreign policy. It wishes to impose the nuclear threat and the arms race upon mankind as a usual state of international relations and to make the present and future generations subsist under the pressure of militarism and the Damocles' sword of nuclear annihilation. To all appearances, Washington would not be averse to perpetuating such a situation as an alternative of sorts to the global war under conditions of a nuclear impasse.

It is acknowledged here that there can be no winners in a nuclear war and that it is inadmissible. Yet, at the same time a task is set to "inscribe", all but for good, the threat of war in international relations and to make people live according to the martial laws, in the state of siege, and as hostages to American nuclear and space "intimidation".

They wish to use this "intimidation" potential to secure one or another political advantage in crisis situations and in daily international affairs in order to pressure other countries (America's friends and foes alike) in the

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1963, pp. 192-193.

struggle for US imperial claims. Towards this end, even at a time of peace, the arms race has been whipped up to the level of prewar conditions. In evidence, therefore, is the concept of continuous international tensions which has already driven the world into a nuclear impasse and threatens to result in an irremediable disaster for all humanity.

Is it possible to cut short such an ominous course of events, to find effective ways for averting the threat of war, and to ensure genuine international security? Are there forces in the world capable of solving these tasks of truly world historic significance? The new edition of the CPSU Programme answers these questions in no uncertain terms: "The danger looming over mankind has never been so awesome. But then the possibilities for safeguarding and strengthening peace have never been so real".

The bellicose alliance of international reaction is opposed today by the growing forces of peace which constitute a potent counterbalance to the aggressive policies of imperialism. According to the Resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress, the tendency towards a change of the balance of forces on the world scene in favour of peace, reason, and good will is enduring and in principle irreversible.

The peaceful offensive of the CPSU and the Soviet state and the new Soviet initiatives of historic scope and significance, put forward in the Statement made by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on January 15, 1986 and in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, have actuated the movement of the anti-war forces and have imparted to it a steadiness of purpose unheard of before. The vital task of today, namely, prevention of a nuclear catastrophe constitutes the centrepiece of international life. No public movement or political party and no statesman, if he cares for his reputation at all, can afford to dodge this issue.


Being in line with the historical needs of human civilisation, especially at its current turning and, in many respects, critical point, the Soviet concept of a denuclearised world and the basic principles of a universal system of international security naturally give the pride of place to the issue of curbing the arms race and of disarmament. They also cover other spheres of human activities, i. e. political, economic and humanitarian, for the interrelated character of today's world gives rise to an urgent need for practical interaction between all governments, political parties, public organisations and movements, and all the nations in those areas as well.

Today, a controversial but interdependent and, in many respects, integrated world is taking shape on the difficult curves of international relations, the world in which the imperialist policy of force becomes a flagrant anachronism, while many-sided cooperation of all the peoples of the planet becomes an urgent imperative of the present time. Any attempts to ignore this new state of affairs and to perpetuate the outdated power politics mean to swim against the tide of history, which becomes ever more powerful and rapid with every passing day.

THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE —JUSTICE AND HUMANISM

Yu. VOSTRIKOV

Determining the main goals, priority directions at this or that historical stage in the development of society is undoubtedly one of the main tasks of the socio-economic policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Today, socialism has reached a qualitatively new frontier in its development when as stressed in the documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU it faces complex and large-scale problems associated with the cardinal transformation of all productive forces through accelerated scientific and technological progress, improved interaction and dovetailing of technological, economic, socio-political, and intellectual-ideological factors. All this concerns qualitative shifts in all spheres of society that exert far-reaching influence on the mode of life and the consciousness and activities of people.



The socialist mode of life was born in revolutionary battles against the rule of capital. That was a heroic era in the true sense of the word. People were faced with acute socio-historical tasks demanding a clear-cut outlook and full understanding of the meaning and goals of the revolutionary struggle. The victory of socialism would hardly have been possible if the practical activities of the people had not been imbued with these goals and this meaning, since revolutionary transformations are only possible on the basis of deep awareness of the nature of the requirements of social progress.

Coping with hardship and adversity caused by economic disarray, counter-revolutionary conspiracies and sabotage and fierce attacks of world capitalism, the working masses, led by the Leninist party, confidently solved the most complex problems of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the creation of the foundations of a new society. The widespread mass labour enthusiasm of the early five-year plans, a great sense of involvement in the affairs of new society engendered a new feeling of the self-esteem of the working man, new forms of human communication, a purity of moral relationships based on the experience of revolutionary struggle of many generations of workers and peasants tempered in the crucible of class and political battles. Those were the years when the socialist mode of life was being established. And people today cannot help admiring the genuine sincerity and strong moral health, faith in the communist ideals, social justice and the victory of the new system in spite of the grave economic situation. That was the time when people saw social historical creativity as the goal and meaning of their own activities, relating their thinking and behaviour to socially significant problems and requirements of development.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Party stated: "A new way of life has taken shape, based on the principles of socialist justice, with neither oppressors nor oppressed, neither exploiters nor exploited, where power belongs to the people."

Time has tested the strength not only of the economic foundations of so-

cialism but of the socialist mode of life, the ideological, political and moral strength of society, its potential and ability for defending the gains of the socialist revolution and world civilisation from the dark forces of fascism. In a display of mass heroism the Soviet people and its armed forces dealt a crushing blow to world imperialist reaction and made a decisive contribution to liberating the peoples of Europe from Nazi slavery. This is the vivid manifestation of the quality of people's lives, their consciousness and behaviour. For people in their daily life were implementing their patriotic and internationalist duty and the notions of freedom, patriotism and internationalism, struggle for peace carried real content, and were close and clear for every individual.

Bourgeois economists and philosophers try to denigrate our values and achievements by asserting that they do not correspond to the idea of the "modern way and quality" of life. Indeed, they do not, if one understands the "quality of life" in a utilitarian and pragmatic way. One may ask what quality of life are they talking about if the very existence of man is under threat, and peace—that necessary and prime condition of life on Earth—is becoming highly problematical because of the unprecedented arms race unleashed by imperialists? What criteria of the quality of life are they talking about when more and more millions of workers in bourgeois "democracies" are doomed to unemployment and poverty? Over 30 million unemployed in industrialised capitalist countries alone, not counting the millions of people who have despaired of finding a job and stopped registering their names at unemployment offices and young people who are starting their adult lives with the long painful search for a job provide irrefutable proof of the antihuman nature of capitalism. The claim that capitalism is superior to socialist society in terms of the amount of goods and services if viewed in concrete terms also turns untenable, for who actually has the opportunity to use these goods and services? According to the press the United States has about 50 million people suffering from chronic malnutrition, 35 million people who live below the official poverty line, and nearly 3 million homeless. Nothing could be more absurd and cruel than homeless people when there are empty houses.

Bourgeois ideologists are talking about a "new quality" of life not because, as they claim, bourgeois society has "reached a deadend with quantity". That is an abstract way of approaching the question. They speak and write about it to be able to camouflage the fact that the capitalist system has long been entangled in a web of unsolvable contradictions.

The crisis of the capitalist system cannot be resolved by replacing one doctrine with another. History bears convincing proof that all such previous attempts have inevitably failed in the face of insuperable antagonistic contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between labour and capital. The crisis of the values, goals and meaning of life under capitalism stems from its very nature and not from a subjective "sense" of the quality of life. The ideological packaging of various requirements in search of the meaning of life, new values, etc. is but a screen for the meaninglessness of the bourgeois way of life and its lack of content and perspective no matter how it may glitter in the showcase of the "free world". And this is increasingly being realised by millions of people both in the capitalist countries and in the countries which have freed themselves from colonialism and embarked on independent development. Their growing interest in socialism and the socialist way of life causes serious concern among the imperialist circles who have set in motion a powerful machine of anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda in order to discredit communist ideals and existing socialism and do everything to slander the socialist way of life.

Anti-communist centres have today mounted an unprecedented campaign against the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries and proc-


laimed a "crusade against communism". Distorting the problems of humanism and democracy, civil rights and individual freedoms is part of that campaign. Anti-communists and revisionists are trying to supplant the ideals and principles of socialist democracy by bourgeois fakes, to use moral problems as a means of "psychological warfare", to cause political and social complications in the socialist countries and to check the process of international detente.

What human rights are bourgeois ideologists and anti-communists talking about? Perhaps they are referring to the commonly known fact that police in the USA have files on practically every adult in the country. Or the fact that in the FRG, 6.4 million political checks on people working in the civil service have been conducted over the past 12 years. Telephone tapping and letter opening is practised by the secret services in a number of capitalist countries. The USA has ratified only 5 of the 19 human rights treaties adopted by the United Nations. The obstructionist policy of Washington and its allies has delayed by almost two decades the drawing up of two international covenants—on civil and political rights and on economic, social and cultural rights of man. Adopted by the UN in 1966 these documents have yet to be ratified by the United States. The USA also ignores international conventions on the liquidation of all forms of racial discrimination, prevention of the crimes of genocide and apartheid and punishment for them, on the struggle against discrimination in education and other conventions. The USA has joined only seven of the 160 conventions of the International Labour Organisation and these seven are not concerned with human rights in the labour field.

By contrast, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have ratified and are honouring all the international legal acts on human rights, including the corresponding (7th) principle of the Helsinki Final Act which, according to strident bourgeois propaganda, the socialist countries are failing to comply with. One can recall in this connection that the Soviet Constitution includes all ten principles that form the basis of the Helsinki Final Act.

All this sheds light on the true causes and goals of the libelous campaign anti-communists have unleashed over the human rights issue. It is meant to camouflage the flagrant violations of the rights of the working people in the capitalist countries and falsify the achievements of socialist democracy. However, the truth about existing socialism and the socialist way of life is steadily finding its way into the minds of the working people, evoking their lively response. It could not be otherwise, for socialism is a society whose ideas and actions are aimed at fostering the aspiration of the peoples for independence and social progress, the preservation and strengthening of peace, the exercise of real rights and freedoms, ever fuller satisfaction of the material and intellectual requirements of the people, their free and all-round development.

Today, when the improvement of socialist society and utilisation of its potential and advantages through accelerated social and economic development are on the agenda, the process of daily activities of the people and their mode of life acquires new and higher qualitative parameters both in terms of material well-being and social security and in terms of intellectual development.



The strategic course of the party aimed at a planned and many-sided improvement of socialism on the basis of accelerated socio-economic development of the country opens up new possibilities and prospects that have to do with qualitative transformations in every area of the life of Soviet society.

In the *economic* sphere it implies raising the national economy to a ba-

sically new scientific, technological and organisational-economic level gearing it to intensive development. In the *social* sphere it implies ensuring a qualitatively new level of the people's well-being while consistently implementing the socialist principle of distribution according to one's labour. In the *political* sphere the development of socialist self-government through ever greater involvement of citizens in running state and public affairs; the improvement of the activities of elective bodies of people's power; the enhancement of the role of the party, the trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass organisations of the working people; and an effective use of all forms of representative and direct democracy. In the sphere of *spiritual* life—the further consolidation of socialist ideology in the minds of Soviet people; full establishment of the moral principles of socialism, of the spirit of collectivism and comradely mutual assistance; bringing the achievements of science and cultural values within the reach of the broad masses of the population; moulding a harmoniously developed man.

Both universal and specific laws govern the socialist phase of the communist formation which is properly reflected in the way of life of various social classes, strata and groups. The universal features of the socialist way of life include such fundamental principles as: public ownership of the means of production, political power of the whole people, the leading role of the CPSU, a scientific Marxist-Leninist world view and an internationalist socialist culture that has taken shape. In this respect, the socialist way of life reveals distinctive content and quality by comparison with antagonistic social formations.

At the same time the level of the development of productive forces, the existing social division of labour, the gap between the town and the countryside, the presence of the two forms of property (public and collective farm and cooperative forms of property), class differentiation of society (which, naturally, rules out antagonism between classes), differences between classes and within professional groups—all this contributes to differences in the forms of activities of people. The Party in its concrete policy takes into account the complete system of objectively arising contradictions and provides their prompt solution, first of all proceeding from the country's national interest and the leading role of the working class.

An exceedingly important provision in the new edition of the CPSU Programme deals with the *priority of social goals in economic development*. It serves as the main criterion determining the overall orientation of economic activities. This concerns, and this is essential, not only the quantitative aspect of things. To an even greater extent this concerns qualitative aspects. The well-being of the Soviet people is to be brought to a qualitative level that implies high culture of reasonable consumption that best meets the tasks of shaping a harmoniously developed, spiritually rich man, the fullest development of abilities, aptitudes and talents of Soviet people in the interest of society. These include: full satisfaction of the population's growing demand for high-quality and diverse consumer goods; increased volume, range, and improved quality of services. Particular attention will be paid to the quality of housing construction, the look of urban and rural settlements and their provision with all amenities, dramatic improvement of the medical service, creating conditions for every person to lead a healthy and cultural way of life.

The qualitative growth of well-being is seen by the Party as closely linked with the dramatic improvement of the main sphere of human activity—work in the economy. Enhancing the creative element of labour and raising its level, elimination of manual, hazardous, low-skilled and monotonous work by large-scale introduction of complex mechanisation and automation, ensuring healthy conditions and introducing modern safety technology to rule out occupational injuries and diseases—all this is part of the socially significant priorities in the development of social production.

Constant concern for peoples' working conditions is a characteristic feature of the socialist economic system. The USSR is known to have harsher criteria in assessing the hazardous and harmful labour conditions than many developed capitalist countries, including the USA.

During the past five-year plan period labour conditions have been greatly improved for unskilled or low-skilled workers mostly engaged in unmechanised labour and in hazardous jobs in many areas of the economy. However, the introduction of new technologies and machinery has not been timely everywhere, and existing equipment is not always used effectively enough. This results in a certain correlation: the lower the required skills and amount of technology of a work place are, the higher the percentage of workers who are dissatisfied with character and content of their labour. In this connection, along with technical reconstruction of enterprises and technological novelties the task of raising the cultural and professional level of workers, especially young workers, is also very important. The reform of the general education and vocational schools that has been launched in the USSR would go a long way towards improving practical and vocational training of young people and bringing about positive shifts in public attitudes concerning the prestige and social significance of many professions.

The intensification of social production by stepping up scientific and technological progress, doubtlessly, has a notable influence on the peoples' way of life. Under socialism, scientific and technological progress meets the interests of the individual and of society as a whole. Bourgeois propaganda goes out of its way to misinterpret the scientific and technological policy pursued in the socialist countries and alleges that people living under socialism are full of "unjustified technological optimism", for they are unaware of all the "dangers of the onslaught of technology on man". But in reality the optimism of the Soviet people, of all working people in the socialist countries for that matter, rests on a sound foundation—the social conditions and the socio-economic and political system which gives them confidence in future.

At the same time, as was noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the CPSU, "it would be wrong to think that the scientific and technological revolution is creating no problems for socialist society. Experience shows that its advance involves improvement of social relations, a change of mentality, the forging of a new psychology, and the acceptance of dynamism as a way and a rule of life. It calls insistently for continuous reassessment and renewal of the prevailing patterns of management. In other words, the scientific and technological revolution not only opens up prospects, but also sets higher demands on the entire organisation of home and international affairs."

The Party gives high priority to improving the system of distribution relations and raising people's concern for their contribution to social production. Of particular importance are the socialist principles of distribution, the line for more effective distribution of the social product and national income, for making the distribution mechanism a solid barrier in the way of unearned incomes and artificial wage levelling—everything that contradicts the norms and principles of social justice.

In this connection stricter control will be introduced of the measure of work and consumption, greater incentives will be provided for working collectives and individual workers to improve their economic performance, and an optimum balance will be established between moral and material incentives.

Under the 12th Five-Year Plan the average monthly wages and salaries will increase by 13-15 per cent, wages and salaries in sectors of the economy and for various groups of workers will be brought more into line with the complexity and the conditions of the work they perform. The Party attaches special attention to raising the social standing and prestige of en-

gineers, teachers, and health workers. The salary scales for them will be raised step by step and the organisation of their labour will be improved. On collective farms, 18-20 per cent pay increase is to be closely related to the growth of output of agricultural produce, its quality, and production efficiency.

The priority of the national interest in the economic policy means that it has to be made tangible and real for all working collectives. This is not an easy thing to achieve considering that people become aware of these interests primarily under the influence of the specific "microenvironment" and their own requirements. To take this circumstance into account it is necessary to consistently improve and develop the centralised principle of economic management and at the same time to promote the initiative of labour collectives, increase their role in drawing up plans and solving production and social tasks. In principle this approach should ensure an optimal combination of the interests of the state, the working collectives and the individual and make it possible to resolve any contradictions that may arise among them.

At the same time the growth and efficient use of the social consumption funds will be accelerated. These funds contribute on an ever larger scale to the development of nationwide systems of free education, health and social security, the improvement of rest and recreation facilities for working people, lessening differences in the material position of individual citizens, families and social groups that are objectively inevitable under socialism, the provision of equal socio-economic and cultural conditions for the rearing of children and elimination of low-income groups.

The state allocates huge and constantly growing resources for the development of these spheres. The task today, however, is not only to expand the nationwide system of security by increased investment, but to ensure higher quality education and medical assistance to the entire population, provision of leisure facilities for the working people, housing and utilities, etc.

Social consumption funds under socialism have on the whole tended to grow more rapidly compared with the growth of wages and salaries. For example, during the 12th Five-Year Plan period benefits and allowances from the social consumption funds will increase to reach about 600 rubles per capita in 1990. This is a measure of the Party's concern for the improvement of the socialist way of life of the whole people, and fuller realisation of the principle of social justice.

The development of the socialist way of life means the provision of ample opportunities for asserting the ideas of collectivism, ensuring the cohesion of society and encouraging the activity of the individual, all of which requires the further perfection of socialist democracy, of its every aspect.

The CPSU closely associates the accomplishment of the main tasks of speeding up socio-economic progress with enhancing the socio-political role of the working people, with their active and creative participation in administering the affairs of society and the state. The qualitative tendencies in the development of the socialist way of life are carried into effect only when the people themselves really manage their own affairs, when millions willingly take part in the political activities of society. The people's large-scale activity during the preparations for the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the nationwide discussion and approval of the drafts of the new edition of the Programme of the CPSU and the changes in the Party Rules, of the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and in the Period until the Year 2000 furnish clear proof that the general line of the Party and the Soviet government is backed by all the Soviet people.

This high level of activity does not mean, of course, that all the citizens already take part in the daily work to administer the affairs of the state and

that the extent and effectiveness of this participation fully meet the present-day requirements for the further democratisation of society and developing socialist self-government by the people. The development of the self-government principles is a lengthy and complex process. The CPSU displays a creative approach to the accomplishment of this task and steadily carries into life the strategic line of the development of the entire political system of Soviet society, guiding and coordinating the work of state and public organisations, and sees to it that each of them fully performs its functions. By all its activities the Party sets the example of serving the people and observing the principles of socialist democracy.

The process of accelerated socio-economic development exerts considerable influence on changes in the social class structure, helping to bridge the gap between town and countryside, between brain and physical work. As a result, new social relations and structures arise that directly influence the way of life and tend to improve it. The main trend is the lessening of social differences between the working class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia, the emergence of a classless social structure with the working class playing the decisive role. The decisive role of the working class stems not only from its numerical preponderance and steadily growing share of the population. To an even greater extent it stems from the vast political experience of the working class, its high level of consciousness and will, discipline and sense of social justice, its ideals, norms and values reflecting a collectivist labour psychology and morality, actively rejecting everything that opposes the principles of the socialist mode of life.

On the other hand, qualitative transformations in the productive forces, changes in the social class structure contribute to the development of nations and nationalities promoting socialist self-consciousness and mentality. The working class is the cementing force in the multinational Soviet state, and the Communist Party being the guiding force, is educating the working people in the spirit of proletarian socialist internationalism. National oppression and national inequality in any form have been put an end to once and for all in this country. Inviolable friendship among the peoples and respect for the national culture and national dignity of any nation are deeply rooted in public consciousness. The Soviet people is today an entirely new social and international entity, welded together by common economic interests, common ideology and common political goals.

The present stage in socialist development logically puts forward new tasks in the improvement of national relations: all-round development and strengthening of the Soviet multinational state, the build-up of the material and spiritual potential of every national republic within the framework of a single national economic complex, the development of a common culture of the Soviet people—socialist in content, diverse in its national forms and internationalist in spirit—on the basis of the highest achievements and original progressive traditions of the peoples of the USSR.

In tackling these problems it is necessary to take into account the dialectics of the national and the international and their correct correlation. In socialist society, the national and the international constitute a dialectical unity in which the international plays the leading role. As the historical experience of the building of new society shows, internationalism, far from contradicting national interests, provides the basis and chief prerequisites for the realisation of these interests. The unity of international and national interests means that the individual (national) exists only in the connection that leads to the universal (international), while the universal (international) exists only through the individual (national).¹

The idea of creating a "European antimissile system" emerged simultaneously among Washington's West European allies and in the USA itself. In Western Europe, one of its main exponents was the FRG. Back in late 1982, Hans Rühle, Chief-of-Staff of the Defence Ministry's military planning department, handed over to Defence Minister Manfred Wörner a document on how to counter the "Soviet threat", which was drawn up with the participation of the FRG's largest military-industrial concern Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm and which set forth that idea. A number of leading figures of the CDU/CSU, primarily Franz Josef Strauss, were also among the zealous advocates of the "European defence initiative". Once the United States announced its SDI programme, the leader of the Bavarian "ultras" hastened to urge the West Europeans to make "their own effort" in order to "prevent a strike by Soviet operational-tactical and medium-range missiles", which posed an "immense threat" to Europe.¹

Since then, the EDI has been a constant topic with prominent West German Christian Democrats, such as Wörner, head of the Federal Chancellor's office Wolfgang Scheuble, chairman of the CDU/CSU faction at the Bundestag Alfred Dregger, state secretary of the Defence Ministry M. Timmerman, and other members of the ruling bloc.

The EDI was for the first time officially put forward by CDU/CSU deputies at the Bundestag. On September 27, 1985 their proposal was submitted to the Bundestag's Defence Commission, while the FRG's Defence Ministry promptly announced its readiness to finance such a plan.² Wörner was particularly active in pushing through the new initiative. Upon his return from the USA in September 1985 he called on the West Europeans to "give serious thought" to the development of an effective antimissile system. According to *The Financial Times* of London, Manfred Wörner "is sounding out the European allies about joint research into a land-based anti-missile system to counter Soviet short-range and ballistic weapons aimed at Western Europe".³

At the insistence of the FRG's Defence Minister, the EDI question was debated at a meeting of NATO's Eurogroup on December 2, 1985. His remarks that the debate was only a "preliminary" one and was held on his "personal initiative", rather than at the request of the government, make no difference to the substance of the matter and are aimed to camouflage the fact that the EDI question is being shifted to a practical plane.

In an interview with the newspaper *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, Wörner made it clear that the FRG's Defence Ministry had already elaborated a concrete EDI programme, based on an extension of the air defence system. Asserting that an antimissile system for Western Europe would be "less costly than the SDI and could be sooner realised", and noting that his ideas "had met with keen interest" among the FRG's NATO partners, he declared that he would go on displaying "due initiative" in that matter.⁴ In a speech before the Bundeswehr command on December 22, 1985 Wörner characterised the EDI as a direct supplement to the USA's "strategic defense initiative" and called on all West Europeans to take part in its development.

The question of developing a "European" ABM system was also discussed by the Franco-West German security commission, which met in Paris on June 20, 1985, with the participation of defence-and foreign-ministry representatives from the two countries.⁵ The then French Minister

¹ *Der Spiegel*, No. 49, 1985, p. 25.

² See *The Guardian*, Nov. 28, 1985.

³ *The Financial Times*, Nov. 20, 1985.

⁴ *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, Dec. 25, 1985.

⁵ See *L'Express*, July 19, 1985.

of Defence Charles Hernu admitted in an interview with Deutschlandfunk that France was already developing antimissile systems and would like other West European countries, the FRG above all, to join in the effort.

His successor at the post of Defence Minister Paul Quilès said in his public speeches that development of an EDI was "problematic", but such statements, on the one hand, were apparently meant to reassure public opinion and, on the other, reflected the differences on that issue between France and the FRG, for Bonn wanted to dovetail the EDI and the SDI. In France the creation of the antimissile defence is seen, mainly, on the basis of its own system, and all plans are pivoted on the use of outer space. In the view of President François Mitterrand, Europe cannot stay out of the development of military-space technology or forego a presence in outer space. Speaking in the Hague back in February 1984, the French President proposed the idea of setting up a "European space community" for putting into orbit a manned space station for military purposes. A European space programme, he said, would be the best "response to the military realities of tomorrow".

"Europe," the President emphasised, "is capable of launching a manned space station which would enable it to make observations and transmit information. And that, in turn, would enable it to avert any potential threat and make a big step forward in its defence." The French head of state has been urging the West European countries to join their space development efforts, for the strategy of the future, he said, is closely connected with outer space. As François Mitterrand said on November 21, 1985, in the conditions of the militarisation of outer space (which, in his words, is unlikely to cease), it is only possible to rise to a higher stage in developing outer space on a "European" basis. The way to that, definite French circles believe, lies through the Eureka programme.

In commenting upon these statements by the French President, the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* wrote that they reaffirm his views on the need for France to ensure its technological and military presence in outer space. Referring to the increase in budget appropriations in 1986 for two major space programmes—Syracuse (communication satellites system) and Hélios (development of military observation satellites), and also for the development of new technologies under the Eureka project, the paper concluded: "All of that does not predetermine the emergence of some kind of European 'shield' in the nearest future, but can lead to its creation."⁶

During a visit to the USA in December 1985, Quilès said in the SDI context: "France and Europe are working on similar and related projects." He went on: "The European programme Eureka, launched on France's initiative, will make it possible to pool the scientific knowledge of the European countries and carry out joint projects in the field of modern high technology. Of course, this applies to the civilian fields. But some technological achievements could well have a military application (lasers, highly efficient electronic computers, and so on)."⁷

As Western experts have estimated, realisation of the Hélios and Hérmes projects (the latter is meant to develop a space shuttle in the second half of the 1990s) can provide a basis for a "European space defence" system. Western observers note that in its budget for the current year France has made considerably more appropriations for "space research", and that a special department—the "space command"—has been set up in the French Ministry of Defence.

According to British press reports, Britain will also take part in a

⁶ *Le Monde*, Nov. 23, 1985.

⁷ *Le Monde*, Dec. 18, 1985.

"European defence initiative", if it is directly connected with the present goals of the SDI.⁸

The United States, for its part, obviously approves of the idea of developing an antimissile defence system in Western Europe that would fully meet its own military-strategic purposes, but only on condition of close cooperation between the West Europeans and the USA. As US Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle said in an interview with West German journalists on September 20, 1985, Washington will fully sympathise with the Europeans if they turn to the USA for assistance in designing their own antimissile defence system. Evidently, Washington takes into account the considerable difficulties connected with the realisation of the US "strategic defence initiative": its long-term character and huge cost, doubts over its effectiveness and even its feasibility, resistance of other countries, including some of the USA's allies, and so on.

In its striving to get its NATO partners to step up their "rearmament" (which, among other things, enables the USA to tighten its control over them), the USA obviously assumes that the development of an antimissile system for Western Europe is an easier task. At the same time, Washington clearly intends to turn the projected antimissile defence of Western Europe into an appendage to the SDI (naturally, in the event of its realisation).

At the Çesme meeting of NATO's nuclear planning group back in March 1983, where Caspar Weinberger informed the NATO countries of the USA's "strategic defence initiative", he urged them to think over the problems they could face in that connection, for the SDI is directed against Soviet strategic missiles.⁹ The Americans themselves admit—as General Bernard Rogers, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), did in an interview with the radio station Deutsche Welle in November 1985—that the development in the USA of an antimissile defence system with space-based elements could lead to the emergence of "diminished security zones" in Western Europe. Moreover, he added, there were no guarantees that the United States would maintain the present system of Europe's nuclear defence.

Last autumn, on the instructions of General Rogers, experts from the NATO headquarters examined the question of developing a "European antimissile system" and reported to him that the project was quite "realistic", provided that the West European countries would closely cooperate with the Americans in carrying out the SDI plan. At an international seminar in Munich on November 19, 1985 General Rogers said that it would be useful to supplement the SDI with a "European defence initiative", to be realised as a programme of mutual stimulation, rather than competition with the SDI.

During a visit to the FRG in December 1985, Caspar Weinberger said in a policy-making speech at the club of the Adenauer Foundation that Washington had nothing against a "European defence initiative" which could be carried out in parallel with the SDI. The US Ambassador to the FRG Ricard Burl spoke in a similar vein, urging the Europeans to supplement the SDI with a "European defence initiative" for defence against medium- and short-range missiles.¹⁰

Seeking to control the plans for the development of an antimissile system in Western Europe, the EDI above all, and eventually to attach these to the SDI, the USA insists that such a system should be deployed

The Guardian, Dec. 9, 1985.
See *Der Spiegel*, No. 49, 1985, p. 25.
Der Spiegel, No. 52, 1985, p. 23.

on the basis of the US anti-aircraft and missile Patriot system. At the above-mentioned meeting of NATO's nuclear planning group at Çesme (1983), where Caspar Weinberger informed his allies of the SDI plan, he "reassured" them by saying that the USA had begun adapting its Patriot system for defence against medium-range missiles in the European theatre of military operations.

The 1983 agreement between the USA and the FRG provides for the deployment on West German territory of 28 Patriot batteries together with 68 Roland anti-aircraft complexes of Franco-West German production. According to some reports, Patriot missiles have already been deployed in the FRG and the Netherlands, and are also planned for deployment in Belgium. Once the FRG and the Netherlands took a decision to host the Patriot missiles, the USA sharply intensified its pressure on the NATO countries in order to step up their efforts to realise the EDI plans. According to the US press, the Pentagon chief recently approved another secret long-term directive, giving priority to the development of systems for countering medium- and short-range missiles.¹¹ Spokesmen of the Washington Administration, General James Abrahamson in particular, now openly declare that the West European antimissile system should be an integral part of the US SDI.

So, the initial idea of developing a more effective anti-aircraft system for Western Europe, which came to be known as the EDI, is being ever more manifestly transformed into an anti-missile defence system. The debates on that issue are now mostly confined to the character of such a system: nuclear or conventional, land-, space- or mixed-based, to be developed on the basis of US programmes and systems (SDI, Patriot) or on a "European" basis.

According to Western estimates, Western Europe already has the funds that are necessary for that purpose, and towards the end of the next decade it will also have the necessary material-technical and technological potential. Some elements of that system are already being developed by the largest military-industrial concerns of the FRG (MBB, Telefunken and Lorenz), France (Thomson and Aérospatiale), the Netherlands (Philips), and some other West European countries.

As we find, although the EDI is still a debated project, it is acquiring ever more visible contours, and NATO is already discussing concrete issues connected with it. At the same time, differences have yet to be settled between its potential participants, and also between a number of West European states and the USA. Some of the smaller countries, like Denmark and Greece, take a negative stand on the project, others view it with reserve. There are certain difficulties in this matter even between the FRG and France. France is afraid that the FRG, which enjoys greater support on the part of the USA, will be given access to the latest technology and will eventually come to play an even more important role in military matters and, consequently, in Western Europe and NATO as a whole, something that cuts across France's own interests. As for Bonn it fears that paramount reliance on France in the development of the EDI will have an adverse effect on the FRG's relations with Britain, as well as the USA. Moreover, the FRG would like to develop the projected system largely on the basis of research done by its own military-industrial concerns, a point upon which the latter energetically insist, and as a direct makeweight to the SDI.

In spite of all these differences, however, military cooperation between France and the FRG has been steadily expanding over the past few years

¹¹ See *The New York Times*, Jan. 29, 1986.

both along the lines of the Western European Union (WEU) and the 1963 Elysée Treaty.

The revival of the WEU enabled France somewhat to strengthen its role in Western Europe, and the FRG to get rid of various limitations on arms production. But in view of significant distinctions in the positions of the WEU members, the Union in effect remains something of an "autonomous centre" for debating military-strategic questions. Military cooperation between France and the FRG has been developing to a greater extent along the lines of the Elysée Treaty, rather than within the WEU framework.

After a somewhat slacker period in the 1970s, that cooperation has been markedly invigorated. Since 1982, there has been a regular exchange of opinion between the two countries' defence ministers and heads of state on matters of a further expansion of military cooperation between France and the FRG. At the Franco-West German summit at Rambouillet in May 1984, the two parties agreed upon more than 50 joint projects in arms production, most of which are already being realised (like the agreement on producing the Jaguar and Alpha Jet combat aircraft, the Haut missile, and a military helicopter, on designing a supersonic antiship missile and a third-generation antitank missile, etc.). Work is also being done, though not without difficulty, to coordinate plans for cooperation in outer space (Hélios, Hermès and other projects).

In order to settle the differences with France, Chancellor Helmut Kohl invited President François Mitterrand at the end of 1985 to set up a joint commission to examine problems of cooperation in the aircraft industry and in developing outer space. The commission has also been instructed to "draw up a project for so-called European defence system meant for intercepting short-range missiles". Western mass media invariably note in their commentaries that there are many differences between the French and the West Germans, but even more points upon which their interests coincide. Franco-West German cooperation in the military field undoubtedly has its limits. It is limited, on the one hand, by France's claims to a leading role in Western Europe and its position with regard to its nuclear potential, which the French refuse to discuss even with their closest partners, and, on the other, by the FRG's tight links with the USA, particularly in the military-strategic field. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the military-political cooperation between the two countries is the pivot of West European military integration, whose contours are growing ever more distinct.

Under the USA's growing pressure upon the NATO countries, the debate on the plans to develop a "European antimissile system" in the form of an EDI through closer military cooperation among a number of West European countries is clearly being intensified, and peace-loving democratic opinion in Europe and elsewhere is naturally worried by that circumstance.

So, one could draw the conclusion that in the FRG, France and the USA—the three Western countries which are mostly to decide the question of whether Western Europe is to have its projected antimissile defence system—active work is already under way in this direction. The development of such a system would open up a new and dangerous line of the arms race and would undermine the very essence of disarmament agreements, notably, the 1972 ABM Treaty—the foundation of strategic stability in the world. Although there is constant talk in the West, especially in Bonn, of support for that treaty, the action being taken there serves the opposite purpose. In a policy-making article published in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in January 1986, state secretary of the FRG's

Ministry of Defence Lothar Rühl urged NATO to "give priority" to the task of developing an antimissile defence system for the West European countries.¹²

In spite of the reference being made in connection with the projected EDI to the need to attain Western Europe's unity in order to strengthen its positions and increase its influence on the USA, the actual purpose is primarily to invigorate the military cooperation of the West European countries as NATO's "European bulwark", which makes it clear that such plans are directed against the Soviet Union and its allies. In other words, the EDI initiative is oriented along the same lines as the American SDI programme. No wonder Manfred Wörner insists on the closest possible link-up between the EDI and the SDI.

The EDI idea is totally in contradiction with the Soviet-US understanding reached at the Geneva summit and can only complicate the talks on space and nuclear weapons and create additional difficulties on the way to a solution of the question on medium-range missiles in Europe. All of that would only serve to whip up the arms race, further to increase tensions and worsen the military confrontation, which is fraught with the gravest consequences.

The road to peace does not lie through confrontation, development of new military programmes, involvement in the "star wars" programme or development of attack space systems, but through dialogue, a curb on the arms race, and disarmament, through a lower level of the military confrontation and a prevention of the militarisation of outer space, through a quest at the negotiating table for a possibility to solve these problems in the interests of ensuring international security by joint efforts of the states and peoples.

¹² See *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Jan. 17, 1986.



JAPAN AND SPACE MILITARISATION PLANS

Professor D. P E T R O V,

D. Sc. (Hist.)

Persistent US attempts to secure Japan's participation in the "strategic defense initiative" (SDI) programme have of late become a focus of efforts at pulling Japan into the US global military strategy. Following the December 1985 decision of Britain and the FRG to take a hand in US plans for militarising outer space, Washington has concentrated pressure on Japan with a view to gaining a possibility of availing itself of the latter's material resources and scientific and technological potential to step up the development of space weapons and various systems ensuring their most effective use. Japan's possible involvement in the SDI programme, however, is fraught with so grave military, political and economic consequences for the country as to make this issue a most acute problem in its political life.

WASHINGTON'S GROWING PRESSURE

Since late 1984, the United States has begun demanding ever more insistently that Japan join the SDI programme. Following an appropriate diplomatic groundwork, that issue was officially taken up by US President Ronald Reagan during his meeting with Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone of Japan in Los Angeles on January 2, 1985.

The documents prepared for the Japanese delegation on the eve of its departure for the United States initially provided for unambiguously expressing "full support" for the plans of developing space weapons. According to US press reports, the first impulse of Yasuhiro Nakasone, who saw "himself as a friend and supporter of President Reagan", was to back the latter's initiative.¹ Yet, a bitter political struggle which has flared up in all West European countries around the issue of participation in the "star wars" programme, an alternative project Eureka suggested by France, strong opposition on the part of ever broad sections of the Japanese public, and serious disagreements within the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party have all forced Tokyo to give up intentions of unconditionally associating itself with the USA and to take a more restrained position. At Los Angeles, Nakasone confined himself of expressing his "understanding" of that programme.

That position did not satisfy Washington. On March 26, 1985, US Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger dispatched an official message to the government of Japan (as well as to the US allies in NATO, Australia and Israel) suggesting that it inform whether it is interested in that programme and in which particular areas of research it would like to participate. An ultimatum-like period of 60 days was allotted for a response. That message was buttressed by a further personal request of the US President conveyed at his meeting with Nakasone on May 2, 1985, during the Bonn economic summit of the seven imperialist powers.

The doubts and hesitations assailing the allies (none of them has

¹ *The New York Times*, July 11, 1985

responded within the prescribed period of time) forced the USA to abandon its ultimatum. But just as persistently Washington set to insisting on their taking a positive decision. The problem of Japan's involvement in the SDI became an "important negotiating topic" at the June 1985 meeting in Washington between Koichi Kato, chief of the Defence Agency and US Secretary of State George Shultz and former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Robert McFarlane. Still another request to Japan to expedite decision on joining the SDI programme was made by Reagan during his discussions with Nakasone in New York on October 25, 1985. The same question was discussed at a regular meeting between the heads of the military departments of the two countries in Washington on January 9, 1986.

While being so stubborn about harnessing Japan to its space militarisation plans, the United States has sought to achieve a number of important political, military and economic goals.

First and foremost, Washington is interested in winning Japan's political support in a situation where the SDI scheme has provoked a storm of protest in all countries of the world. Many influential political parties and the public at large in Western Europe have viewed the space militarisation plans as an irresponsible move fraught with a threat of nuclear war. It is not fortuitous that by early 1986 only two (Britain and the FRG) out of 18 countries, to which the United States has made its offer of participation in the SDI, have expressed their consent to go along with that programme, making, however, quite a few reservations. Seven states, namely France, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Greece, Canada, and Australia, have replied with a firm "no".

Under those conditions, manifestation of support on the part of Japan has become of particular significance for Washington which hopes thereby to loosen the ring of isolation, to use that support as an instrument for bringing pressure to bear on the vacillating countries, and somehow to patch up the myth of "West's unity".

At the same time, the White House expects that involvement in the SDI would permit to foist US military and political goals on Japan, to step up its militarisation, to curtail the possibilities of diplomatic manoeuvring and a search for its own independent line in relations with the USSR and other socialist states, and thereby to ensure that Japan submissively follow in the wake of the US policy.

Washington also hopes that Japan's involvement in developing space weapons would consolidate US positions in the global confrontation with the Soviet Union and particularly at the Geneva talks on space and nuclear arms. Bearing in mind the peaceful Constitution and the denuclearised status proclaimed by the Japanese government, its consent to join the SDI programme can be used as an additional argument in favour of the "purely defensive" nature of the programme which does not arouse any apprehensions even in a "peaceloving" country such as Japan. In this connection, the Japanese press has recalled with obvious concern that "in the US-Soviet talks in Geneva on nuclear and space arms control SDI is being used to embroil the American allies in anti-Soviet political manoeuvring. This is most significant."²

The second major goal of the United States is to take advantage of the Japanese scientific and technological potential for stepping up the pace and reducing the cost of the development of space arms. According to a US newspaper, the Pentagon already fathoming prospect in Japan is enthusiastic about Japanese technology.³ In his interview to the Tokyo Broadcasting System on May 14, 1985, Lt.-Gen. James Abrahamson,

² *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3, July-September 1985, p. 245.

³ *The New York Times*, July 11, 1985.

Director of the SDI programme at the US Department of Defense, said the following: "Japan is a technological nation and there are many, many fields in which we would like to have cooperation." He stressed that the US expected assistance from Japan primarily in hardware and software computer technology, optoelectronic and other latest technologies, particularly highly evaluated Japanese technology in laser manufacturing. The United States shows a keen interest in Japanese research related to optical fibres (which are used ever more broadly in the communications, control and guidance systems in the US nuclear missile forces), heat-resistant ceramic materials which are used, in particular, in paneling reusable space craft and in the engines of booster rockets, antiradar sheathing which permits to render missiles and aircraft "invisible" to radars, and some other research.

Finally, the third area in which the USA would like to secure Japan's involvement in fulfilling the SDI plans is to use its territory for stationing space weapons as well as various observation and communications means helping to wage hostilities in outer space.

In 1984 and 1985, the Pentagon conducted a series of tests of a special antisatellite complex ASAT based on missiles fired from F-15 fighters at a high altitude. Representatives of the Japanese Foreign Ministry have, in fact, supported those steps towards creating an essential element of warfare in outer space by stating that the "United States cannot but conduct those tests."⁴ Since F-15 fighters are included in the US Air Force units deployed at bases in Japan, in principle, they may well be equipped with such weapons in future. This is all the more probable because the Japanese government has no right to check US bases or to control combat equipment brought thereto and installed at those bases.

VACILLATIONS AND INCONSISTENCY

In spite of very strong pressure exerted by Washington the Japanese government so far has failed to bind itself by any specific promises as regards the SDI programme. For instance, three days after Britain's decision to share in the US plans for developing space weapons, Minister of Foreign Affairs Shintaro Abe stated during the interpellation in the Diet that there must be sufficient reasons for a change-over from the position of "understanding" the SDI to a course at "cooperation" in executing that programme, and Japan should not rush with final conclusions.

While putting off a formal decision, the Japanese ruling quarters constantly give to understand that in principle they hold a favourable view of the US President's plans and the question is only of finding a legal formula for Japan's participation in "star wars" preparations, which could be acceptable from the viewpoint of earlier obligations and political atmosphere within the country. They provide all sorts of justification for Washington's course, try to influence public opinion in favour of supporting the policy of militarising outer space, and thereby prepare ground for transition, following a political decision, to active cooperation in putting into effect the designs of the US Administration. There are more than enough examples of that. For instance, in a speech delivered in the Diet on January 28, 1985, Yasuhiro Nakasone asserted that the programme under elaboration in the United States provides for the use of conventional armaments, that it is "defensive in nature", and that its ultimate goal is to oppose ballistic missiles and to contribute to eliminating nuclear weapons on the Earth.⁵ Shintaro Abe also stated

⁴ *Asahi Shimbun*, Sept. 15, 1985.

⁵ *Yomiuri Shimbun*, Jan. 29, 1985.

that the "Japanese government views that concept [the SDI—D. P.] as an initiative related to the attainment of peace and disarmament".⁶

It is thus obvious that in principle the Japanese government fully supports the arguments adduced by Washington in favour of the SDI programme and considers its implementation, as was stated during Nakasone's meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the FRG on April 30, 1985, to be "necessary and legitimate". Japanese experts have emphasised that, in practical terms, that position implied Japan's support for SDI-related research, contrary to the assurances given by the Prime Minister in the Diet.⁷

And, indeed, the government has taken some measures opening up possibilities for business interests to take part in the development of space arms. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan has stated in so many words that, the official position notwithstanding, "there are no obstacles to private firms participating in research on SDI".⁸

Participation of business circles in translating SDI plans into reality is facilitated by an agreement of November 8, 1983, concerning the transfer of Japanese military technology to the United States. The agreement does not specify which types of armaments are permitted to be supplied to the USA and thus opens up vast opportunities for the Pentagon's procuring Japanese innovations in combat hardware, including systems and components which can be used in outer space.

Here is only one but very illustrative example. On December 28, 1985, the lengthy talks on commercial terms culminated in signing a protocol on the transfer to the United States of Japanese technology for manufacturing an optical system used for guiding ground-to-air missiles, which is based on the fundamentally new principle of introducing the general profile of a target into the computer memory, which ensures an extreme accuracy of hitting the target. According to press reports, the new system is considered to be the best in the world. The principle underlying the search and guiding mechanism permits, with small modifications, to use it in developing space weapons. Japanese newspapers have made a sound conclusion that the transfer of such technology was tantamount to Japan's practical involvement in the implementation of the SDI.⁹

An important step towards the US application of Japan's scientific and technological accomplishments and material resources for "star wars" preparations was made on May 9, 1985, when an agreement was signed providing for the latter's participation in the US project of creating a manned orbital space station. Despite the express desire of the US Department of Defense to use the projected station to militarise space, the Japanese government has declared readiness to assume the task of developing one of the modules (bays). This project would demand huge outlays on the order of 300,000 million yen (\$1,300 million). A special council for assistance in developing a space station comprising six major trade companies and eight principal manufactures of space equipment, has been set up under the Federation of Economic Organisations (KEIDANREN).

To make research even more effective, a national Space Environment Utilization Centre was established in late December 1985 to play the role of an intermediary between the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and Japanese companies. It will take an active part in the plans for developing and using a Japanese module aboard

⁶ *Asahi Shimbun*, Jan. 24, 1985.

⁷ *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3, July-September, 1985, p. 242.

⁸ *Asahi Evening News*, May 28, 1985.

⁹ See *Yomiuri Shimbun*, June 20, 1985.

the American orbital space station, assume the task of composing a list of Japanese firms asking for participation in NASA projects and of collecting and providing them with necessary information related to commercial uses of outer space. As has been announced, the organisation will enjoy support of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry and the government's scientific and technical department. This means that space exploration has been raised to the level of a national programme and will be conducted on the basis of pooling all forces with substantial aid from the state, which will make it possible to considerably accelerate the pace and expand the scope of the activities in the exploration and use of outer space.

Finally, the US Administration seeks to take advantage of the Japanese scientific and technological potential in exploring outer space and developing space apparatuses. Japan is considerably lagging far behind the Soviet Union and the United States in this field but, nonetheless, in some respects it claims to be the world's third space power. By early 1985 it had orbited 29 satellites for various purposes. Its forward-looking plans stipulate that by the late 1980s Japan will have had 80 to 100 rockets capable of lifting objects from 500 kilograms to 2 tons into near-earth space. All in all, 76 space objects are scheduled to be launched before 1992.

In early August 1985, the Japanese National Space Development Agency decided to prepare an ambitious long-term programme of manned space flights. Its main goal is to work out, over the next 6 or 7 years, an overall project of creating a Shuttle-type spacecraft which will be designed for a two-man crew and will have a two-ton load capacity. The spacecraft is scheduled to be launched in 1992 by a new Japanese-made three-stage solid-fuel rocket. Initial funds to the tune of 7,000 million yen were allocated for its development in 1985.

Japan's space programme formally provides for exclusively peaceful research. Yet, the development of powerful boosters and technologies for manufacturing a variety of space objects as well as equipment ensuring their launching and use means building up a scientific and technological potential which would permit, given a political decision, to go over to using space objects for military purposes as soon as possible. This is one of the basic reasons why the United States is in such a haste to make Japan "share the functions" in "star wars" as is the case today in planning combat land, sea and air operations. It is quite indicative that the US upper crust does not conceal its confidence that in one form or another Tokyo will eventually take part in the plans for militarising outer space.

REAL THREAT TO NATIONAL INTERESTS

According to the local press the Japanese ruling quarters are inclined to join the SDI. As many observers believe today the Japanese are only bargaining for the advantages deriving from the participation in the project.

Indisputably, such a decision would be tantamount to violating Japan's constitutional and international commitments and would entail most grave political, military and economic consequences for the nation.

Japan's involvement in the SDI programme would, above all, constitute a flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the country's peaceful Constitution, whose Article 9 runs that it renounces for ever the use of war as the nation's sovereign right as well as the threat or use of armed force as a means of settling international disputes.

While declaring its firm commitment to abide by the nation's basic law, government's spokesmen concurrently try to prove that its participa-

tion in the SDI allegedly has nothing to do with Article 9. Addressing the Diet, the Prime Minister has stated frankly that, in his view, "Japan's participation in SDI research will not constitute a violation of the country's Constitution."¹⁰

Support for the US space militarisation programme, however, would imply Japan's readiness to lend a helping hand to Washington in developing new death-dealing types of weapons for the explicit purpose of posing a threat of their use in the interests of achieving US foreign policy objectives. By contributing to the buildup of space weapons, it would play the role of a direct accomplice of the United States, willy-nilly encouraging their employment as a means of exerting pressure on other countries.

Taking part in "star wars" preparations would also mean a clear-cut infringement on the 1969 resolution of the House of Representatives, which proclaimed that Japan's exploration and exploitation of outer space should be restricted to exclusively peaceful purposes.

Support for the Pentagon's plans would also constitute a blatant violation of the treaty on peaceful uses of outer space signed by Japan in 1967 which contains a precise and definite ban on placing nuclear and mass-destruction weapons in space orbits, installing military facilities on celestial bodies and in open space as well as testing weapons in outer space. Should weapons of mass destruction developed by the United States in partnership with Japan be placed into outer space, the latter will certainly have to share responsibility with the USA for violating that important international agreement, irrespective of its share of participation.

Furthermore, assistance in developing space weapons would imply the government's foresaking its numerous statements and solemn promises not to allow militarisation of outer space. At the UN General Assembly in the fall of 1984, for instance, Japan voted for a resolution calling for prevention of an arms race in outer space. The Japanese Prime Minister reaffirmed that position in his statement at the jubilee Session of the UN General Assembly on October 23, 1985, stressing that a crucial task of humanity was to avert an arms race in space.

Japan's participation in the SDI programme would also be in flagrant conflict with the three non-nuclear principles proclaimed by the government in 1971, which state that Japan will not manufacture or possess nuclear weapons or bring them to its territory. The government has reaffirmed its commitment to those principles, inter alia, in direct linkage with the issue of taking part in the SDI. The Japanese Prime Minister stated in the budgetary commission of the House of Councillors that Japan's cooperation in implementing the programme should proceed within the framework of the Constitution, the three non-nuclear principles and the 1969 parliamentary resolution providing for the use of outer space for peaceful purposes.¹¹

At the same time, Tokyo tries to prove that, for example, the X-ray laser cannot be considered a nuclear weapon because the immediate source of destruction is a laser beam rather than a nuclear explosion which is used to pump the former. Yet, all the stratagems designed to evade the country's non-nuclear status rest on tenuous grounds and meet with strong condemnation on the part of the public at large and the parliamentary opposition.

Any attempts to exempt work, which Japanese scientists could conduct outside of the national territory, from the obligations assumed by Japan do not stand up to criticism, either. In connection with the request ad-

¹⁰ *Yomiuri Shimbun*, March 30, 1985.

¹¹ *Yomiuri Shimbun*, March 30, 1985.

addressed by US Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger to Japan and West European countries concerning their experts' participation in the implementation of the SDI programme, Nakasone stated in the Diet that, in his opinion, the sending of scientists and researchers to the United States was in conformity with the framework of the Constitution and national policy. It is perfectly obvious, however, that Japan's international commitments fully apply to all Japanese nationals, no matter whether they are engaged in work which, by their nature, may imply violation of those commitments within their homeland or on the territories of other countries.

Since the SDI programme provides for the use of energy produced by a nuclear explosion for military purpose as its integral component, participation in the programme would mean violation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, signed by Japan in 1973 and ratified in 1976, which clearly and definitely prohibits it to conduct nuclear weapons-related research.

Finally, Japan's assistance to the USA in developing space weapons would contradict the three principles proclaimed in 1967 which outlaw arms export. True, they have been already infringed upon already in November 1983, when the Japanese government reached an agreement with the USA on the transfer of military technology. Yet, then it stressed the exceptional character of that agreement and indicated that military technologies provided to the United States as Japan's only ally should not be transferred to third countries. While answering questions in the Diet, Shintaro Abe stated that cooperation in the field of military technology will be only between Japan and the United States. In accordance with the existing ban on arms exports, there will be no such contacts with other countries. He stressed that Japan will not participate in SDI research, should any other states take a hand in that work.¹²

Yet, the multilateral character of the SDI programme and the joining of Britain and the FRG in it (and, in point of fact, of Italy since this March) clearly make it impossible to comply with both the three principles banning arms export and the agreement with the USA prohibiting, among other things, the transfer of military technology received from Japan to third countries.

Thus, Japan's participation in the SDI programme will imply violation of the Constitution and of virtually all fundamental policy principles proclaimed by the Diet and the national government. It will erode Japan's international prestige and weaken its positions on the world scene.

Assistance in carrying out the US space militarisation plans will also adversely influence the military and strategic situation of Japan. Tokyo's backing will help whip up the arms race and exacerbate international tensions, which will inevitably affect Japan as a US ally. The Japanese press has been fully justified in pointing out that the "participation of Western countries in putting the SDI programme into effect can produce a negative impact on the process of detente whose signs have emerged at the Soviet-US summit talks in Geneva"¹³ and that the "realisation of the SDI will result in a further escalation of the arms race".¹⁴

Representatives of the Japanese government have repeatedly stated that detente and the lowering of the level of confrontation between the two systems met their national interests and constitute an indispensable condition for ensuring peace and the country's security. By taking a decision on joining the SDI, Japan will act contrary to its own interests.

The development and deployment of space weapons and delivery

¹² *Asahi Shimbun*, Apr. 9, 1985.

¹³ *Asahi Shimbun*, Dec. 9, 1985.

¹⁴ *Mainichi Shimbun*, Dec. 20, 1985.

systems will inevitably require construction of all sorts of auxiliary communications, tracking and homing facilities on the territories of US allies. No less possible is the fielding of antisatellite weapons which can be equipped with nuclear warheads at the US bases in Japan. This means a sharp exacerbation of the danger of extending the arms race to Asia, stationing additional lethal armaments in that region, lowering the threshold of nuclear war, and dragging Tokyo therein, with all the ensuring disastrous consequences in view of the country's geographical position, size of territory, and extremely high population density.

Finally, participation in "star wars" preparations would ineluctably exert an adverse impact on Tokyo's relations with the Soviet Union and China, good-neighbourly ties with which are of crucial importance for ensuring peace and security for Japan. Political analysts have correctly noted that the involvement of Western countries, including Japan, in the SDI programme "can be viewed as the formation of a common front against the USSR, which will naturally make the Soviet Union more wary".

China has also denounced the plans of creating space weapons emphasising that the SDI plan, if implemented, would make the US-Soviet relations more tense "which will increase the danger of world war and threaten world peace". The government of the People's Republic of China believes that "in order to safeguard world peace, it is imperative to prohibit the development, testing, production and deployment of space weapons and to ultimately destroy all of them" and that "stopping the militarization of space is in the best interests of the people of the United States, the Soviet Union and the rest of the world".¹⁵

Support of the SDI would bring no economic benefits to Japan, either. It may spell profits for a few companies but would negatively affect the economy as a whole. Business interests express concern that such participation can become a sort of one way street for Tokyo in the sense that the USA will make use of the latest achievements of Japanese science and technology but will hardly be so willing to share some of its latest accomplishments, taking into consideration the trade and economic rivalry between the two countries and the American desire to restrain the Japanese competitive power.

In the meantime, Japanese businessmen cannot but be alarmed by the fact that Japan's involvement in the SDI programme will inevitably trigger a "brain drain" from the country, because huge allocations in the United States for the development of space weapons will enable US private companies and governmental laboratories to pay Japanese scientists and experts much more than in Japan and thereby to deprive national science and industry of the most talented and promising specialists.

Lastly, association with the development of space weapons would sharply exacerbate the domestic political situation, primarily because the United States stipulates for Japan's adopting a special law on protecting military secrets as a *sine qua non* for its participation in the SDI programme. Business interests have justly seen in those demands an attempt to control many developments related to "dual-purpose" technologies and thus sharply to curtail Japanese companies' possibilities of applying high-tech innovations for manufacturing peaceful products, which will whittle down marketing opportunities and erode Japan's competitive position on the world market.

The US demands have also been firmly rebuffed by all opposition parties, mass democratic organisations and trade unions, associations

¹⁵ *Beijing Review*, Nov. 5, 1984, p. 19.

of journalists, the mass media workers, and lawyers. They have stressed that such a law would inevitably infringe upon the constitutional rights and freedoms.

Eager to accommodate Washington's insistence and to meet the demands made by the most reactionary wing of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party, the government prepared and, on June 6, 1985, submitted to the Diet for its consideration a bill on guarding state secrets, which envisaged imprisonment for a term of up to 10 years for collecting secret information or disclosing state secrets. A death sentence could be meted out if and when such actions "inflicted very serious damage on the national security".

The discussion of the bill in the Diet turned into a bitter political struggle. Representatives of the democratic forces indicated that the document under consideration contained no definition of the notion of "state secret" and was characterised by extremely vague formulations, which would permit to use it for severely restricting democratic rights and freedoms. The wave of indignation which rolled over the country became so impressive that in December 1985 the government had to acknowledge its defeat and to withdraw the bill. The conservatives, however, have not fully abandoned their intentions. Any advances with regard to the plans for taking part in the SDI programme would ineluctably make this issue once again the order of the day.

In the present-day situation, the responsibility of every state, big or small, for the fate of humankind is infinitely growing. A no small contribution to solving the problems of maintaining peace and eliminating the threat of a destructive nuclear war could be made by Japan whose role on the world scene has of late substantially increased. Having become the world's third biggest power in terms of its level of development, it possesses an enormous economic, scientific and technological potential which, if used in the interest of removing the threat of nuclear conflict, could promote Japan's prosperity and enhance its international prestige. At the same time, being the only nation which has fallen victim to the nuclear bombardments, it enjoys a special moral right to raise its voice in defence of peace and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

Yet, a radical improvement in the international situation on the basis of complete elimination of nuclear arms will be impossible unless the US renounces the development, testing and deployment of space weapons. These are the two indissolubly linked aspects of one and the same issue. Consequently, any support for the SDI programme and participation in the development of space weapons, albeit at the level of initial research, means erecting additional obstacles to nuclear disarmament. Referring to "star wars", the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress says: "The USA has already drawn many of its allies into this programme. There is the danger that things may become irreversible. Before it is too late, it is imperative to find a realistic solution *guaranteeing that the arms race does not spread to outer space*. The "star wars" programme cannot be permitted to be used as a stimulus for a further arms race or as a road-block to radical disarmament." Not to promote preparations for a war in outer space but to take every effort to avert space militarisation and thus to create necessary conditions for an earlier total nuclear disarmament—this is the only road which fully meets the hopes and aspirations of the Japanese people and can make a major contribution of Japan to ensuring a lasting peace throughout the world.

TRADE UNIONS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Ibrahim ZAKARIA

The last four decades are often characterised as an era heralding a democratic upsurge and ushering in great social transformations. This period has seen the emergence and consolidation of the world socialist system. This period has seen an expansion of the democratic mass movements—the growth of trade unions and other democratic mass organisations of the working class. The great upsurge of the national liberation movement during this period resulted in the achievement of national independence of over 100 states and the emergence of the non-aligned movement as an important force on the international scene. International and regional actions have grown at the popular level, based on the concept of unity and solidarity in struggle.

This concerns, above all, the upsurge of the peace movement. Millions have participated in peace marches in all world capitals against the deployment of US medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe—and earlier against attempts to deploy neutron bombs there. It is important to note that in Western Europe, USA and Canada many trade union locals were among the organisers of the anti-missile and anti-nuclear movement. It is worth noting that at the time of the UN General Assembly's Second Special Session Devoted to Disarmament in 1982 over a million demonstrated in New York and the demonstration was full with the banners of trade unions and peace groups. The five-minutes strikes organised in the FRG on the peace and stopping the arms race issues in 1983 showed the deep involvement of the trade unions in that country in the anti-nuclear struggle. The world-famous actions of the women in Great Britain at the Greenham Common had the support of several trade union groups and several British trade unions consider that "peace is trade unions business".

The movement for a nuclear-free Pacific in Australia and New Zealand has the complete support of trade unions in both countries. This movement is now supported by virtually all trade unions in the Pacific basin. Similar unanimous support for the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace comes from trade unions of Asia and Africa.

Closely linked with the peace issue is the struggle to protect the jobs and living standards of workers in the capitalist countries, which was now become the struggle for a democratic alternative to the crisis and austerity. The trade unions and all democratic forces can see that the austerity, wage-cuts and sacrifice of jobs are done to find the colossal amounts needed to finance the all-consuming arms race whipped up by the military-industrial complexes of the imperialist states. The struggle for the alternative to the arms race has brought into being new forms of democratic unity in the democratic mass movement in many countries, clearly directed against the monopolies, calling for the protection and development of national industries, improvement of working conditions

The author is the General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

and protection of the environment. etc. The British miners' strike which lasted a year brought into focus the destructive nature of the policies of the Tory government.

Of a similar nature are the growing united struggles waged by workers and other democratic forces in the developing countries. The mass protest movement in Latin America against the consequences of the foreign debt burden has active trade union participation. This is only natural since the consequences of the "debt crisis" fall heavily on the workers in terms of factories closed, jobs lost, and the terrible decline in living standards. The big protest movements against the austerity policies imposed by the IMF on the newly-free states are other examples.

In recent years, trade union and other popular level actions have considerably increased on various aspects of the problems confronted by the developing countries. The trade unions have initiated a number of international and regional initiatives. Of importance in this regard are the *World Trade Union Conference on Development* held in Belgrade in 1980, the *Asian and Oceanic Trade Union Conference on Development and a New International Economic Order* held in Delhi in 1985, the *Trade Union Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Countries* held in Havana in 1985, etc.,—all of which had participation from trade unions of diverse affiliation or orientation.

Another aspect around which democratic mass movements are mobilising public opinion relates to concrete solidarity with the struggle against racism and apartheid, against Israeli aggression and for the rights of the Palestinian people, against the repressive regimes such as in Chile, the imperialist intervention in Central America, etc. The tremendous activities of antiwar groups in many countries protesting against US aggressive war in Vietnam showed the potential of such solidarity movements. Broadly based committees exist in many countries to organise solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed peoples. Many trade union locals extend support to such groups. Joint actions have also grown in the world trade union movement in the struggle against apartheid as can be seen from the anti-apartheid international trade union conferences held under the auspices of the Workers Group of the ILO. The increased activity of trade unions and other democratic action groups in the campaign of sanctions against the Pretoria regime in the recent period is particularly significant.

In the recent period, in particular, the role of non-governmental international organisations (NGOs) at the level of the United Nations has been considerably enhanced. The important role of the NGOs was noted particularly at the UN Women's Decade Conference in July 1985. The UN Conference had the participation of over 2,000 delegates from 157 countries while the NGO Forum which was organised parallelly drew the participation of about 15,000 representatives from all the continents, including representatives of women's organisations, trade unions and other mass organisations. The fact that such a very large event was organised by the NGOs themselves on a broad democratic basis and with months of preparations is an indication of the growing role and activity of the democratic mass movements in the world today.

The growing activity and influence of mass youth movements is seen in the various events at the regional and international level in connection with the observance of the year 1985 as the International Year of Youth, designated by the UN. The greatest of such events was the World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow, in the preparation and holding of which a very large number of NGOs, including youth organisations, trade unions and other mass organisations, actively participated.

Similarly, in regard to the observance of 1986 as the International Year of Peace (another UN initiative), a number of large initiatives

are planned by the NGOs, including a World Congress in Copenhagen. It will be recalled that the World Assembly For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War held in Prague in 1983 represented about 100 international and national organisations. Thus it can be seen that the democratic mass movements exert an important influence in the evolution of the international situation and possess dynamic qualities of influencing the major international issues. The new edition of the CPSU Programme has stated that "a characteristic feature of our time is *an upsurge of mass democratic movements in the non-socialist world*".

These positive features of development of the democratic mass movements, to be fully understood, must be seen in the complex background of the evolution of the international situation during the last four decades. The impact of the cold war was most serious and it will be seen that non-governmental international organisations, including the WFTU, greatly suffered from the disruptive attacks launched on it by the protagonists of the cold war. Evidently, the growth of democratic international organisations uniting workers of industrialised capitalist countries, socialist countries and developing countries—a unity which was really built in the struggle against Hitler fascism—was not to the liking of imperialism and the international monopolies.

But those who really believe in democratic unity and international solidarity did not lose heart. The patient efforts made by the WFTU and other democratic international organisations to rebuild unity and united action at the international level, uniting the workers and people of industrialised capitalist countries, socialist countries and developing countries are well known. These efforts continue. It is not easy to build unity in the face of the artificial barriers created by those who still have not shed their cold war ideologies. Moreover, we cannot ignore the active efforts to confuse, disrupt and divide the growing peace movement.

It is necessary to work our way to remove the artificially-created misunderstanding and to find opportunities to create good international understanding. Imperialist propaganda becomes less and less effective when more and more millions of working people visit each other and come in contact with one another's problems and aspirations.

Time has always acted on the side of social progress. The forces leading social development grow stronger every day. The growth in the membership of the WFTU and in its influence is a clear example. Compared to about 67 million trade union members represented at the First World Trade Union Congress in Paris in 1945, representatives of 269 million workers participated in the Tenth World Trade Union Congress in 1982. Compared to 64 organisations from 54 countries represented at its founding Congress, the 40th anniversary celebrations of the WFTU in 1985 was attended by 200 organisations from 114 countries. Among them were many trade union centres not affiliated to the WFTU but who nevertheless came since they, like the WFTU, believe in unity and united action in the world trade union movement.

Promoting united action in the world trade union movement is greatly helped by the activities of the trade unions in socialist countries which have established bilateral and multilateral relations with trade unions in the industrialised capitalist countries and developing countries. However, a very important negative factor is the typical attitude of the US Administration and some in the top echelons of the AFL-CIO who disfavour official-level trade union contacts between the USA and the USSR. Between 1917 and till President Roosevelt, the Soviet Union itself did not exist for the blind policy-makers in the US State Department. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are strong trends in US policies today. But one should hope that they will soon learn from their good friends in Western Europe and the trade unions in Western Europe, the

overwhelming majority of whom have bilateral relations with trade unions in socialist countries.

The democratic mass movements are thus faced with certain specific problems of unity and international united action but with the experiences of the last four decades, they are in a position to advance further. The WFTU has called for an international campaign for Peace and Jobs as a specific trade union contribution to the observance of the International Year of Peace (1986). These and other issues of forging international trade union united action will be debated at the 11th World Trade Union Congress which will be held in Berlin in September 1986. The Congress is open to all trade union centres, irrespective of affiliation or orientation. It will be a congress to build and strengthen world trade union unity and the unity of all democratic forces in the struggle for peace, for a better life and social progress.

Despite the complex and contradictory nature of its development, the international trade union movement is gaining organisationally and politically. It is increasing its role in the modern world development and acting as a recognised force in the struggle for peace, disarmament, democracy, national liberation and social progress.

AFRICA: US IMPERIAL POLICY IN ACTION

V. VASILKOV

Recently, the young African states have been increasingly subjected to blackmail and the policy of diktat pursued by US imperialism. The last signs of attempts made by the previous Administration at flirting with the independent countries and national liberation movements on the continent have vanished into the air. This is confirmed, in particular, by Washington's gendarme-like intentions to bring the political structures of the African countries into accord with the US notions of "freedom and democracy".

The imperialist strategy for Africa, as similar programmes for other regions, has been summed up in a series of statements made by the US President and become a complete foreign policy concept which was christened "neoglobalism". Characterising this course steered by Washington, the newspaper *O Jornal de Angola* stressed: "Actual events have shown that for the sake of attaining the goals of enslaving the peoples and protecting the 'vital interests' of the American monopolies the Reagan Administration is bent on continuing to deal with Africa according to the 'law of the jungle', resorting to the most inhuman methods of suppressing those who dare to follow an independent foreign policy guided by national interests." The main instruments chosen for realising these goals are as ever militarism and economic diktat.

The USA was not gendarmes of Africa, once stated the US Secretary of State George Shultz. However, does not the proclamation of many regions of the African continent as a "sphere of US vital interests" corroborate the fact that it is the gendarme-like functions that Washington strives to perform there? As was pointed out by the Ghanaian newspaper, *Weekly Spectator*, the policy of protecting US vital interests in different regions of the world means in fact Washington's desire to carry out its hegemonistic claims.

And there are quite a few examples in Africa confirming this. For instance, the USA has created a vast hotbed of military tensions in North Africa around Libya whose anti-imperialist policy does not suit Washington. A large grouping of the US Navy has been stationed off the Libyan coast. Moreover, in March and April 1986 the Libyan territory was barbarously bombed by the US military.

One can not but mention the policy of the US "constructive engagement" in South Africa which artificially protracts the granting of independence to the Namibian people and intensifies the undeclared war against Angola, Mozambique and other "frontline states". It is quite obvious that were it not for the comprehensive support rendered by US ruling circles, South Africa could not so arrogantly ignore the resolutions by the UN and other international organisations condemning its criminal policy. It is precisely the USA which bears full responsibility for the racists' undermining activities against neighbouring states, for the fact that the Pretoria regime continues to spill the blood of the South African people who are standing up for their rights within South Africa.

It is quite obvious that Washington is more and more actively drawing Africa into the sphere of its aggressive policy. Otherwise how can one explain the fact that US interventionist forces are urgently being formed and that these forces are being provided with bases on and near the African continent? The Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), created in 1979 and placed under the so-called US Central Command (CENTCOM) since 1983, now numbering more than 300,000 officers and men, and fully equipped with strategic mobility facilities, are obviously intended to serve aggressive purposes. Out of the 19 states whose territories Washington arbitrarily incorporated in the "CENTCOM zone of responsibility", six are African countries. These are Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia and Kenya. The CENTCOM headquarters also includes a group of 100 officers who are instructed to draw up plans for deploying US troops in the countries of Africa south of the Sahara.

The creation of this gendarme corps vividly exposes Washington's ambitions to establish its domination in Africa. The US strategic line and the material instrument of its implementation—the RDF—are aimed to inhibit the advance of the African states along the road of strengthening their independence and to impose neocolonial order on them.

Since 1980 the RDF regularly has been holding military manoeuvres of the Bright Star series on the territories of Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and a number of Middle East countries. They include the movement of large land, air and naval units and testing out the methods of direct aggression against these and neighbouring countries. The third exercise of this series—Bright Star-85—was staged from August 1 to 10 last year on the territories of Egypt, Somalia, Jordan and Oman with the participation, apart from the forces of the above-mentioned countries, of more than 9,000 US servicemen, dozens of US warships and aircraft. The show of the Pentagon's military muscle was clearly intended to intimidate the states of this region. "The provocative manoeuvres, staged by the Pentagon in near proximity to the Ethiopian borders", reads the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, "are particularly dangerous in view of the fact that the Mogadisho authorities persist in their aggressive actions aimed at undermining the territorial integrity of Ethiopia."

Apart from the established military presence of the USA in North and East Africa and the adjacent waters of the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean the Pentagon is intensifying its activities in West Africa in recent years. The United States began the "opening" of this new for itself operational theatre in April 1981 by dispatching to Liberia a company of Green Berets and the *Thorn* destroyer to train the local army. Then US men-of-war paid more and more "goodwill" naval visits to the ports of Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Gabon and other West African countries.

The next step was the conduct of military manoeuvres code-named West-African Training Cruise in October-November 1984. While practicing engineering and landing operations, the ships of the US Navy visited 15 states of West Africa. An influential Nigerian newspaper, *Vanguard*, noted that thereby the US military-political machine was opening up for itself a new region of influence. Such demonstrations of force are part and parcel of the military preparations of the United States, of the policy of rendering support to the reactionary regimes. They are aimed at forcing the local population to "get accustomed" to the presence of US troops in particular regions.

Since the early 1980s the USA has been implementing an intensive programme for deploying their military bases on the territories of African countries, bases intended for use by the RDF against other states, including African ones. It should be recalled that in the 1940-1960s the

USA had a number of bases in Africa—in Morocco, Libya, Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa. However, the USA had to evacuate most of them at the insistence of the independent African countries.

Presently, the US military is actively "returning" to Africa. In addition to the remaining bases it gained access in the 1980-1984 period to almost 30 military facilities in Africa: in Egypt—6, Sudan—5, Kenya—3, Somalia—3, Morocco—6, the Comoro Islands—1, South Africa—3 (plus an opportunity to use "in crisis situations", numerous bases of Pretoria), the Seychelles—1. There were reports that the USA plans to set up a military base in the heart of Africa, in the south of Chad, and that the USA and France are holding talks on the joint use of the military base in Djibouti.

The Africans are well aware of the negative role these nests of aggression play on their continent. *The Satellite* of Lagos ascertained that the US military bases in the region are an impediment to peace in Africa and to the elimination of tension and conflicts.

The threat of the US strategy as regards bases for Africa is, in fact, more acute if one takes into account the US military bases on the Diego Garcia Island, on the territory of Portugal (including the Azores), Spain (including the Canary Islands), Italy, Greece, Turkey, Israel, the Ascension Island belonging to Great Britain and the Reunion Island belonging to France. Many of these bases have been already used in American operations against Africa.

The establishment in Comiso (Sicily) of an US base of cruise missiles, which have a range of about 2,600 kilometres and can reach Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, as well as the northern parts of Sudan, Chad and Niger, poses a qualitatively new—missile-nuclear threat to the African countries. The clutches on Africa will be still tighter if reports are confirmed on the development by South Africa and Israel of a joint missile system intended to deliver nuclear weapons which, as many experts believe, these countries possess.

The US military preparations are accompanied by a sharp rise in American military aid to the African countries which have assumed the unseemly role of pursuing the imperialist policy on the continent or are marked by Washington for this role in the future. Over the past decade it has grown from \$70.5 million in 1975 to \$119 million in 1980 and \$210-\$220 million in 1985-1986 accounting at present for about 20 per cent of all US aid to Africa through governmental channels.¹ Taking into account the money earmarked actually for military purposes but booked as "economic" aid these figures will grow two-fold at least. Indicatively, from among 50 African states more than 90 per cent of this money is steadily flowing to 5 to 7 countries. In the 1980s these countries were Morocco, Tunisia, Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, Zaire and Liberia.

Recently, considerable attention is paid to training African military personnel. Since 1980 the expenditure for these purposes has increased four times. Characteristically, the USA does not limit itself to its most trusted "friends" but is striving to use military aid to penetrate into more and more countries. For instance, in 1986 training programmes are scheduled for Equatorial Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, the Comoro Islands. The USA regards as a primary goal in its military policy the establishment of such ties with the officer corps of the African countries' armies.

Taking into account the small size of the African armies and the fact that they are poorly equipped with modern heavy weapons, even relatively limited American infusions can sharply tilt the balance of force in

¹ *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Washington, 1977, p. 861; 1981, p. 841; 1985, p. 811; *Department of State Bulletin*, May 1985, p. 51.

any particular region in favour of an individual puppet regime. And this is not all: militarisation implanted from without is a heavy burden for the extremely limited resources of the African countries. As was correctly noted in a study prepared by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "even if the arms are not ultimately used in war, they 'kill' indirectly by diverting scarce economic resources from basic development needs such as nutrition, medical care, housing and education". The resolution adopted in Lomé (Togo) by the pan-African conference on security, disarmament and development in August 1985 stressed, in particular, that military spending was a heavy burden for the continent and detrimental to the well-being, progress and internal security of the African states.

In analysing US military expansion in Africa one can hardly overlook the so-called paramilitary or, put in plain terms, subversive activities of the US secret services. It is the huge volume of these operations that allows the Pentagon to keep a "low profile" as regards the undisguised US military presence in Africa. As R. Lemarchaund, a noted US expert on African affairs, stressed, it was high time "to recognise the CIA for what it is, i.e. a key element in the political equation of African states".³ The role that Washington entrusted to the CIA in Africa has assumed the most diverse forms ranging from "black" propaganda and subsidising "trade unions", or insurgents, to the carefully elaborated plans to suppress uprisings with the help of mercenaries, and participation in coups d'état and assassinations.

Since the early 1980 the budget of this Agency, particularly that of its department of covert operations, has swelled impressively. In October 1981, the US President signed an executive directive expanding the CIA's powers to carry out clandestine operations. From 1981 to 1985 even the official budget of this organisation doubled.

According to foreign press reports the CIA now has 40 residences in the capitals of the African countries and 50 "strong points". The major residences can be found in Rabat (Morocco), Cairo (Egypt), Monrovia (Liberia), Kinshasa (Zaire), Nairobi (Kenya), Pretoria (South Africa). The CIA department of covert operations alone uses in Africa 900 out of its 4,800 agents and has a budget of \$50 million out of \$450 million of the Agency's officially stated budget. The network of the CIA's informers numbers 1,500 to 2,000 "correspondents". The CIA annually conducts more than 130 major covert operations in Africa.

The largest of them in recent years were the covert war of the CIA against Angola in 1975-1976, which is carried on nowadays by other means, the plots against the leaders of Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, Mauritania, Libya, the attempt at a military coup d'état on the Seychelles by mercenaries, and a large-scale operation to overthrow the government of Chad in 1981.

In granting the CIA the carte blanche on April 3, 1984, the US President signed Directive 138 under which the USA, under the pretext of combatting terrorism, has openly opted for terrorist methods in its state policy. Elucidating this course the US Secretary of State declared that the United States regarded as its "moral right, indeed duty"... to undertake "appropriate preventive or pre-emptive actions against terrorist groups before they strike".⁴ On his part, the US President, replying to a correspondent's question of whether, if the need be, international law will

² *World Armaments and Disarmament 1981*, SIPRI, London, 1981, p. 117.

³ *American Policy in Southern Africa: The States and the Stance*, Ed. by R. Lemarchaund, Washington, 1978, p. 339.

⁴ G. Shultz, "Terrorism: The Challenge to the Democracies, Address Before the Jonathan Institute's Second Conference on International Terrorism on June 24, 1984, *Department of State Bulletin*, August 1984, p. 33.

be violated, said, without beating about the bush: "Yes!"⁵ Obviously, they in Washington regard as "terrorist" any governments and national liberation movements which are not to the USA's liking.

The nature of the present-day US preparations in and around Africa indicates that the Pentagon "pulls up" the African theatre to the level that would allow the incorporation of the continent into a global US military structure. In its September 16, 1985 issue the newspaper *O Jornal de Angola* drew the following conclusion: "At a time when the countries of Africa are striving to create a peaceable situation on the continent, to establish a climate of trust and to do away with fratricidal wars the Reagan Administration uses all means available to impede these efforts. In pursuing its hegemonistic interests it attempts to crush the legitimate aspirations of the peoples for freedom, independence and, eventually, to deprive them of the right to choose their own destiny." That is what lies behind talk of "securing a democratic form of government" in the African countries.

In recent years the USA has stepped up its economic expansion in the African countries. It was prompted by the American monopolies' attempts to secure for themselves access to the mineral resources of the African states, to expand export of goods, capital and services. However, the principal socio-economic goal of the USA has remained the deeper integration of the African countries into the world capitalist economy as a dependent and exploited periphery, as was the case before, and to this end to consolidate capitalist relations in them, as well as to block the struggle for progressive socio-economic transformations.

In doing so, Washington was increasingly striving to attract extensive material and financial resources of the American corporations and their extensive experience and connections in the host countries to achieve their aims on the continent and to impose on the African countries their own methods of tackling the socio-political, racial and other problems besieging the region. Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, before he was appointed to this post, wrote: "U.S. private sector constitutes an important potential adjunct of regional policy in Africa" and that is why it needs "to be consciously incorporated in a new approach to Africa".⁶ On its part the government has extended financial guarantees and political support to the activities of corporations in Africa. Washington believes that close coordination of the activities of the business quarters and the government are vital for raising the efficiency of US policy.

For instance, the private capital of the American TNCs is exported primarily to the countries with predominantly pro-Western regimes, with relatively developed economies, abundant natural resources or to those which are in an advantageous strategic position. This is corroborated by the fact that more than 70 per cent of all direct capital investments by the American TNCs are concentrated in 8 out of 45 African countries located south of the Sahara (Nigeria, Liberia, Kenya, Côte d'Ivoire, Zambia, Ghana, Zaire and Zimbabwe) and that the racist South Africa accounts for about 37 per cent of the direct private US capital investments on the African continent. At the same time, the American TNCs deliberately sidetrack a vast group of the least developed countries where hundreds of thousands of people suffer from hunger and disease.

⁵ See *U. S. News & World Report*, Nov. 18, 1985.

⁶ Ch. Crocker, "African Policy in the 1980s", *Washington Quarterly*, Summer 1980, pp. 77, 80.

Simultaneously, it should be stressed that the US monopolies concentrate their investments in the industrial sectors most profitable and strategically important for the USA, rather than in the sectors important for the national economic development of the newly free countries. For instance, more than 75 per cent of their investments go to the extracting branches (including 67 per cent in oil extraction) and only 9 per cent is invested in the manufacturing industries of the African countries. Staple US imports from Africa are oil and oil products (68 per cent) and other primary goods, while the US exports are machinery and equipment (43 per cent) and foodstuffs (23 per cent).

The same trends can also be traced in trade. Algeria, Angola, Cameroon, Gabon, Egypt, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, and Zaire, principal exporters of oil and other minerals, account for more than 90 per cent of the total US imports from Africa in 1985. As for the American exports to Africa one can observe a similar picture: those countries exporting primary goods account for more than 50 per cent. It is also indicative that South Africa accounts for more than 23 per cent of the American exports to Africa and about 14 per cent of the imports from this continent.

The export of state capital under the "aid" programmes occupies a particular place in US foreign economic policy. In the 1980s its ability to serve the implementation of Washington's military-strategic designs is moving to the forefront. As other forms of the US economic expansion, this "aid" is limited to a small range of countries where the USA has military-strategic interests and to the countries which provide military bases for the Pentagon.

At the same time, the USA not infrequently uses the rendering of "aid" to blackmail progressive regimes. For instance, in 1981 the USA suspended food "aid" to Mozambique in response to the expulsion from that country of the American diplomats-spies, in 1982 cut "aid" to Ethiopia and Tanzania under the false pretext of human rights "violations" there, and in 1983 it reduced "aid" to Madagascar and Zimbabwe because of their anti-US stand at the United Nations.

Recently, the orientation of this "aid" towards consolidating the private sector and an "open" market economy in the African countries has become a characteristic feature of "aid" as an instrument of American capital's expansion. The present trends of this course can be clearly seen from the initiative in the field of the economic policy for Africa south of Sahara which was proclaimed by the USA in February 1984. Within its framework it is planned to spend above the usual assistance programmes \$500 million within five years, beginning from \$75 million in 1985. Indicatively, subsidies will be granted to a limited (5 to 10) range of the African countries which most actively encourage the development of the private sector. *The Daily Times* of Lagos stated that while taking care of the interests of its TNCs in Africa and boasting about the amount of "aid" to the Africans, Washington passes over in silence the fact that over the past 20 years the transnational corporations have received three times more profit from the sale of weapons alone to the states of the continent than the sum of all US "aid" to Africa.

This is the way the United States channels its food aid. Thus, the Food for Progress programme proclaimed by the USA in 1985 as well as an "economic initiative" is geared to inculcate capitalism in the African countries.

When speaking about US food "aid" it should be noted that it is a far cry from genuine "goodwill" shown to the African countries, as Washington is at pains to prove. *The Wall Street Journal* had to concede in this connection that as regards the USA there are no friends in Af-

rica, but only beggars.⁷ It is not a mere coincidence that, as was stressed in a report produced by the Department of State, in defining the countries in need of aid taken into account will be such criteria as the implementation by a particular country of a rational economic policy, the abidance of its leadership to this policy, and cooperation with the countries and organisations granting this aid.

It is noteworthy that this line in US policy is being placed on a long-term footing. The government-sponsored Council on Foreign Relations and the Overseas Development Council have been instrumental in setting up in the USA a Special Committee on African Development Strategies. Its Co-Chairmen are Lawrence Eagleburger, former Under-Secretary of State, and D. McHenry, former US Ambassador to the UN. In the report entitled, *Compact for African Development*, Washington's neocolonialist course was quite clearly set forth stipulating that "the compact requires a mutual understanding: a US commitment to long-term support in exchange for an African commitment to implement reforms and improve economic performance. Only such reforms can guarantee greater external support".⁸

Obviously, such a policy has nothing to do with encouraging the economic development of the African countries. Indeed, it is impossible to conceal the results of the pernicious policy followed by the Western monopolies in Africa. Nowadays, 140 million of the 550 million of the Africans are provided with food through supplies from abroad. Between 1972 and 1983 the cost of imported foodstuffs to the African countries has grown from \$600 million to \$5,400 million, it increased by 800 per cent and consumed 20 per cent of their export earnings. Several million people have died of malnutrition. The per capita income which was slightly rising in the 1970s since 1980 has begun to invariably drop on average by 4.1 per cent annually and now this indicator is 15 to 20 per cent lower than 15 years ago.⁹

The debt noose in which the West holds Africa is getting tighter by the day. The state debt of the African countries has skyrocketed from \$20,000 million in 1975 to \$170,000 million at the end of 1985, or 8.5-fold. According to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the annual payment of the African countries to honour the debt grew to \$20,400 million in 1985. This means that another 40 per cent of the African countries export earnings found their way to the American and West European strong boxes.

H. Jackson, Professor of the Hunter College spoke quite definitely on this score: "Indeed, debt servicing can be said to be at the core of the African countries' economic crises. Externally, it prolongs their dependence on external creditors. At home, it thwarts their fundamental objective of transforming their stagnating economies into modern development societies. By depleting available hard currencies, it also cuts back capital for food imports at a time when the drought is compounding this need."¹⁰

Therefore, the goals of the US neocolonialist policy are at odds with the interests of the African countries. By expanding the scope of the activities by private capital in the developing African countries, increasing

⁷ *The Wall Street Journal*, March 26, 1986.

⁸ L. Eagleburger and D. McHenry, "Compact for African Development, Report of the Committee on African Development Strategies".—*A. Joint Project of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Overseas Development Council*, New York, December 1985, p. 1.

⁹ L. Brown and E. Wolf, "Reversing Africa's Decline", *Worldwatch Paper 65*, Worldwatch Institute, Washington, June 1985, pp. 7-8.

¹⁰ H. Jackson, "The African Crises: Drought and Debt", *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1985, pp. 1093-1094.

their dependence on monopoly capital and stepping up the aggressiveness and politicalisation of the "aid" programmes the USA entertains hopes of strengthening imperialism's positions in the young states of the continent.

However, all this cannot go on forever, as the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress noted. "The military force that the USA is counting on to maintain the status quo, to safeguard the interests of the monopolies and the military-industrial complex, and to prevent any further progressive change in the newly free countries," stressed the Report, "can only complicate the situation and precipitate new conflicts. The bags of money are liable to become kegs of gunpowder."

Such a situation doesn't naturally suit the peoples of Africa. Washington's undisguised refusal to recognise the interests of the African countries is a stimulus to the rise of anti-imperialist and anti-American sentiments on the continent, to consolidating their determination to more vigorously fight for genuine independence.


Portugal: At a Complex Stage

A. Z H E B I T

Portugal is going through a crucial stage that will determine in many respects its future development. The country that had been known in the West before the revolution of April 25, 1974 as "Europe's backwoods" is acquiring a strong foothold on the world scene. Portugal was among Europe's small and medium countries which, together with the major powers, had made considerable contributions to promoting and strengthening detente in the 1970s.

However, economic hardships have been mounting; they are aggravated by Portugal's membership in the EEC since January 1, 1986, and acute social conflicts and political instability, as evidenced by frequent government crises (from 1974 to 1985 Portugal has changed 15 cabinets).

Late in 1985-early in 1986 early parliamentary and local elections were held along with regular presidential elections in an atmosphere of acute political struggle. The mass electors' support for the Communists and their vote for Mário Soares, former General Secretary of the Socialist Party, frustrated the ultra-rights' plan to install their candidate, Diego Freitas do Amaral, in office.



To get a better understanding of what has been taking place in Portugal one should recall its post-revolutionary hardships which had sometimes acquired a dramatic pitch. The revolution had brought down the fascist dictatorship, dealt a heavy blow to the positions of monopoly capital and gave freedom to Portugal's colonies. Diplomatic relations were established with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

By the end of 1975, however, the reactionary circles succeeded in hindering revolutionary development. The situation became highly specific: with state power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, the working people, nevertheless, were actually able to influence political development. This specific feature became reflected in Portugal's Constitution of 1976, one of the most progressive fundamental laws in the West.

That is why the bourgeoisie levelled one of its main attacks at achieving a revision of the Constitution. Supported by the imperialist powers and above all the USA, and mobilising its huge arsenal of counter-revolutionary means and methods, reaction succeeded in restoring to a certain degree the positions of the big bourgeoisie and latifundists and put a hold on the socio-economic and political gains of the April Revolution. The amendments made to the Constitution in 1982 failed to destroy its progressive character.

The "democratic alliance" governments—a bloc of right-wing parties that had come to power in the early 1980s—are the most zealous representative of the policy of big capital. At that time the forces of the Right, seeking to weaken the positions of the working people and enhance those of the bourgeoisie, deliberately and steadily undermined the gains of the April Revolution, stopping at nothing regardless of how it affected the national economy. Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, noted: "Facts show that the single-minded policy of the ruling circ-

les is responsible for the sharp critical situation in the country rather than external, purely economic factors, and certainly not the revolutionary-democratic gains of 1974-1975."¹

The reactionary shift in Portugal's domestic policy went hand in hand with the sharp turn to the right in its foreign policy. For one, the "democratic alliance" governments followed in the wake of present US policy in virtually all its international aspects, including disarmament, and began to curtail contacts with the Soviet Union. It was only through action from the working class and the masses at large that it was possible to foil the reactionary schemes that could have made naught of the democratic system.

The domestic and foreign policies pursued by the "democratic alliance" were condemned by the people. Many Portuguese citizens who had previously voted "right" withdrew their support for those parties. This led to the resignation of the "democratic alliance" government and then to the defeat of the bourgeois parties at the parliamentary elections in April 1983.

The Portuguese people pinned great hopes on the new coalition government of Socialists and Social-Democrats (SP/SDP) which assumed office in June 1983. However, the "100 measures" advanced by the new government by way of an initial stage for its "austerity economy" policy served as a cover-up for the right-wing forces' onslaught on the gains of the April 1974 Revolution. The country's economy entered another slump. The situation was aggravated by the constant trade and balance of payments deficits, the unprecedented growth of the foreign debt, which topped \$ 15,000 million (73.9 per cent of the GDP) ² in 1985, and soaring unemployment which official data set at half million. The SP/SDP Cabinet pursued a policy of curtailing state investments into the national economy, restricting the activities of nationalised enterprises, transferring the lands of agricultural cooperatives to their former owners, and giving every form of encouragement to private enterprise.

Last summer Portugal was hit by another government crisis. The Social-Democratic leadership officially announced their decision to break their agreement with the Socialists for forming a government with them. Soon after Mário Soares resigned his post. After consulting the country's leading political parties President António Ramalho Eanes dissolved the National Assembly and declared the holding of new parliamentary elections ahead of schedule.

The government crisis did not come as a surprise. Local and foreign observers ascribed the resignation of the SP/SDP Cabinet to conflicts in the top echelons of the ruling parties and between the coalition parties themselves. Moreover, contradictions had come to a head between the government, on the one hand, and other government bodies and state institutions, on the other.

What had actually brought down the coalition government was the people's dissatisfaction with its domestic and foreign policies. They wanted a government that would save their country from an economic catastrophe, curb all attempts at restoring monopoly rule, strengthen the country's sovereignty and political independence and preserve the gains of the April Revolution.

At the parliamentary elections in October 1985 the main struggle ensued between five parties and election blocs: the United People's Alliance (The UPA bloc united the Portuguese Communist Party, Portuguese Democratic Movement, the Green Party, and the Independent Democrats), the Portuguese Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the ultra-right Social-Democratic Centre and a new political grouping—the Party for De-

¹ *Kommunist*, No. 9, 1985, p. 106.

² See *O Diário*, Dec. 16, 1985.

mocratic Renovation, founded to promote the political activities of ex-President António Ramalho Eanes.

The biggest vote (approximately 30 per cent) went to the Social Democrats who received 88 deputy seats. SDP leader Anibal Cavaco Silva was appointed Prime Minister. The positions of the United People's Alliance remained almost intact. Despite its insignificant loss (6 deputy seats out of 44) the Alliance confirmed its right to take part in resolving the country's key socio-economic and political problems. The success of the Party for Democratic Renovation, whose first electoral experience gave it 45 deputy seats, was a significant event.

The Socialists lost 44 deputy seats and suffered a shattering defeat. The Social-Democratic Centre lost 8 of its 30 seats. The PCP Central Committee noted that the parliamentary elections of October 1985 "were not only a firm denunciation of the anti-popular and anti-national policy conducted by the interchanging right-wing governments, but also a firm resolve to achieve changes of a democratic and patriotic character."

Having suffered a defeat at the local elections in December 1985, the right-wing forces, which had united in an anti-democratic front, began to bank on the presidential elections.

The struggle for the presidency acquired an acute character. In the first round of the elections held this January the biggest vote (2.6 million, or 46 per cent) went to the right-wing candidate Diego Freitas do Amaral. Former Socialist Party leader Mário Soares, who was also in for the second round, received 1.4 million votes (26 per cent).

The Portuguese reaction was already celebrating its victory, but the democratic forces had no intention of stepping aside. The Portuguese Communist Party, the Party for Democratic Renovation, the Portuguese Democratic Movement and the country's leading trade unions came out in support of Mário Soares. The second round of the elections held in mid-February 1986 gave Mário Soares over 51 per cent of the vote and the President's office. The country's democratic public appraised his victory as a heavy blow to the reactionary forces.

In the course of the entire post-revolutionary period Portuguese reaction looked upon blocking with the aggressive US and NATO policies as a reliable means of hamstringing the revolutionary gains and shoring up the positions of big capital. It was also seeking to speed up Portugal's entry into the EEC.

Starting in 1977 all of Portugal's governments had been zealously working to bring the country into the Common Market. After long and protracted negotiations the Brussels session of the EEC Council finally endorsed in March 1985 the decision to admit Portugal and Spain into the EEC as of January 1, 1986.

On the eve of Portugal's official entry into the Common Market its ruling circles unleashed a nationwide propaganda campaign advertising the "benefits" that were allegedly lying in store for the country.

However, most Portuguese people have but a vague idea of the country's prospects for development. This is how a correspondent of the French newspaper *La Croix* writes of his talks with people in the streets of Lisbon and Porto: "The EEC?—No, I don't know," answered one doubtfully. Others, showing complete surprise, assure us that this is "a country in Northern Europe, with which Portugal intends to maintain business contacts". Those who are better versed in current events gladly exclaim: "It's owing to the EEC that car prices will go down,—and so will taxes..."³

The country's progressive public along with several representatives of its business circles and economic experts have repeatedly pointed to the danger inherent in its entry into the EEC. They emphasised that this would lead to an industrial slump, and a lag in the competition with advanced West European countries, bring down the people's living standards, and ultimately turn Portugal into a underdeveloped appendage of the EEC.

Although Portugal has only started out as an EEC member there is already every reason to state that these forecasts have been justified to a considerable degree. Since January 1, 1986 prices have gone up for several types of goods and most services; many petty and middle enterprises, the backbone of Portugal's economy, are on the verge of going bankrupt. According to trade union estimates unemployment is liable to double. The "benefits" that Portugal was to have enjoyed through the use of the EEC "structural funds" have been reduced to naught by the decision of the Luxembourg meeting of EEC foreign ministers held last October, which prevents Portugal from increasing agricultural exports to the Common Market countries. Moreover, from January 1986 the fishing fleets of all of Portugal's 11 EEC partners have received access to its territorial waters. This will have a dire effect on the country's national fishing fleet which is no rival to its European counterparts. Portugal's trade and economic relations with non-members of the EEC are deteriorating.

Portugal's membership in the Common Market has increased the demands of its right-wing circles to rehaul the economy after the model of developed West European capitalist countries. And this in their opinion involves first and foremost a revision of the Constitution. Besides, the reactionary circles are out to change the labour code in order to make it easier to discharge people from work, denationalise—fully or partially—nearly 20 state-owned enterprises, and to revise the legislation on landownership in the interests of private holders.

The motives behind the EEC decision to extend its ranks, were chiefly of a political nature. Following the revolution in Portugal and the downfall of the Franco-style dictatorship in Spain, bourgeois circles in the "Ten" found it necessary to enhance the capitalist system in the Pyrenees states by closer economic cooperation. Moreover, the entry of Spain and Portugal into the Common Market answered the plans of the US military industrial complex to strengthen NATO's "European support". One cannot disregard the endeavours of the EEC's transnational and national corporations to extend their economic expansions to southern Europe, as well as to the Mediterranean, and the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa and Latin America, where Spain and Portugal have long-standing traditional economic ties.

In Portugal's foreign policy priority development was also given to relations with the USA. In December 1983 the two countries signed an agreement which extended for another seven years the use by the USA of the Lajes military base in the Azores, which the Washington strategists regard as a springboard for transferring US intervention troops to different parts of the world. Besides, Lisbon has come out in support of deploying US medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

As to the attitude of the SP/SDP Cabinet to the US "star wars" project, it can be said that the Portuguese leaders were outwardly quite restrained on the matter of militarisation of outer space, being well aware of the negative attitude shown towards the project by the country's democratic public and peace organisations as well as several West European governments. In August 1985 Portugal joined the European organisation of nuclear research, an act characterised by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaime Gama as "another step towards Portugal's participation in the Eureka project".

Nevertheless, Washington has to a certain extent succeeded in gearing

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Portugal to its "strategic defence initiative". In particular, in 1984 the USA was allowed to build a station for tracking US spy-satellites in the southern province of Algarve subordinated to the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD)

Of late the White House has begun to drag Portugal even more zealously into NATO's military affairs, and into its plans for militarising outer space. There were in part the aims underlying the US President's visit to Lisbon in May 1985.

The appointment of a new US ambassador to Portugal last year was regarded by many observers as overt pressure on the country. Frank Shakespeare, former Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting and an "expert" in "psychological warfare", stepped in for Henry A. Holmes, a "liberal" in Washington's opinion. The new Ambassador started out by taking the floor in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the US Congress to express serious dissatisfaction with the proportional voting system in Portugal which gave Communists a wide representation in Parliament, and cracked down on what he believed the much too extensive role of the state sector in the country's economy. In late 1985 it turned out that the USA had been secretly financing conservative organisations in several West European countries including Portugal.

Today the peace movement is gaining momentum in Portugal. Along with the existing progressive organisations uniting the country's antiwar forces, like the Portuguese Council for Peace and Cooperation and the "No to Nuclear Weapons in Portugal" movement, there have come to the fore many others, among them, the Green Party, the Association Portuguese Physicians Against Nuclear War, the Assembly of Peace Champions of Lisbon, and others. The peace champions fight against the use of their country's territory for deploying, transporting and stockpiling nuclear weapons, and denounce the US "star wars" programme including the building project of a space tracking station in the Algarve Province which is part of this monstrous space militarisation programme.

The use of the Tejo estuary for docking and refuelling US battleships and nuclear-powered submarines carrying nuclear weapons have caused great anxiety among all of the country's progressive public. Wide acclaim has been given in this connection to the bills introduced by Communist deputies in Parliament on banning the deployment, stockpiling and transportation of nuclear weapons in the country's territory, revising US-Portuguese military agreements, and declaring the Portuguese territory a nuclear-free zone. The campaign to declare all of the Pyrenean Peninsula a nuclear-free zone is also gaining momentum.

In the first years when diplomatic relations were established between the USSR and Portugal their cooperation made good progress and was rich in content. The turn that took place in Portugal's foreign policy in the early 1980s weakened these ties. Portugal began to take an active part in the anti-Soviet campaign unleashed in the West. In the obtaining conditions the USSR held its ground and fulfilled meticulously its commitments to the bilateral agreements, which in the ultimate end became the basis for the revival of Soviet-Portuguese relations under the SP/SDP government.

Exchanging parliamentary delegations in 1984-1985 also helped normalise relations between the two countries. In June 1985 President Eanes told representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet that differences in the countries' socio-political systems should not hinder the growth of contacts and understanding, and stressed the need to give the bilateral relations a sound foundation that would withstand the ups and downs of international life. Both sides stressed that comprehensive Soviet-Portuguese cooperation,

which had been an element of detente in the 1970s, could and should become in our time a factor of preserving, reviving and intensifying detente.

Economic and cultural ties between the Soviet Union and Portugal have received a new impetus. The mixed bilateral commission that was set up to check on the fulfilment of their trade agreement had kept up its work. At its Sessions note was made that their trade contacts be improved with due regard for economic potentials of the two countries. Joint endeavour was expressed to strengthen and promote trade relations, especially in the shipbuilding and metalworking industries.

It is well known that orders placed by the Soviet foreign trade association Sudoimport for the building of river-sea type vessels at the Viana do Castelo shipyards, which had been coming in from the USSR since 1976, do not only promote the development of bilateral trade relations, but provide many with work at the ship-building enterprises. Since 1976 ten vessels for the Soviet river and naval fleet have come out of here.

In exchange for vessels, cork, footwear, textiles, tinned fish and other products, the Soviet Union exports to Portugal machines and equipment, chemical goods and automobiles.

There is no doubt that Soviet-Portuguese cooperation has great reserves in store. To make use of them it is necessary to remove the artificial barriers that are hindering bilateral contacts. In this connection one cannot help noting the positive trends that appeared in the first months under the Social Democratic government. Among its first acts Anibal Cavaco Silva's Cabinet annulled the decision of the preceding government to denounce Portugal's trade agreement with the Soviet Union under the pretext of the former's new commitments to the EEC.

The USSR's new peace initiatives received wide approval in Portugal. In an official note circulated in Lisbon by the Foreign Ministry the government showed its interest in the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev of January 15, 1986.

This March a Soviet delegation under V. P. Orlov, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, attended the inauguration ceremony of Portugal's President Mário Soares. In the course of the talks and meetings with Soviet parliamentarians Portugal's government leaders, and among them President Soares, spoke in favour of their country's more active participation in the East-West dialogue and in normalising a regular exchange of views with the Soviet Union on problems of mutual interest.

Portugal has entered a highly complicated and responsible stage of development. The recent elections were solid proof that its democratic forces were capable of giving a firm rebuff to the counter-attacks of the Right and defending the gains of the April Revolution. Speaking at the 27th CPSU Congress Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, said that although the situation remained exceedingly complex, "the results of the elections have done away with the direct threat of a counter-revolutionary coup and have made conditions more favourable for uniting working people and democrats to keep up the struggle for democracy, in defence of the revolutionary gains which are an integral element of Portugal's democratic system—the agrarian reform, nationalisation, the working people's rights, democratic local governments, and civil liberties."

The Editorial Board of the journal **International Affairs** approached several heads of delegations to the 27th Congress of the CPSU asking them to share their impressions of the Congress work and to answer a few questions pertaining to the situation in various countries and regions of the world. Their answers are given below.

HARILAOS FLORAKIS, General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Greece

The International Impact of the 27th Congress Will Be Both Comprehensive and Significant

The 27th Congress of the CPSU was a congress worthy of Lenin's glorious Party. Its atmosphere was one of criticism and innovation, ideological and organisational unity, frank talk free of any embellishment, endeavour to lay bare shortcomings and refrain from trying to find easy, simplistic solutions.

Highly significant were the following topics: the programme for accelerating the country's socio-economic development, reorganisation of its economic mechanism and other problems concerning the Soviet society and the contemporary world.

The speeches of the delegates made a deep impression on me. They were confirmation that the bold ideas contained in the Political Report of the Central Committee were turning into a cause of the working people. And this infuses one with optimism, for implementation of the plans mapped out by the 27th CPSU Congress is inconceivable without activating the initiative of the people at large.

In my opinion, the decisions of the Congress will have an impact on the overall world situation today as well as in the course of their implementation. This impact will be of a comprehensive nature, and that is why I would like to dwell only on a few of its aspects.

The Soviet Union's concrete, realistic and revolutionary proposals aimed at strengthening peace and achieving stage-by-stage disarmament, which have been approved by the 27th Congress, have met with ever increasing world-wide response. They are supported to a lesser or greater extent by many states, parties and movements, irrespective of socio-political and ideological distinctions. These proposals open up new prospects for bringing together peaceloving forces the world over.

Firstly, they afford the USA less opportunities for indulging in demagoguery and deceiving peoples, and clearly show imperialism's responsibility for the existing situation. And it is quite obvious that in the wake of these proposals a large number of capitalists countries will have to reckon with the demands of their peaceloving forces and the Soviet initiatives. The stronger the peace movement, the more resolutely it will support

the Soviet proposals, the greater will be the hope that the capitalist states and, above all, the USA will change its old approach or develop a new one to these issues.

Secondly, the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress on international questions meet the aspirations of the peoples in the developing countries who experience no small difficulties and are suffering from the consequences of imperialism's neocolonialist policy. Hence, its decisions instill new hope and open up new prospects for the struggle and cohesion of these states.

Thirdly, the USSR's accelerated development as outlined by the 27th Congress, the enormous growth of its economic potential, improving the quality of its industrial output, and on the whole achieving a higher level of development of Soviet society—this alone will have tremendous worldwide significance. For the Soviet Union is a great force fighting for peace and progress and counteracting imperialist policy. This means that its growing potential will curb aggressive imperialist policy and thus render substantial assistance to countries fighting against imperialist oppression.

Fourthly, events in the Soviet Union always influence in one way or another the development of the communist and, in general, progressive movements, the more so today when the historic CPSU Congress has completed its work. The qualitative restructuring of the Soviet society and the further development of socialist democracy, as fixed in the decisions of the Congress, increase the appealing force of socialism, and hence make conditions more favourable for increasing the impact of the communist movement in capitalist countries. The new ideas introduced by the 27th CPSU Congress enrich the theory and practical work of Communist Parties, giving them a more profound and extensive outlook on the contradictions in the present-day world, and expanding the horizons of each Party in the struggle for socialism in the concrete conditions of each respective country.

The 27th CPSU Congress will have a strong and comprehensive international impact. And this, I believe, will become particularly obvious with time.

What can you say about the situation in the Mediterranean? What should be undertaken by the progressive forces in this area to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and international cooperation?

The situation in the Mediterranean remains tense and is a serious threat to world peace. The main responsibility for the crisis there falls on the US imperialists who carry on as contemporary brigands and are out to enhance their hegemony in this important world area at any cost.

Turning the Mediterranean into a sea of peace means eliminating the seats of tension and curbing imperialism's aggressive action in this part of the world. Here a top priority problem is to do away with the powder-keg situation in the Middle East. To resolve this issue it is necessary to recognise the right of the Palestinian people to their homeland, ensure the national sovereignty of Lebanon and normalise the situation there, put a break on Israel's policy of aggression and expansion, and on imperialist provocations against Libya. Such a solution cannot be attained by disjointed attempts or individual efforts. What one needs here is a joint solution of the issue by holding an international conference as proposed by the Soviet Union.

Another hot point in the Mediterranean is the Cyprus issue. Forty per cent of the island's territory is still occupied by Turkish forces. Imperialism pursues a policy of dividing Cyprus so as to turn it at long last into its "unsinkable aircraft carrier". The Soviet Union has lately advanced an important proposal on the principles of achieving a Cyprus settle-

ment by holding an international conference along the lines of independence, territorial integrity, unity and sovereignty of the state Cyprus and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from its territory. If this initiative is realised, and above all with the participation of the interested states, it will, of course, be possible to settle this acute regional and international issue in a constructive way.

The Mediterranean can indeed become a zone of peace and cooperation if reliable ways are found to do away with US military bases and nuclear weapons in the countries of this region and to withdraw fleets carrying nuclear weapons. The solution of this task will be promoted by establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans and withdrawing medium-range missiles from Europe. These weighty issues could be tackled by a conference embracing a large number of Mediterranean states and movements. However, the top priority task is to extend still more the scope of the struggle waged in the region by its peoples. Therein lie the great hopes and prospects for the Mediterranean of tomorrow.

RODNEY ARISMENDI, General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Uruguay

The Soviet People Sets Itself Historical Goals

The 27th Congress of the CPSU will go down in history as an event having an enormous impact on the building of communism and on the state of international relations, the peoples' struggle for democracy, national liberation, for peace and socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was a turning point in the history of humankind: for the first time socialism turned from theory into practice. It was forced to develop and build up its base in a capitalist encirclement, in the backward conditions inherited from pre-revolutionary Russia. It was an event of paramount importance in world history, and most importantly, despite all the hardships of foreign intervention, the blockade, the Nazi invasion, postwar rehabilitation of the national economy, and nuclear blackmail on the part of US imperialism, the Soviet people have succeeded in building a socialist society, a society that is more progressive than capitalism, a society free of exploitation, and which has now brought the Soviet peoples to the forefront in terms of economic, scientific and, above all, social and cultural advance.

The 27th Congress is a new stage in the development of socialism. It has outlined the course for accelerating socio-economic development based on the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution along with the task of overcoming the existing difficulties. The development of productive forces will make it possible to bring about changes in social sphere.

The Soviet people sets itself historical goals. The 27th Congress posed the task of doubling the country's production potential in 15 years' time. Such grandiose plans cannot be attained by the developed capitalist countries, and by US imperialism. They could not even set themselves such tasks, for a capitalist society is rent by crises, chronic unemployment, inflation, and the steadily widening gap between wealth and poverty—34 million Americans, according to statistical data, live below the official poverty line. In short, such a plan can be realised by socialism alone which has shown in this way its advantage over capitalism.

To bring this huge force into action it is necessary to marshal the joint efforts of the Party and the people, tantamount to those efforts

that had ensured the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the overcoming of backwardness and the ravages of the Civil War and foreign interventions, the building up of the material and technological base of socialism and the routing of Nazism, when the entire Soviet people, young and old, soldiers and civilians stood up in defence of their Homeland. Criticism and self-criticism, exposure of mistakes and acceleration of socio-economic development rates are also a key factor in achieving these tasks.

The coming century will give us an outline of a communist society, and a perfected socialist society. They will emerge in a world where the Soviet Union is no longer alone. Today the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin have won the minds of one-third of humankind. States in four continents are building socialism or have taken a socialist orientation. The decisions of the Congress will find a response in the countries of the socialist community, and they will have an impact on their development, initiative and common struggle.

In its work the 27th Congress had closely interlaced two elements: the tasks of creativity, restructuring the economy along scientific and technological lines, and cultural advance, and those of strengthening world peace. It is not surprising therefore that these were the most spoken-of topics on the part of most foreign guests and the delegates.

What did the 27th Congress introduce? All the previous Congresses had spoken of peace; the problem of ensuring peace had been invariably raised since the time of Lenin, the October 1917 Revolution and the Decree on Peace. At this Congress, however, the problem of war and peace was discussed as a task of utmost urgency and in categorical form, yet with maximum flexibility, which is necessary for realising all the available opportunities to eliminate the threat of nuclear conflict, counteracting the insane "star wars" plans, and creating at the same time the conditions for coexistence between states with different socio-economic systems. This makes the foreign policy programme adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, like the plan for eliminating all nuclear weapons by 2000, advanced in the Statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, of January 15, 1986, a veritable Code of peaceful coexistence.

The Political Report formulates proposals to ensure the right of all peoples to peace. They are aimed at improving the conditions of life of the greater part of humankind which through the fault of imperialism is languishing in poverty and backwardness. The Report dwelt on questions dealing with the establishing of a new international economic order, the settling of all problems through negotiations, competition instead of confrontation, ideological struggle instead of "psychological warfare", developing trade and cooperation in science and economy, rendering assistance to the peoples of the Third World.

Hence the decisions and documents of the 27th Congress will have an immense significance and deserve profound theoretical analysis and interpretation. They will meet with wide response in the world, for every success and achievement of the Soviet Union, each new plant and space station, each new million specialists and engineers, each new step towards solving the housing problem, ensuring cultural development, improving public health services and child protection raise the prestige of socialism in the capitalist world which is rent by crises and acute social conflicts.

Uruguay is among the Latin American countries where the military regime has recently given way to a civilian government. What in your opinion are the essential features and specifics of this process?

Firstly, I would like to say that in Uruguay the change was not simply from a military regime to a civilian government, but from a fascist regime to a democratic government. And this is very important. As you know, we had a dispute with those who had been cowardly enough to believe that the foisting of dictatorships in the countries of South America was nothing but a slightly renewed model of former imperialist policy. They did not and do not understand that South American countries have become the objects of the imperialist plan to establish fascist dictatorships or regimes using fascist methods in order to turn back the revolutionary processes in Latin America and undermine the position of socialism in Cuba; to bring down Chile's revolutionary-democratic government; to hamstring the consolidation of the left-wing forces and the working class in Uruguay; to do away with progressive nationalist movements in Latin America, particularly with the movement of the military, as was the case with the government of Velasco Alvarado in Peru.

The downfall of fascist dictatorships in South America marks the beginning of a new historic stage. The restoring of democracy should be viewed in both the national context and in that of all of Latin America. In the national context it is an integral element of the defeat suffered by US imperialism's schemes to establish reactionary, fascist and counter-revolutionary regimes on the continent, that are bolstered by the TNCs, financial capital and the reactionary military. These schemes have been foiled chiefly by the resistance of our peoples who have never ceased fighting.

Another reason for their collapse appeared with the maturing of processes in Latin America leading to democratic and revolutionary changes which reached their peak during the victory in 1979 of the democratic, anti-imperialist revolution in Nicaragua, the guerrilla movement in El Salvador, and the advancement toward democracy in other countries. There were also objective circumstances behind these developments: the crisis of capitalism and the system of dependent capitalism; and the mounting resistance and counteraction to imperialist policy. At present conditions are growing more favourable for the peoples and governments in Latin America to unite in their struggle against this policy.

The collapse of the dictatorship in Uruguay was the result of its people's long struggle. Like in other Latin American states, the tyranny in our country was one of terrorism and bloodshed: thousands murdered, tens of thousands of tortured and banished, crushed democratic institutions, the downfall of the educational and public health systems, repression along every line as prescribed by the Pentagon and CIA plans which were to fully suppress the resistance movement in our country. However, immediately after the military coup of 1973 the people of Uruguay went on a nation-wide strike which lasted 15 days. The resistance movement went on with its work, where the chief role belonged to our people and our party. The price of its struggle was hundreds of dead, many thousands imprisoned, tortured, and expelled. Yet it continued its cause up to the 1980s when the dictatorship suffered a crushing defeat in the course of the plebiscite.

The Party was not alone in its fight, it had the broad support of all the people, the Broad Front headed by General Liber Seregna, the trade unions, and the movements of students, physicians, intelligentsia, workers in art. In short, virtually the entire Uruguayan people, minus the military-fascist circles, repressive apparatus, financial capital and imperialist agents, united within the National Accord to overthrow the dictatorship. In the elections that were held later the Broad Front scored tangible success, receiving a sizeable part of the vote and becoming an important political force.

A new historic period was ushered in Uruguay. Its characteristic fea-

tures are: firstly, the need for all the people—Communists, the Broad Front, the government, and political parties to strengthen democracy in order to preclude any possible return to fascist dictatorship; secondly, the need to develop and intensify the democratic process by implementing the programme of changes advanced by the Broad Front, the workers' movement and the Communists.

In its foreign policy the government of Uruguay supports the Contadora Group, is a member of the Group of Political Support to the Contadora Group, and opposes the blockade around Nicaragua. It has established diplomatic relations with Cuba, has good relations with the socialist countries, denounces apartheid and demands the granting of independence to Namibia, and has come out in support of the Delhi Declaration of six states which called for stopping the nuclear arms race.

Internally, the democratic government has inherited a grave legacy, and this includes a foreign debt of nearly \$6,000 million. Two programmes of development are now being worked out in the country. One is advanced by the government with support from the IMF, the other by the Broad Front, popular organisations and the Communist Party. The latter programme envisages the reorientation of society, delivering the country from its foreign debt payments, refusal to be at the IMF's bidding, and the adopting of an economic plan. Its fulfilment will raise living standards, bring up the wages, improve the system of education and public health, restructure the economy, boost industrial development and introduce essential changes in agriculture.

At the present time the government has called upon all the political parties and blocs to take part in discussing these issues. Representatives of the country's main political forces—the ruling Colorado Party, the Broad Front, the National Party and the Civil Union—are studying the problem to decide in favour of one of the economic plans. This is not easy, for in its economic orientation the government is under the heavy influence of the IMF, while the Broad Front, the Civil Union and the National Party are insisting on an alternative programme. We are engaged in a nation-wide dialogue which is essential for strengthening democracy.

At the same time Uruguay has one of the continent's most active workers' movement which continues in all consciousness and with every responsibility to uphold for the people's and working class interests in the socio-economic sphere.

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU, General Secretary, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus

The USSR Is in the Vanguard of the Struggle for Peace

The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made an exclusively deep impression on me by its profound analysis of domestic and international problems, and by the atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism which are the Party's time-tested weapon for overcoming mistakes and shortcomings in its work.

I should also like to make note of the great attention it devoted to the development of computers and all the latest means of automation. Their introduction will help increase production output and raise its quality. And this means that in a short time the USSR will be able to outstrip the most developed country of the capitalist world—the United States of America—in all spheres of production. While in the capitalist countries automation and computerisation of production increase unemployment,

their application in the Soviet Union will help raise the living and cultural standards of its people. One can say in all confidence that the implementation of the decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress will create the prerequisites for laying the foundations of communist society.

An essential condition for implementing this great economic plan is preserving and strengthening world peace. Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals envisaging in the coming 15 years the practical elimination of nuclear weapons and the banning of nuclear tests allow one to hope that humankind will be saved from the nightmare of a nuclear catastrophe.

Thus by coming out earnestly and with a full share of its responsibility in defence of world peace the Soviet Union renders an invaluable favour to all of humankind. While pursuing its Leninist foreign policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different socio-political systems the USSR is in the vanguard of the struggle for peace.

How do you assess the USSR's recent proposals concerning a Cyprus settlement?

The Soviet Union's recent proposals on the Cyprus issue have met with approval from all the people of Cyprus, all its parties and organisations, the government and Parliament, because their implementation would provide the best possible solution to the Cyprus issue. The Soviet proposals are another confirmation of its sincere concern for the future of the Cyprus people. Without interfering in its domestic affairs the Soviet Union shows Cyprus the way to achieving a peaceful, just, mutually acceptable and viable settlement of its problem.

Of special interest is the proposal on holding an international conference under UN auspices with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council, the interested states and other, non-aligned, countries. This conference would discuss the international treaties and agreements that Cyprus had been forced to sign in 1960 as an indispensable condition for proclaiming its independence. These agreements are detrimental to Cyprus's national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Soviet proposals ensure the existence of an independent, sovereign, territorially integral, united, non-aligned and demilitarised Cyprus. The withdrawal of Turkish occupation troops and all foreign troops in general, the dismantling of military bases and facilities belonging to imperialist states, and the full demilitarisation of the island will meet the vital interests of its people and those of the people of the Eastern Mediterranean area and the Middle East, a region that is a veritable powder-keg.

WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada

People Can See Now More Than Before That Peace and Socialism Come Together

The 27th CPSU Congress and the Political Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Congress were, in my opinion, events of vital importance. The resolutions made by the Congress will determine not only the development of the Soviet Union but, in the final count, world development. I'd like to dwell on two provisions in this Political Report: first, the task of accelerating the country's socio-economic development based on the scientific and technological revolution and of

doubling, in 15 years' time, the production potential of the Soviet economy. This is a major proposal in the sense that accomplishing such a task, in such a short period of time will require tremendous effort. And the way in which the delegates responded to this challenge indicates, no doubt, that this target will be achieved and thereby lead to a massive increase in living standards of the Soviet people and show that real socialism is able to solve the problems facing it—and solve them in the interests of peace and social progress.

The second important thing is that the central point of the Political Report is the struggle for peace and the prevention of a nuclear war. And here again, the Soviet Union has laid down a challenge to imperialism, to United States imperialism in the first place, that by the year 2000 it is possible to eliminate nuclear war and the threat of a nuclear catastrophe which hangs so heavily over mankind. So far the response by the United States indicates that it does not intend to join in the moratorium on further nuclear tests, and it does not intend to annul its "star wars" programme. In other words, it is still hoping to achieve military-strategic superiority over socialism.

The Gorbachev peace plan, to use that term, is an embodiment of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, and it is, above all, directed to the people, not only to the governments.

The examination by the 27th CPSU Congress of international problems, the large-scale Soviet initiatives on disarmament will undoubtedly invoke a wide response in all countries, will help strengthen the forces of peace and social progress on a broad scale, and may well compell the US Administration to retreat from its policy of confrontation and adopt a policy of detente.

These two aspects will, undoubtedly, have an impact on modern public opinion all over the world. People can see now more than ever before that peace and socialism, socialism and peace, go together.

So, what tasks are the peace supporters in Canada facing nowadays and what are their achievements?

Numerous antiwar organisations and movements throughout Canada have united in the Canadian Peace Alliance, which held its first convention a few months ago. And this was a significant moment for the peace forces, because it brought together diverse peace movements and organisations from different parts of the country. What is significant about it is the fact that it made possible the uniting of the peace movements of English and French Canada; it made possible the involvement in the struggle against the threat of war of the Canadian Labour Congress, which is the main trade union body in Canada, and other labour organisations. And this marks an important step forward in the struggle for peace.

Amongst the questions that were discussed and decided upon was the demand on the United States government to annul its "star wars" programme and a call for the Canadian government to withdraw from the North American Aerospace Defence Command, which, according to the Pentagon plans is called upon to be part and parcel of the "star wars" programme.

The peace movements of the country now actively support the proposals set forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement to eliminate nuclear weapons by the year 2000. And that was important because it signifies the fact that there is now less of the tendency to put the United States and the Soviet Union in the same category. The peace movements can see more and more that the Soviet Union does, in deed, strive for peace and the United States Administration confines itself to mere words about peace.

There is growing support likewise in the peace movement for the moratorium that the Soviet Union undertook on nuclear explosions and a call for the United States Administration to join it. The Canadian peace movement demands that US cruise missile testing on Canadian soil now be annulled. We believe: if the Soviet Union could undertake a moratorium why should not Canada stop US cruise missile on its territory.

So one can anticipate that the first stage of the fight for peace expressed in the formation of the Canadian Peace Alliance has now moved over to another stage in which there is growing demand for a change of policy by the Canadian government and the development of independent foreign policy by the Canadian government. It's also important that a number of political parties are also beginning to speak on this matter including the opposition parties in Parliament, like the Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party, which are coming out against the "star wars" programme, are coming out for a re-examination of Canada's relation to the North American Aerospace Defence Command, are coming out in support of a moratorium on further nuclear testing.

MEIR VILNER, General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel

Peace Is Necessary for the Implementation of Creative Plans

This is the sixth time in a row I've attended a CPSU Congress. But I believe the 27th Congress is a special Congress—special for two reasons. The first reason is the atmosphere of the Congress. There had always been discussions at Soviet communist forums, there had been criticism, but the 27th Congress is distinguished, first and foremost, by the open, frank discussion of the posed questions.

The Soviet Union's successes and achievements are obvious. It has turned out, however, that owing to the reasons of which much was said at the Congress, the development rate was not as it could and should have been under developed socialism. The Party has fearlessly exposed the mistakes and shortcomings, and has charted a sweeping plan for the country's socio-economic development to the year 2000 on the basis of accelerating the rates of economic development, and widely introducing the achievements of scientific and technological progress. I shall come back from the USSR with a feeling of elation and enthusiasm, for the implementation of the CPSU's plans means that in 15 years' time there will be two Soviet Unions, i. e. your country will become twice as strong. This is indeed a revolutionary cause from all points of view. Among other things the appealing force of socialism will increase boundlessly, and this will certainly contribute to the struggle of Communists the world over. The USSR's enemies, alluding to the mistakes and shortcomings which the CPSU did bring out, demagogically allege the failure of the Soviet economy. In actual fact, however, the Soviet economy has been making good headway and its present task is to accelerate its rates of development. We Communists are firmly convinced that this open, frank discussion will help overcome the difficulties as soon as possible, and that all that has been outlined by the CPSU will be implemented.

Secondly, I was highly impressed by the fact that the 27th CPSU Congress discussed issues of war and peace. The problem of ensuring a lasting peace had been considered at all CPSU Congresses. Now it received special attention in the context of the Soviet Union's new concrete initiatives. They are indeed unusual, especially the plan to eliminate

nuclear weapons by the end of the century. It poses great difficulties for imperialism, forcing it to reply to the Soviet proposals. Up till now the USA has replied with demagoguery in the sense that it agrees to discuss the Soviet proposals but does not wish to discard the "star wars" plans. This is certainly far from being a serious reply.

It seems to me that there is an inseparable link between the USSR's socio-economic development plans and the programme for doing away with nuclear weapons the world over by the end of the century. If a people and its state outline at one and the same time the sweeping plans of economic and social development and a large-scale disarmament programme, this means that they are in need of peace for the realisation of these creative plans; this means that socialism and peace are inseparable. If there is peace in the world, if detente triumphs, if it is possible to put an end to the arms race and eliminate nuclear weapons, then regional conflicts will be settled too in the spirit of detente.

What are the characteristic features of the present-day situation in the Middle East in the context of the continuing US-Israeli aggression?

The situation in the Middle East remains complicated. For more than a year now Israel's government has been made up of two large Zionist blocs—the ultra-right and the right Social Democratic. They are pursuing a dangerous policy of aggression and continue to occupy Arab territories. They come out against the holding of an international conference, against the participation of the Soviet Union in settling the Middle East crisis and against recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. In short, they want the Middle East issue to be settled by Ronald Reagan and Shimon Peres without the participation of the main party, the people of Palestine.

Inside the country the ruling bloc has launched an unprecedented offensive against the working class. Unemployment has acquired a mass character. We had seen the last of this in 1966. Then the problem was "solved" by Israel's aggression against the neighbouring Arab states—the unemployed were swallowed up by the army. The present-day economic crisis is the direct result of that aggressive policy. Plants and factories are closing down and even the war industry has been hit by a slump. The reason is that Israeli arms were exported to the dictatorial regimes in Latin America. The Israeli ruling circles were interested in preserving these dictatorships not only from the political and ideological standpoint but also from the economic one. Now when many tyrannical regimes have ceased to exist Israel's arms exports to Latin America have dropped.

Trade union and political figures are banished from the occupied Palestinian territories, arrests without charges and imprisonment without trial are widespread. Oppression and repressions are intensified, and Palestinians are again subjected to torture in prisons. Our party naturally wages an active struggle against this criminal policy.

Yet it would be wrong to view everything that is taking place in Israel in a gloomy light. We have our achievements, first of all the mass antiwar movement which has appeared for the first time in our country's history and very active at that. Until now only we Communists had come out against Israel's aggressive wars. All the other forces, even the left-wing ones believed that Israel was waging just wars of defence. We acted practically alone. However, the aggression against Lebanon gave rise to mass antiwar demonstrations, biggest of which was held in Tel Aviv with 400,000 people taking part. It is our Party that has become the spark kindling the flames of popular protest.

ALFRED NZO, Secretary-General, African National Congress of South Africa

The USSR Will Continue to Stand Up for the Just Cause of the Peoples

The 27th Congress of the CPSU is a truly historic event, an important turning point not only for the development of the USSR but certainly also for international relations, especially in respect to the struggle for peace and security. We can say this already, basing ourselves on the wide-ranging report that was presented to the Congress by Mikhail Gorbachev, a report which gave a clear view of the new aspects in the domestic and foreign policies of the USSR between the 26th and 27th Congresses.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that, alongside the successes achieved, there occurred certain errors which are being used by the enemies of socialism to fan anti-Soviet hysteria. But, of course, this frank exposition of the problems shows the USSR's genuine resolve to follow the Party's course.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee naturally dealt with the most topical questions of today's international relations, those of war and peace. Millions of peoples all over the world know, and this has been once again confirmed by the Report and the follow-up speeches, that the Soviet Union will never desert its major policy line—the cause of, struggling for peace and security, of saving mankind from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. This course was further endorsed in the new edition of the Programme of the CPSU which states that the USSR will go on working to ensure a lasting peace the world over.

The Political Report exposed the intrigues of imperialism, especially the United States, which has been for many years creating "hot spots" on the globe. The peoples who are still waging national liberation struggle are aware that there exists an inseparable link between their struggle and the struggle for peace. The documents of the Congress and the speeches clearly indicate that the CPSU and the Soviet Union will continue to support the just cause of the peoples who are defending their freedom and sovereignty.

What are the features of the present-day situation in South Africa?

Now, first, of course, the internal situation in South Africa is characterised by a very deep crisis: political, economic, financial—that has confronted the apartheid regime. Our people see that apartheid cannot be eliminated by announcements that the regime is making so-called reforms, which are really meant to preserve the apartheid system.

Now, an outstanding feature, of course, of that situation is the ever escalating struggle of our people, a struggle that involves virtually all the sections of the oppressed population. That struggle also brings to the surface various organisational formations of the people: the women's, the youth, the working class; a struggle that is increasingly joined by other democratic forces and other sections of our population. And increasingly these sections of the population gravitate towards a tendency to act in unity against a common enemy. This was graphically demonstrated at a conference that was held in last December by the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee, been convened to discuss the education crisis. The conference discussed the education crisis which led to boycotts by the black students.

rilla movement which functions under the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front is active in El Salvador and has already liberated many of the country's territories. Thirdly, Guatemala with its relatively strong national bourgeoisie that is keen on its own economic interests, refused to join the blockade around Nicaragua. It is interested in reviving the Central American "common market" which cannot function without Nicaragua. Besides, Guatemala's army, which was and remains an army of repression, is highly concerned with its own interests and ambitions.

Our Party and all the progressive, patriotic and revolutionary forces in our country had formed a nation-wide opposition to the disgraceful foreign policy which had been pursued only recently by the former government of Roberto Suazo Córdova. This opposition took the form of street meetings and demonstrations, and strikes, which did not always become known abroad. Since 1983, when Honduras was occupied by US troops and Somoza's counter-revolutionary gangs, the conditions of our struggle have changed, as have the strategic and tactical goals of our Party. Restoring our national sovereignty, which was crushed by the invaders has become a top priority task. By achieving this goal we would be making a tangible contribution to the strengthening of the Nicaraguan revolution, to the defence of the national liberation movements in other neighbouring countries, to the cause of detente and peace in Central America.

We Communists are aware that this is not the task of our Party alone. We are not monopolising patriotism. Other revolutionary movements are also working toward this goal. There are also non-revolutionary forces, like the Democrats, Social-Democrats, Christian Democrats, Liberals, nationalists and the moderates, that fully agree with our stand: the country must be liberated from foreign occupation which is trampling on our national dignity, and we, Hondurans, must restore our sovereign right to be masters of our future.

Hence the Party's task is to coordinate the activities of the broad front of forces, whose struggle is based on a seven-point programme adopted by the people: withdrawal of foreign troops, dismantlement of military bases, revival of democratic freedoms, due punishment to those responsible (both organisers and executors) for the kidnapping, torturing and disappearance of hundreds of Hondurans, defence of human rights, transference of the economy to serve the country's interests, including the refusal to meet the IMF's demands and repay the country's foreign debt of \$3,500 million which is extremely large for such a small country as Honduras. At present Honduras is incapable even of paying interest on this debt which runs into \$300 million annually. It has absolutely no financial means for economic development. And, lastly, Honduras should pursue a foreign policy independent of Washington, based on respect for the neighbouring peoples' right to self-determination.

All Hondurans have rallied around these basic points of their minimum programme. The broad front of Honduran progressive forces is now in the process of formation. What concerns the left-wing forces, they are already functioning in the form of the National Leadership for the Unity. We are now striving to extend its framework and are trying to enter into a dialogue with other forces, including those elements in the ruling circles and in the Liberal Party that disapprove of government policy, the Catholic church and the patriotically minded officers. Imperialism's attempts to draw Costa Rica into its schemes show that in Honduras quite a few things are falling short of its expectations.

We believe that in this way we are making a tangible contribution to the cause of peace and the struggle against a war. There was a time when the problem of war was regarded as a European problem. Today the problem of war and peace concerns all the people of Central America.

THE DYNAMIC EUROPEAN POLICY OF THE USSR

A. V T O R O V, Yu. K A R E L O V

Having charted a strategy of building the foundations of universal international security, the 27th Congress of the CPSU has made a qualitatively new contribution to the USSR's European policy concept as well. The Congress analysed, boldly and profoundly, cardinal changes in the world today, which is not what it was 30-40 years ago, to show the objective need for new thinking, a new approach to the outstanding problems facing the world. This new assessment of the present-day international relations as a whole fully pertains to Europe.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress says, in particular: "The CPSU regards the *European direction* as one of the main directions of its international activity. Europe's historic opportunity and its future lie in peaceful cooperation among the nations of that continent. And it is important, while preserving the assets that have already been accumulated, to move further: from the initial to a more lasting phase of detente, to mature detente, and then to the building of dependable security on the basis of the Helsinki process, of a radical reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons."

Is such progress possible? The task set by the CPSU is hard, indeed. But the Party has taken all factors of European policy duly into account: political, military, economic, social, and historical. Some of them have long since been determining the political image of Europe, while others only recently fully revealed themselves.

The first factor. The situation in Europe is influenced, more than ever before, by the dynamic economic and political advancement of the socialist community countries. The socialist part of the continent is becoming one of the most rapidly developing regions of the world. The member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) now account for about one-third of world industrial output.

The prospects of social and economic growth of the European socialist countries are even more impressive. According to the resolutions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the USSR plans to increase the national income nearly twofold, while doubling the production potential by the end of this century. This should sharply intensify production, increase the quality of goods and enhance labour efficiency. In order to accelerate the country's socio-economic development a high level of cooperation between the countries of the socialist community is needed. The other fraternal countries, too, greatly need to intensify production through scientific and technological development, a policy coordinated within the CMEA framework. This will largely contribute to strengthening world socialism.

The socialist part of Europe not only demonstrates the advantages of the socialist way of life. In fact, it ensures political stability on the continent, including its territorial and political arrangement, and serves as the main safeguard against the military threat. As before, the socialist countries incorporated in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation are determined to protect the gains of socialism here, and ensure the inviolability of their frontiers fixed under international law.

The second factor. Considering the interimperialist contradictions, Western Europe, just as the United States and Japan, is a major centre of modern imperialism today. The potentiality of this region can be clearly seen from its share in the developed capitalist countries' industrial output, which has never gone below the 40-per cent mark over the past few decades, and its economic growth rate is on the same level as that of the USA. The West European countries have practically caught up with the United States as to the amount of foreign investment, and are even pressing the USA on its domestic market, selling to the US consumer their cars, ferrous metallurgy goods, footwear, textiles, and some other goods and services. The West Europeans go out of their way to prevent the USA and Japan from outstripping them in computer sciences, nuclear power engineering, and outer space exploration.

The Americans, for their part, are doing their best to pump out of Western Europe scientific and technological information of interest to them and make the West Europeans orient themselves entirely on the USA, as is the case with their participation in the "strategic defense initiative", though Western Europe has an opportunity of widely taking part in international space exploration for peaceful purposes. Western Europe is under constant political, financial and economic pressure exerted on it by the USA which is trying to take advantage of its military superiority and its dominating position in NATO for that purpose. And this, in the long run, gives rise to new contradictions between them.

However, one is bound to see that the economic, military-political, ideological and, above all, class interests of the ruling quarters of the West European countries and the USA are, of course, closely intertwined. But rivalry with US capital, also on the markets of third countries, is confronting Western Europe with the ever more pressing problem of its role in the world today. When it goes too far, the leaders of West European countries can act independently and do not allow an infringement on their national interests. This independence is displayed also in matters concerning cooperation between West European countries and the Soviet Union. It is likewise important that in Western Europe, which has suffered from the horrors and destruction of the two world wars practically within the lifetime of one generation, peace is valued, no doubt, far more than in the United States.

The third factor. Europe was the first to depart from the cold war tactics and to promote cooperation between states with different social systems. Over a decade ago, 33 European countries, the USA and Canada, met in Helsinki, which was an unprecedented meeting in European history, to adopt a joint long-term programme of ensuring lasting peace and establishing equal and mutually beneficial cooperation on the continent as a whole. And whatever the difficulties in the way of the Helsinki process, there has doubtlessly been much more positive in it. This explains why all the participants in the European Conference speak for the continuation of the Helsinki process, though, perhaps, they all do so with a varying degree of sincerity.

In fact, this process has never stopped, and impressive results have been achieved as regards security- and confidence-building measures, political consultations and contacts, and cooperation in economy, science, technolo-

gy, culture and in the humanitarian area. They have become part of European life, of the political consciousness of the European peoples.

It is not by chance that detente planted its deepest roots precisely in Europe. It is in Europe that unprecedented experience has been accumulated in coexistence and cooperation between states with different social systems. Both positive and negative lessons should be learned from this experience. Detente has brought about vast positive changes in relations among all European states and compelled the militaristic forces to make certain concessions. At the same time, detente in the 1960s and 1970s failed to produce an effective mechanism of checking the arms race. Detente in that period was primarily political and economic, but not military, which is its main weak point. It failed to check the escalating of military confrontation in Europe and to prevent the further increase of international tensions caused by the deployment in some West European countries of US nuclear missiles close to the frontiers of the socialist community—an extremely negative development for all Europeans.

Therefore, removing the nuclear missiles from Europe has become a top-priority task. To solve this task many of the earlier accepted stereotypes of thinking should be abandoned. And it is important that none of the useful experience is lost in the process and correct conclusions are drawn also from the mistakes which certainly were made on the hard path of detente.

The fourth factor. Modern Europe is diverse and full of contradictions and conflicting trends. Its social development was greatly influenced by the great social changes of the 20th century, the political ones and those associated with the scientific and technological revolution. At the same time, there is hardly any other region in the world where new economic, political, scientific and technological factors, internal or external, have bound the fate of various nations and the continents as a whole so closely together. The strict demands posed by life today in the area of foreign policy, in economic and social effectiveness, and in the spiritual image of society are addressed in European conditions not only to each individual state, but to Europe as a whole.

The point now is what answer the Europeans will give to the question about their future, about the place of Europe in the society of the third millennium. By virtue of the same iron logic of European political, social and economic evolution, this answer will have to be given not separately but by the whole of the continent.

And finally, *the fifth factor.* This concerns the level of intellectual development and the specific cultural and historical conditions in which the public opinion of West European countries, including the ruling classes, has been taking shape. This phenomenon is not simple, of course, but one should not ignore the abundant experience of the European political activity with its pragmatism and the traditions of tolerance and common sense. This objectively makes a large segment of West European public opinion, and to a certain extent the West European ruling elite, more receptive to new phenomena and processes and sometimes enables them to display broader understanding than is shown by the United States.

West European politicians began for many reasons to think about looking for political alternatives which would meet the interests of Western Europe in this complex, diverse and dynamic world with its conflicting trends. This gradually causes a recognition of the unchanging values of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and it causes doubts whether the policy of the present US Administration meets the interests of Western Europe. At any rate, the debate over how long and to what extent Western Europe can continue to trust US "guidance" and not pay a high price for this, is still going on there.

A considerable part of the Soviet proposals set forth in the Statement Mikhail Gorbachev made on January 15 this year, which have been included in the foreign-policy programme of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, directly concerns Europe. As it advocates a radical turn towards the improvement of the overall international situation, the Soviet Union believes that Europe has a special mission—that of erecting a new edifice of detente.

In Europe, the practical implementation of this idea requires the utmost use of everything positive that has been accumulated in the Helsinki process. It is significant that the basic principles of the all-embracing system of international security system proposed by the Soviet Union concern military, political, economic and humanitarian spheres, well in keeping with the main four sections of the Final Act, which today, too, serves as the best example of the new way of thinking and a non-standard approach to most difficult political problems.

The 27th Congress formulated the fundamental idea that Europe can go over to the next and more stable phase of detente, to *mature detente*, which is impossible unless reliable security is guaranteed on the continent and nuclear and conventional arms are drastically reduced. Reliance on dialogue and understanding, and not on confrontation, can ensure success in this highly important undertaking, in which the whole of Europe, not only its socialist part, is objectively interested. To this end, it would be necessary to discard the old stereotypes, above all in what concerns the complex of the *military-political factors* determining the character of East-West relations. A new approach, above all to the role of military force in pursuing today's foreign policy, especially in European affairs, is required today. The world, and especially Europe, has become too fragile for power politics.

Yet, the US and NATO military concepts are still based on the dangerous concept of using armed force as a deterrent for attaining political goals. Regretfully, the leaders of the United States and its main allies in NATO stick to obsolete military-political concepts and strive for the unattainable goal of securing military-strategic superiority over the USSR and its allies.

Soviet foreign policy and military-political concepts are based on an entirely different approach. The orientation of the Soviet military doctrine is purely defensive, as it was stressed at the 27th Congress of the CPSU. The Soviet Union does not seek greater security for itself, but it would not agree to inadequate security. Proceeding from the new approach, which runs counter to the usual arms-race logic, the Soviet Union proposed a complete elimination of Soviet and American medium-range missiles, both ballistic and cruise missiles, in the European zone. In this aspect of the Soviet proposals the USSR's goodwill is most clearly manifest. The Soviet Union made a move which was not easy for it to make: its plan of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons did not include, at the first stage, the French and British nuclear potential, on the natural condition that France and Britain would not build up this potential, while the United States would not transfer its missiles to other countries.

If this Soviet proposal, which has been on the table of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva for several months now, is accepted, a cardinal change would be effected in the life of Europe, this key zone of world security—the vicious spiral of the arms race would thus be broken and a practical advancement from confrontation to peaceful cooperation would begin. There is yet another important thing to note. The USSR-proposed solution to the medium-range missile issue offers the opportunity of reaching an appropriate agreement at an early date.

The Soviet proposals take fully into account the political and military realities of Europe and the considerations of West European leaders. The

natural thing to do now is to agree on the wording of new accords. What is needed for this is the goodwill of the parties concerned. But it is goodwill what seems to be lacking in the West today.

The United States and some of its influential allies in NATO have chosen a path of overburdening the solution to the problem of medium-range missiles in the European zone by all kinds of conditions and "linkage". The old US "zero option" has been taken up again. According to it, France and Britain (the latter with US support) would build up and modernise their nuclear missiles, while the Soviet Union would have to destroy its medium-range missiles not only in Europe but also in Asia. It is surprising in this context that some West European spokesmen all of a sudden became deeply concerned over Asian security to the detriment of their own security.

The reaching of a relevant agreement on clearing Europe of medium-range missiles is hampered by the attempts to drown this problem in a broader context of conventional arms, chemical weapons, and tactical missiles. Each of these types of weapons is, of course, important in itself and presents a problem demanding solution, but they have been lumped together with the obvious purpose of solving nothing.

All this makes one wonder if the USA and its closest NATO allies have departed from the Soviet-American agreement on the summit level regarding a speeded up elaboration of accords on medium-range missiles. Perhaps, their true goal is to preserve the US first-strike missiles in Europe at any cost.

There are quite a few alarming signs of this being so. Among them are the "warnings" by General Bernard Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, to the effect that a removal of medium-range missiles from the European zone would undermine the US protective umbrella over Western Europe. Besides, one can hear assertions, most often in the FRG, that the US missiles are "indispensable" as a military-strategic link between the United States and Western Europe, and this link is obviously preferred to the prospect of decreasing the nuclear confrontation on the continent.

Moreover, influential Western news media write openly today that the purpose of the "zero option" proposed by the US Administration in 1980 was to placate the antiwar and antimissile movement in Western Europe. These was no intention, it turns out, to reduce the missiles to "zero".

The assertion that the deployment of US missiles in Western Europe was a response to the deployment of Soviet SS-20 missiles was designed for misinforming European public opinion and misleading the leadership of the "vacillating" allies. The governments of Britain, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and the FRG used this "argument" most unscrupulously, demanding that their parliaments should approve the deployment of US missiles in their countries. The promise of the US leadership to ratify the Soviet-American SALT-2 Treaty, should the USA's allies in NATO agree to deploy the US missiles on their territories, has turned to be a fraud, which is now clear to all.

It is appropriate to recall here that already the so-called missile decision of the NATO Council of December 12, 1979, made the requirements of the alliance for medium-range nuclear weapons dependent on "restrictions on the Soviet arms buildup". The decisions passed by the parliaments of Britain, the FRG, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands on the deployment of the US missiles on their territories also envisaged the possibility of revising them if the military-strategic situation would change by December 1979. The USSR's preparedness to eliminate all its medium-range missiles deployed in the European zone, on the condition, of course, that reciprocal moves are made by the USA, creates an entirely

in the international climate and to maintain, even when tensions increased to a critical point, the necessary level of all-European cooperation whose lowering could cause irreparable losses to the whole of the continent.

The invigoration of bilateral relations between European states is acquiring ever greater significance at this turning point in the life of Europe. Political meetings and contacts obviously become especially important in speeding up the positive changes on the continent. This was clearly demonstrated by the outcome of the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to France in October 1985 and his talks with President Francois Mitterrand and other political and public figures of France. The Soviet-French summit meeting not only laid the sound groundwork for the growth of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and France, but was of great significance for strengthening European security, expanding European cooperation and improving the international situation as a whole.

The Soviet Union is a champion of broader political intercourse among all European states. Such intercourse—political consultations on various levels, including the summit level, and contacts among members of parliament and representatives of women's, trade union, scientific, youth and other organisations—creates in practice a sound basis for European detente, adding to the effectiveness of the Helsinki process. The Soviet Union is willing to promote in every way its ties with the left forces in Western Europe, with West European Social-Democrats—with all who really work for peace and security in Europe.

It would be unrealistic to believe that the European process would go unhindered. A hard path lies ahead for it in the future, too, and it will be faced with many difficulties, objective and subjective. It is important, however, that the prospect for improvement is not lost, and that common sense and realism, the striving for understanding, for reasonable compromise, and for measures matching the task confronting all Europeans today—the task of ensuring a peaceful future and prosperity for the continent—should prevail in this process.

The Soviet Union has a leading role to play in the beginning and promotion of European detente and the Helsinki process. To this country this is both a duty before the Soviet people and an international responsibility. The Soviet course towards effecting a cardinal change for the better in European affairs is not a tactical ploy. It is a course pursued seriously and for a long time to come. It has been formalised in such an authoritative and long-term political document as the new edition of the Programme of the CPSU, which says: "The Party will make consistent efforts to ensure that the process of strengthening security, trust and peaceful cooperation in Europe, which was launched on the initiative and with the active participation of the Soviet Union, develops and deepens."

Nuclear Blasts Must Be Banned

In connection with the US nuclear test on April 10 this year the Soviet government declared that from now on it is free of its pledge to refrain from any nuclear explosions.

The term of the Soviet moratorium in force since August 6, 1986 was to expire on March 31 this year. But on March 14, responding to the call to refrain from any nuclear tests until the next Soviet-American summit, addressed by the Delhi Six to the Soviet Union and the United States, the USSR declared it would not resume nuclear explosions even after March 31, until the first US nuclear blast. This gave the US Administration yet another chance to take a responsible decision—to end nuclear explosions.

Moreover, Mikhail Gorbachev announced on March 29 his preparedness to meet with President Ronald Reagan in the near future in London or Rome or in any other European capital that would play host for the two leaders so that they would agree on ending nuclear testing.

The US Administration, however, did not accept that proposal. Instead, it decided to continue the nuclear tests. It requested \$1,900 million from Congress for improving the research and testing complex in the State of Nevada.

So, what we saw was one hand extended for peace and the other hand curled into a fist raised for a strike. These two positions epitomise the two diametrically opposite philosophies, two opposite world views.

But what would an end to nuclear tests mean in the first place? Why has this problem grown so acute today?

It is commonly known that test explosions are needed for improving nuclear weapons and for creating new types of these weapons. According to the official data cited in the US Senate, about two-thirds of all nuclear explosions are conducted for these purposes. It is also known that the United States is using the tests, first, for developing a new nuclear warhead (the explosion on March 22 was made for this purpose) and, second, for developing lasers initiated by nuclear blasts with the prospect of using such devices for "star wars", officially known as the "strategic defense initiative" (SDI). The explosion on December 28 last year and a number of previous blasts were conducted for the latter purpose. A deployment of nuclear strike weapons in outer space would greatly destabilise the military strategic situation and increase the nuclear war threat still more.

Thus, the nuclear arms race is now entering a new, even more dangerous stage, spiralling ever wider. The cessation of nuclear testing would have prevented this spiralling, and would have impeded the arms race.

To distract public attention from this aspect of nuclear tests, Washington alleges they are required for testing the reliability of nuclear arms stocks. And so long as nuclear weapons exist, Washington said, they must be tested. True enough, tests are used for that purpose. According to the US data mentioned above, roughly a quarter of the tests are conducted to ascertain nuclear weapons reliability. But then why does not the Soviet Union fear decrease in nuclear weapons reliability or in their combat readiness, and why does the USA fear that? The answer is simple: nuclear weapons reliability is most important for the first strike. A first nuclear strike is conceived by US strategists as a disarming strike which would minimise chances for a retaliatory strike. The United States, with its military doctrines based on the first nuclear strike concept, is opposed to a prohibition of nuclear tests also because it wants to be sure that its nuclear weapons are absolutely effective for a first strike.

Hoping to stop the dangerous rivalry in nuclear arms buildup and willing to set a good example, the Soviet Union decided to discontinue unilaterally all nuclear blasts beginning with August 6, last year. It called upon the US government to stop its blasts, too, on the same day, the day when the Hiroshima tragedy was commemorated the world over. The Soviet moratorium was imposed until January 1 this year and it was said to be prolonged if the United States would end nuclear blasts.

Though the Soviet call was unheeded, the USSR announced on January 15 that its unilateral moratorium was prolonged by another three months, and even after March 31 until the first US nuclear explosion.

It was not easy for the Soviet Union to make that decision. As it has not conducted any nuclear explosions for over eight months, either for military or peaceful purposes, it made some sacrifices in military and economic terms, but it was bent on disrupting the long-established logic of the arms race and set an example of a new way of thinking in the nuclear and space era. Besides, the Soviet side stated clearly that the USSR could not take unilateral measures endlessly, that there was a limit determined by the interests of its own security and the security of its allies.

By proposing a bilateral moratorium the USSR does not, of course, regard it as an end in itself. The main thing is that a relevant treaty be signed as a result of bilateral, trilateral or multilateral talks, with no linkage to any other issues.

The Soviet delegation at the Conference on Disarmament and the delegations of other socialist countries and non-aligned and neutral states insist that multilateral talks be held as soon as possible for elaborating a draft treaty which would effectively prohibit any tests of nuclear weapons by any country. Such talks would make it possible to draw all nuclear powers into concrete discussions on banning nuclear tests. At the talks the sides could consider in detail all the key provisions of a future treaty, including its structure and the sphere of application, observance and verification.

The Soviet Union has backed the proposal on consultations with a view to extending the provisions of the 1963 Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water also to underground tests which are not covered by the Treaty.

And, last but not least, the Soviet Union has come out for resuming trilateral talks (with the participation of the USSR, the USA and Britain) on a complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests or for starting bilateral Soviet-American talks on the issue. Multilateral talks in the framework of the Conference on Disarmament could be held parallel with bilateral or trilateral talks, if they would begin by that time.

It was officially proposed to the American side that bilateral talks on a complete cessation of nuclear tests should start in April this year in either Moscow, Washington, or Geneva.

The United States responded to this clear and consistent line of the Soviet Union by refusing to join in the moratorium on nuclear explosions and rejecting the idea of talks on banning nuclear weapons testing. How does the US Administration explain its position?

Avoiding the cessation of nuclear tests, the US officials declare their banning to be a long-range goal and make three reservations. Addressing the Conference on Disarmament on February 11 this year, US representative Donald Lowitz said:

"For the United States, a nuclear-test ban remains an objective to be achieved in due course, in the context of significant reduction in the existing arsenals of nuclear weapons and the development of substantially improved verification measures. We have also made it clear that, at the present levels of nuclear weapons, testing plays a role in ensuring the

effectiveness of the nuclear deterrence which remains a key element in the security of the Western Alliance."

If one looks closely at these "arguments", the last reservation, in fact, cancels the others. Since the USA is not going to give up the nuclear deterrence concept, which is used for the escalation of the nuclear arms drive, there is evidently no use speaking about terms of ending nuclear tests. So why has the verification problem come up at all, if the USA has declared its intention to go on with nuclear testing in order to improve its nuclear arms and maintain their effectiveness?

As for the problem of control, which the American representatives alluded to so frequently in the past as allegedly the main impediment to banning tests, it does not exist at all. Obviously this is the reason why the United States has to invent now new "arguments". The thing is that national technical facilities are sufficient for control over a comprehensive ban. They also can be supplemented by an international exchange of seismic data. The establishment of a national network of seismic stations would improve control effectiveness. To remove the so-called control problems, the USSR is prepared to supplement the national technical facilities by the strictest verification measures, including on-site inspection.

And what is the answer of the United States? It offered the Soviet Union send over its experts to watch a nuclear arms explosion in Nevada. Thus the USA wants inspection to be used not for verifying a nuclear test ban but for the improvement of nuclear arms, which is a mockery of common sense. In his speech on April 8 this year in the Soviet city of Togliatti, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "We, of course, did not agree and never will agree to this. We put the question differently: let us discuss both our proposal to end explosions and the US proposal on control over that."

The Soviet Union is prepared to implement the proposal of the leaders of the six countries, provided, of course, it is accepted by the other side, on rendering assistance, including on-site inspections, in verifying the cessation of nuclear tests. This is how the matters stand with regard to verification. What else is to be done here? The only thing left is to sit at the negotiating table and agree on technicalities.

Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy said on the verification problem that the USA had always emphasised "verification difficulties", though the Soviet Union had offered a proper system of verifying an agreement on ending the tests, including on-site inspections. Still, the Reagan Administration rejected the Soviet proposal, he said, and it was doing so because it needed nuclear tests to improve nuclear arms and carry out the "star wars" programme opening a new stage of the arms race.

But what is a test ban "in the context of significant reduction in the existing arsenals of nuclear weapons" mentioned by Lowitz? What he means is, evidently, that the USA makes the cessation of tests conditional on such "significant reduction". In the 1950s, the nuclear-test issue was often mentioned as an independent measure of nuclear arms limitation, for it had been generally recognised that, if carried out, that measure could be an effective and reliably verifiable instrument of limiting such arms. But the USA's linkage of nuclear test prohibition with nuclear disarmament revealed its unwillingness to agree either to end the tests or to reduce nuclear arms.

So, the position of the United States, which stakes on using strength and on building up nuclear might, is a position of continued escalation of the nuclear arms race, which increases the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. This position is widely condemned in the world, also in the United States itself. Commenting on the rejection by the US Administration of

FOR PROGRESS AT THE VIENNA TALKS

K. BORISOV

The 27th CPSU Congress particularly stressed that the struggle against the nuclear danger, against the arms race, for the preservation and strengthening of universal peace will continue to be the main direction of the Party international activities. Having thoroughly assessed the situation which has emerged, the CPSU advanced an integrated programme of completely eliminating all weapons of mass destruction by the end of this century—a historical programme both in terms of its scale and its significance. This programme points to a reliable, direct and quick way of eliminating the nuclear threat, of ridding the Earth of nuclear arms. Offering to remove mass destruction weapons—both nuclear and chemical—from states' arsenals, and to prevent the appearance of space-based weapons, the Soviet Union considers that, parallel with this process, measures should be effected to limit and reduce conventional weapons and armed forces.

Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement of January 15, 1986 sets the task of activating the whole existing system of negotiations and ensuring that the mechanisms of disarmament work to the optimum. If an agreement were reached at the Vienna talks, this could begin a movement towards a reduction in conventional arms and armed forces. The talks on troop- and arms-reductions in Central Europe have been under way in Vienna for 13 years now, and the latest, 39th round started on May 15.

As is known, 19 states participate in the talks: the USSR, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania from the Warsaw Treaty; and the USA, Britain, the FRG, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Denmark and Norway from NATO. The Vienna talks did not start from scratch: the preparatory consultation meetings which preceded them defined the subject of the talks as a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments, and relevant measures in Central Europe (such measures have come to be called "accompanying measures"). The boundaries of the region in which a reduction would take place were clearly defined. It includes the territories of the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. It was decided that the armed forces and armaments of these states as well as of other states having armed forces in Central Europe—the USSR, the USA, Britain and Canada—would be subject to reduction. These eleven states have the right to participate in the making of decisions, and are therefore called direct participants in the talks. In contrast to this, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Denmark and Norway, whose troops are not subject to reduction, have a "special status" at the talks, in other words, a consultative status. The principle of causing no detriment to the security of any of the parties to the talks was fixed as the fundamental one for future agreements. During the talks, mutual understanding has been reached regarding their ultimate aim: the establishment in Central Europe, of equal troop numbers (900,000 men from

each side) by the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. This figure is to include 700,000 in ground force.

So, from the very beginning of the Vienna talks, their mechanism was established and their main parameters clearly defined. All this made it possible, given the political will and a constructive approach displayed by both sides, to achieve concrete results relatively quickly and begin actually reducing the level of armed forces facing each other in the centre of the European continent, where there are major concentrations of troops and arms. Unfortunately, this has not happened. Through the fault of the Western countries, the Vienna talks until recently remained becalmed for a prolonged period of time.

The socialist countries have always proceeded from the fact that a rough equilibrium has existed for many years in the correlation of armed forces between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in Central Europe. In order to maintain this balance of the opposing armed groupings at a lower level of troops and armaments, the socialist countries proposed at the very beginning of the talks that each direct participant reduce its armed forces and arms in the region by about 17 per cent. The Warsaw Treaty member states subsequently modernised their proposals many times, introducing elements taking into account the position of the NATO countries.

The NATO countries displayed, and continue to display, a different approach. They declare that the main aim of the talks must be to eliminate a supposed "imbalance" of ground troops and the main types of conventional arms in favour of the Warsaw Treaty in Central Europe. On this basis, the NATO countries demand "assymetrical" reductions, i. e. that the socialist countries make considerably larger reductions in their forces than the NATO countries.

Assertions that the socialist countries enjoy an advantage in conventional arms do not correspond to reality. The NATO bloc has greater numbers of men than the Warsaw Treaty, more ready-for-battle divisions, and more anti-tanks weapons; as for armour and artillery, the two sides have roughly equal quantities. NATO has the advantage in fighter bombers, and the Warsaw Treaty compensates for this with a slightly larger number of interceptor planes. But on the whole there is a rough balance of forces in conventional arms. This is confirmed by Western sources. For example, *The Military Balance 1984-1985*, which is published by the London Institute for Strategic Studies, states: "Our conclusion remains that the conventional overall balance is still such as to make general military aggression a highly risky undertaking."¹

For several years a "discussion of figures" begun by the Western countries has been under way at the talks. Twice during this discussion (in 1976 and 1980), which centres on the number of armed forces each side has in the reduction zone, figures have been exchanged on the forces of each of the sides. On January 1, 1980, the NATO countries had 991,000 men in Central Europe, including French troops on the territory of the FRG. Of this figure, 792,500 were ground troops. On August 1, 1980 (after the Soviet Union's unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 troops from the territory of the GDR), the total number of Warsaw Treaty armed forces in the region was 979,000 men, 796,700 of this figure being ground troops.

Progress in Vienna is also being hampered by the disinclination of the NATO countries to extend reductions and restrictions to arms. This also contradicts the mandate of the talks, the subject of which was defined as a "mutual reduction of armed forces and arms".

A further obstacle to a mutually acceptable agreement in Vienna are the NATO countries' demands for control over the implementation of a proposed agreement. These demands are exaggerated, are totally unacceptable for the Warsaw Treaty countries, and in no way correspond to the weight and nature of steps towards an actual reduction in the level of military confrontation.

In order to lead the talks out of the blind alley in which they had become stuck, the socialist countries in February 1983 suggested a new approach for reaching an agreement, under which each side would reduce its forces by the number necessary to reach the previously agreed equal levels of armed forces (900,000 men, including 700,000 ground forces for each of the alliances). Such an approach would mean the end of the fruitless "discussion of figures", and would allow efforts to be concentrated on the main thing—the achievement of a final result.

However, this approach, too, was rejected by the Western participants, who in April 1984 responded with proposals which repeated all their previous unconstructive positions with practically no material changes.

Trying to achieve some practical progress at the talks, on February 14, 1985 the socialist countries introduced a proposal, in accordance with which the Soviet Union and the USA would make initial reductions in their ground troops and arms in Central Europe, after which the level of armed forces and armaments in the zone would not rise. Specifically, this proposal envisaged that the USSR and the USA would, over the course of one year, reduce their troops, together with their arms and equipment, by 20,000 and 13,000 men respectively with the subsequent two-year-long non-increase or freeze on the level of troops and arms in Central Europe of all the states participating in the agreement, both on a collective and a national basis. The proposal also contained the necessary measures of control to ensure the implementation by each of the parties of their obligations.

In putting forward this proposal, the Warsaw Treaty countries proceeded from the fact that, since the Vienna talks had become stuck in a blind alley, through no fault of the socialist countries, the achievement and implementation of at least a limited, interim agreement in Vienna would be an expedient and useful first practical step along the road towards reducing the level of military confrontation in the centre of Europe. This step is all the more logical, because it is impossible to begin reducing the level of military confrontation without first halting the buildup of armed forces and arms.

Only 10 months later, in December 1985, did the NATO countries respond with their considerations. Their representatives also expressed support for initial reduction in Soviet and American troops, but in smaller numbers and without involving arms. They also declared they were ready to freeze the level of troops, although again without extending this obligation to armaments.

We can give a positive assessment to the very fact that the Western countries replied to the socialist countries' proposal, considering that an exchange of this kind of signals and the development of the political dialogue are in keeping with the understandings reached at the Soviet-American summit in Geneva. We can also give a positive assessment to the fact that the West has taken a step towards the February proposal of the socialist countries. At the very least this was a step towards their plan for an initial agreement and the framework of further talks. It should be noted that if the NATO countries have now decided to back away from the "discussion of figures", they have made a concession to common sense, and not to the socialist countries.

However, side by side with individual constructive clauses, the Western proposal contains a number of dubious elements which are not in keeping with the demands of realism and the principle of causing no detriment to the security of any party to the talks. The main shortcoming of the NATO countries' proposal consists in the fact that it reduces to naught all efforts to bring about a real reduction in the level of military confrontation in the centre of Europe, replacing them with intentionally excessive measures of control. This cannot but force us to ask what this is being done for. After all, control should be commensurate with obligations assumed under an agreement; it should promote the fulfilment of those obligations by each party, and not serve as a source of mistrust and doubt.

An important impulse for the activation of all disarmament negotiations was provided by the proposals contained in the Statement delivered by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on January 15, 1986 to free the world from nuclear weapons, and on other aspects of arms limitation and disarmament.

One principle circumstance should be pointed out immediately. Assertions that the implementation of a nuclear disarmament programme would lead to an intensification of the threat of conventional weapons being used, where the socialist countries supposedly enjoy an advantage, are the false arguments of those who do not in fact want the situation to improve and who seek pretexts to slow down the cause of disarmament. The Soviet Union was and remains a firm supporter of an equilibrium at as low a level as possible, including in the field of conventional arms and armed forces. For this reason the Soviet proposals of January 15 stipulate that alongside measures to eliminate nuclear weapons, steps should be taken to reduce conventional armed forces.

The Vienna forum can begin the process of reducing conventional arms and troops, and can make it a permanent element of European security. The first agreement in Vienna would also have a favourable influence on other efforts to reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe, and would help improve the international climate on a broader scale. The Soviet Union and its allies do not want to waste time at talks which have already been stuck in a blind alley for an intolerably long time. If there is a possibility of speeding up the talks and actually achieving some progress, the socialist countries will, for their part, do everything necessary to bring about a positive result.

Guided by these considerations, the governments of the GDR, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia instructed their delegations in Vienna jointly to put forward a draft Agreement on the Initial Reduction by the Soviet Union and the USA of Ground Forces and Armaments in Central Europe and on the Subsequent Non-Increase of Level of the Opposing Sides' Armed Forces and Armaments and on the Relevant Measures in the Region. This draft was put forward in Vienna on February 20, 1986 by Ambassador Wieland, the head of the GDR delegation, in the name of the socialist countries participating directly in the talks.

The main provisions of the draft agreement are as follows:

— In the course of one year from the date the agreement comes into force, the USSR and the USA will remove from Central Europe to their own national territory, 11,500 and 6,500 ground troops respectively, together with their arms and equipment. Lists of the military units to be reduced and withdrawn will be exchanged in advance, before the agreement is signed.

— All 11 direct participants in the talks undertake not to increase the personnel and armaments of their ground troops and air forces in

Central Europe for a period of three years after the withdrawal of the American and Soviet troops.

— After the obligation not to increase troop levels comes into force, annually updated statistics will be exchanged on the armed forces of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries remaining in the reduction zone.

— For the period of the reduction of Soviet and American troops, and while the obligation not to increase (to freeze) troop levels is in force, three or four permanent control points will be established on the Western and Eastern sides of the reduction zone. All formations, units and subdivisions of ground troops will enter or leave the reduction zone via these points. The staff of these points will comprise representatives of both sides.

— Mutual prior notification is envisaged of such military activities as the movement of troops, the call-up of reservists, or the holding of military exercises involving 20,000 men or more.

— As well as making use of national technical means of control to ensure the fulfilment of the agreement, the possibility is not excluded of carrying out on-site checks on the basis of a well-founded request.

— The formation is also envisaged of a consultative commission to examine questions connected with the implementation of the agreement.

Retaining all the principle provisions of the socialist countries' proposal of February 14, 1985, the new draft in many ways takes account of all the elements of the position of the Western countries which are acceptable, and proposes compromise solutions on a number of important aspects where there is no agreement between the sides.

Thus, important steps have been taken by the socialist countries towards well-founded and sensible control over the implementation of the agreement. In the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the CPSU, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed: "I should like to draw attention to the problem of verification, to which we attach special significance. We have declared on several occasions that the USSR is open to verification, that we are interested in it as much as anybody else. All-embracing, strictest verification is, perhaps, the key element of the disarmament process. The essence of the matter, in our thinking, is that there can be no disarmament without verification and that verification without disarmament makes no sense."

The new draft agreement in many ways takes into account previous considerations of the socialist countries, but the document is not merely a simple repetition of earlier provisions. Some of them acquire a new quality in the light of the nature of a partial agreement, and others represent a totally new element in the socialist countries' position. In formulating the verification measures, the socialist countries once again proceeded from the task of ensuring sufficiently reliable implementation by the sides of their obligations to carry out initial reductions and subsequently not to increase the level of their armed forces and arms in Central Europe, adapting themselves to the content and character of the proposed agreement. At the same time, sober account was taken of other realities of the present international situation, in which we now have to live and work, and which still remains complex and tense.

All this once again confirms the striving of the socialist countries to seek sensible, mutually acceptable solutions to the question of verification. However, there must not be a one-way street here. The West must decide if it is going to continue to take a hopeless position on the "all or nothing" principle, or whether it is ready to take realistic decisions.

The new Soviet initiative advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on April 18, 1986 was an important stimulus for improving the situation in Europe. He proposed to agree upon a considerable reduction of all components of land forces and tactical aircraft of the European states and the corresponding Ameri-

can and Canadian forces deployed in Europe. The forces subject to the cut should be disbanded and their armaments should be eliminated or stored on the national territories. In the opinion of the Soviet side all of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, should be the zone of the reductions. The operational and tactical nuclear weapons should be reduced simultaneously with conventional weapons.

The new Soviet proposal also envisages proper, reliable verification measures at all stages of the process. The USSR believes that it may involve both national technical facilities and international forms of control, including, if and when necessary, on-site inspection.

Obviously, the Soviet move of April 18 is a subject for serious negotiations. Its implementation will not only allow to untangle the knot at the Vienna talks which has been tightening for over twelve years now, but will also lead to building confidence among the European states.

The Vienna talks must solve extremely complex problems before they achieve a positive result. Nevertheless, for the first time in many years there is a real chance of breaking the stagnation in Vienna. The draft agreement submitted by the socialist countries on February 20, 1986, as well as the new Soviet initiative of April 18, 1986, create a practical basis for joint efforts to draw up a mutually acceptable agreement.

Of course, this will be no easy work. Difficulties can, however, without doubt be overcome, given the political will. The Warsaw Treaty states are once again demonstrating just such political will in deeds. Their interest in success is obvious, proof of which is the proposals addressed to their Western partners to start practical work on the wording of the agreement.

NUCLEAR BLASTS MUST BE BANNED

(Continued from page 109)

the proposal of the leaders of the six countries on stopping nuclear tests, at least until the end of the next Soviet-American summit, 64 members of the US Congress wrote in a recent address to President Reagan that the USA damaged its own reputation by rejecting that extremely wise proposal. B. Lawn, Co-Chairman of the international movement, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, urged the White House to stop nuclear tests and agree with the USSR on a general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. In an interview to the newspaper *Boston Globe* in April this year he expressed the hope that the public and the US Congress would ultimately compel the US Administration to reckon with the will of the American people.

The Soviet Union counters this concept of arms race escalation with a concept of a universal system of international security. In the message to the UN Secretary General on March 28 this year Mikhail Gorbachev declared that "the peoples should make the International Year of Peace go down in the history of mankind as the year when a universal system of international security began to be built". A cessation of nuclear tests should become a measure to give effect to this concept.

Yu. Tomilin

US ANTI-LIBYAN ACTS OF BRIGANDAGE

Washington's neoglobalist course, which found its fullest expression with the advent to power of the present Administration, shows the growing militarisation of the US political activities and its stake on achieving military dominance in the world. This course is revealed in the line pursued by the White House as regards Libya. For several years now that country has been subjected to intensifying US military, political and economic pressure. Washington is displeased with Tripoli's independent course in world affairs and its resolute opposition to the attempts made by the USA and Israel to saddle the Arabs with a capitulatory settlement. Libya is labelled as a country providing support to "international terrorism", while it is Washington's actions against it that are nothing but brigandage and a crying violation of international law.

As early as 1981, Washington ruptured diplomatic relations with Libya and a year later it applied initial economic sanctions by banning imports of Libyan oil. Having announced early this year that the Libyan government's policy posed a threat to US national security, President Reagan declared an economic boycott against Libya and all Americans working there were ordered to leave: this was done with the aim of undermining the country's financial and economic standing.

Since the end of January the Libyan littoral waters have become the scene of incessant manoeuvres by the US Sixth Fleet which are accompanied by provocative statements by US officials implying that American aircraft will invade the airspace over the Gulf of Sidra in the course of these manoeuvres. By mid-March the USA had concentrated a military-naval armada of more than 30 warships headed by the *America*, *Saratoga* and *Coral Sea* aircraft carriers. Even the representatives of the US Navy had to admit that the concentration of several aircraft carriers near the Libyan coast was extremely unusual, if not unprecedented.

Washington did not wait long before resorting to serious provocations. On March 25 American aircraft of the Sixth Fleet crossed the 32nd parallel over the Gulf of Sidra which had been declared the state border of Libya and when the Libyan air-defence opened fire at the intruders they delivered a missile and bomb strike at the suburbs of Surt. Simultaneously, they attacked Libyan coast patrol vessels. As *The Washington Post* wrote, this operation, which had been under elaboration in the Pentagon for several months, was geared from the very start towards "military confrontation" with the Libyan government. The final option of these actions was approved by the US President who allowed the deliverance of a strike on the Libyan coast.

Following its militaristic course the US imperialism committed yet another crime fraught with a series threat to universal peace and security. By mid April the planes of the Sixth Fleet as well as US planes based in Great Britain carried out a number of air raids against Libya and delivered premeditated barbarian strikes on Tripoli and Benghazi including their living areas killing and maiming many civilians and causing a considerable material damage.

The American press noted that the goal of the bombardment had been to physically eliminate Muammar al-Gaddafi and to provoke a rebellion against the revolutionary government of Libya. According to the US Secretary of State, the United States attempted thereby to make the opponents of the regime come out into the open.

The actual aggression of the United States against Libya and their disdain of the interests of small states and nations have evoked a wave of indignation throughout the world. Thus, the world is witnessing another vivid confirmation of the US aggressive treatment of the independent developing countries which is acquiring by the day a more bellicose nature. The American Administration, contrary to common sense and in utter disregard of the realities of the modern world, is playing with fire. It must be clear that in the nuclear age any problems of interstate relations should be resolved by political means.

One can hardly find an example of such a crying violation of international law and human moral in modern history since the US bandit attack on Grenada. The fact that the USA once again, after the bombardment of Libya on March 25, 1986, delivered a strike at this sovereign Arab state irrefutably proves that the present Administration has made violence, aggression and bellicose chauvinism a norm of its foreign policy.

Washington is in a hurry to translate into life the "new globalism" concept which differs from all previous versions only by the fact that the "gunboat diplomacy" is replaced by the "aircraft carrier diplomacy".

Even for those few in the West who still entertained illusions as regards the true intentions of the White House the recent US actions convince that its present policy is the policy of aggression, of provoking regional conflicts, the policy of perpetuating confrontation and balancing on the brink of war.

The Soviet government's Statement emphasises that the US aggression is a shameless and open challenge to world public opinion. No matter what "reasons" Washington gives, the fact is that it is precisely the US which is to blame for agitating world tensions, irresponsibly playing with the fate of millions of people. The US—a great power; a permanent member of the UN Security Council, which is especially responsible for maintaining universal peace—is actually flagrantly violating this organisation's charter which prohibit the use of force in international relations.

The USSR, reads a message from Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to M. al-Gaddafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, has taken several steps to avert the dangerous developments around Libya. "Along with the moral, political, diplomatic and military support to Libya, which is on a friendly footing with our country, as well as other measures taken in this direction, which you are well aware of, we have repeatedly appealed to the American Administration with serious warnings concerning the dangerous consequences of continuing its anti-Libyan policy, dangerous not only for the situation in the Mediterranean region, but for the international situation as a whole. We also state that such development of events can not but negatively affect Soviet-American relations."

The USSR also undertook energetic efforts in the world arena. The Soviet government has expressed its resolute protest to the American Administration and again demanded an immediate halt to this adventurous anti-Libyan policy. The British government, which allowed American bases in that country to be used for the raids on Libya, was also sent a corresponding message. Besides that the Soviet Union appealed to the leading Arab countries and non-aligned nations with a call to actively support the Libyan Jamahiriya. It goes without saying that all

the actions taken by the USSR in this direction were coordinated with the fraternal socialist states.

The allied socialist states, as noted in the Statement made by the Warsaw Treaty member states, expressed deep concern over the sharp exacerbation of the international situation provoked by the US hostile actions against Libya. The barbarous bombardment of peaceful Libyan cities, the victims of which were innocent people, is an act of open aggression, evoking justified anger and indignation.

It should be pointed out that the open military aggression by the US against Libya, the bombing of Libya's principal cities, has roused outrage throughout the entire world. In particular, India's Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, in the name of more than 100 states-participants in the non-aligned movement and in the name of his own government, sharply condemned the US action and refuted the American President's claim that Libya was "responsible" for terrorist activities. He underlined that the entire non-aligned movement fully supports Libya at this critical moment.

In connection with the US barbarous raids on and bombings of Libyan territory, at the request of Libya and of a large group of Arab countries an emergency session of the UN Security Council was called. The Libyan representative announced that no evasive attempts or justifications can cover up this monstrous act of aggression and terror—the bombings of residential areas in Tripoli and Benghazi, bombings of houses, schools and foreign embassies.

In his statement the UN Secretary General, Pérez de Cuéllar, condemned the "military actions of one country, member of the UN, against another".

The British were outraged when they learned that Britain was an accomplice in the crime committed by US imperialism. The government was scathingly criticised in the Parliament. The results of the poll published in *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* indicate that 69 to 81 per cent of the British condemn the Thatcher government for taking part in the US aggression against Libya.

Even in the US a growing number of Americans feel indignant over the bombing of Libya as they are becoming aware of the facts, official propaganda falsehoods notwithstanding. A White House spokesman, for example, admitted that after the US President spoke over national television, many American citizens phoned his residence to express their protest over the Pentagon's operation.

Indignant voices on Capitol Hill are starting to be heard. Representative Ronald Dellums from California, in particular stated that the President overstepped his constitutional authority in effect declaring war on Libya. Congressman Louis Stokes from Ohio, regards the raids on Libya as an "act of war".

The entire world community, the UN, particularly Western Europe, the NATO countries, are faced with a serious choice: passivity, moreover connivance or actual participation in such activities threatens to ruin international relations with unforeseen consequences.

The countries of the West realise to a certain extent the danger inherent in these developments. This is confirmed, for instance, by the resolution of the European Parliament condemning the bombing of Libya by the American air force. It assesses the US raid against Libya as a flagrant violation of international law. This action is a new stage in the dangerous escalation of violence in the Mediterranean and is a serious threat to international security.

At a time when the USA was engaged in the provocative show of its military muscle with threatening intentions in the Mediterranean, a region constantly besieged by high tensions, the Soviet Union once

again displayed goodwill and its intention to search for ways of settling and mitigating these tensions in the interests of both the littoral states and security and peace throughout the world. Speaking at a dinner in honour of Chadli Bendjedid, President of Algeria, who was on an official friendly visit to Moscow at the end of March, Mikhail Gorbachev advanced a programme of turning this region, the cradle of many civilisations, into a "zone of stable peace and cooperation".

A component of this programme are the well-known proposals on the extension on the Mediterranean of the agreed upon measures of confidence, the reduction of armed forces, the withdrawal of nuclear-capable ships, the renunciation of the deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of the non-nuclear Mediterranean countries and the assumption by the nuclear powers of an obligation not to use these weapons against any Mediterranean country which does not allow their deployment on its territory. To avoid turning the Mediterranean Sea into a powder keg, the Soviet Union is prepared to go still further, and that is a fundamentally new moment in its initiative: to renounce the lasting presence of its Navy in the Mediterranean, provided the USA simultaneously withdraws its fleet, equipped with nuclear missiles and threatening the security of the USSR, its allies and friends. This is particularly so because the USA, unlike the Soviet Union, is situated thousands of miles away from this region.

The US aggression against Libya proves the glaring irresponsibility and adventurism of the present US Administration which is gripped by dangerous ambitions to play the role of world policeman and punish sovereign states that are not to its liking. Such actions by Washington are a challenge to the world public, trample upon the generally recognised international intercourse and pose a threat to international peace and security. Quite naturally this neoglobalist policy of US imperialism carried out today against the Libyan Jamahiriya is doomed by history to failure.

V. GUREV

Between the Bug and the Odra

A MEETING IN THE POLONEZ

Train No. 9/10 that runs between Warsaw and Moscow is full all the year round. Passenger traffic is indeed lively between the two neighbouring countries. There are builders going to and from the Khmelnit-sky, Smolensk and Kursk atomic power plants as well as students from Minsk, Kiev and Moscow higher schools, and specialists of different kinds. Moscow and Warsaw are the hubs of many transit lines, and that is why Russian and Polish are far from being the only languages spoken on the train which carries passengers from Europe, Asia and Africa.

As usual, acquaintances spring up, and common topics of conversation are easily found. I had been a frequent traveller on the Polonez, the poetic name given in the time-table to train No. 9/10. To think of all the unexpected meetings that had taken place there, and the talks that had been held over a glass of *herbatka*, the traditional tea served in trains, which the Polish conductors brew on tiny electric stoves in their compartments.

We all know how these things happen: there are people that you forget as soon as you step off the train, and others that you remember for a long time. This was the case between me and my fellow-traveller from Saratov, a woman with bars of government awards pinned to her blouse, which was cut after the fashion of a field shirt. You couldn't help noticing the excitement she could hardly conceal.

Forty years ago in a battle to free the Baltic coast from the Nazis her husband died a heroic death. This happened under such difficult circumstances that the unfortunate woman could not even bid her beloved a farewell. Their unit was quickly moving westward, and he was left somewhere in the marshy lowlands near Gdansk... Throughout all the postwar years the woman never lost hope of finding her husband's grave. There she dreamed she would bring the flowers of her unfading memory...

And she did find it! With the help of members of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, Polish schoolchildren and dozens of very considerate people with whom she was not yet acquainted she achieved what seemed impossible. About 600,000 Soviet men and officers lie buried in the Polish land. War is war, and among its victims many remain nameless. Yet this time the hero's identity was not unknown—time had brought our train companion to the right road.

I was sorry later that I had not let my newspaperman instinct have its way and failed to ask for names and details... It had seemed tactless at the time to seek there and then the details of a story that had on the whole received a happy, so to say, ending. Was it by any means unique, this tale of a war romance, this tragedy of youth which, as the years rolled by, turned into a hymn to genuine love? How many young people's lives were bound up with the epopee of Europe's liberation unparalleled in scope!

In fascist-enslaved Western Europe Poland was the number one victim. Its liberation took the heaviest toll in human lives. In Poland one finds the largest number of sites of former Nazi death camps, these reminders of the Nazis' misanthropic policy. It is not by chance that in

Poland, like in the Soviet Union, the memory of the horrors of the last war is as fresh as ever.

That is why each visit to Poland is, first of all, an occasion to think about war and peace, about history, past and present, about the lessons that should bring wisdom to humankind.

IN THE HEART OF WARSAW

Acquaintance with the country begins with the Warsaw terminal. The first thing one sees upon getting off the train is the graceful outline of a high-rise building bearing a strong resemblance to Moscow University on Lenin Hills. This is the Soviet people's gift to the people of Poland, the first monumental edifice that went up from the capital's ruins in the early 1950s.

A short while ago the city marked the building's 30th anniversary. In the course of these years the hundreds of halls and auditoriums of the Palace of Culture and Science have been the venue of numerous congresses, conferences, meetings, performances and film shows; there are many study rooms, libraries, museums, shops and restaurants... Its technical installations have been reliably operating without a hitch since the building was completed; only outdated equipment, like the radio installation system in the main Hall of Congresses, has been replaced by its more efficient, modern counterpart.

The historical centrepiece of the Polish capital is the former Trakt Królewski (Royal Highway), a chain of streets that runs from the walls of the medieval Stare Miasto (Old Square) along Wilanów Palace to the city outskirts. In Krakowskie Przedmieście, at the very outset of the street, there stands in all the solemnity of its classic architecture the palace where the Warsaw Treaty was signed in 1955. Thirty years later representatives of the European socialist states came here once again to sign the agreement extending the force of the Treaty.

From the iron grating of the Palace, which has become linked for all times with this historic document serving in the postwar decades as a reliable guarantee of peace in Europe, we proceed along the Royal Highway, leaving behind the cathedral where the heart of Frédéric Chopin, the great son of the Polish people, lies buried, and the monument to Nicolaus Copernicus which stands facing the PPR Academy of Sciences. During the war the Nazis had removed the statue from the square, but by the first anniversary of People's Poland it was back in its former place.

Krakowskie Przedmieście gradually gives way to the semicircular Nowy Świat, a lively shopping street. Here the recent changes are indeed striking. Just as before the numerous shopwindows display their wares, and hundreds of shopwindows, big and small, attract customers. At the crossroads with the Aleje Jerozolimskie one observes a characteristic feature of present-day Warsaw—a large fenced-in building site. Work is under way to reconstruct the central bridge across the Vistula and a railway tunnel running under the central districts. Construction workers promise to complete one of the city's main thoroughfares ahead of time. This is especially necessary now when in the centre of the city the Metro is to be constructed with vigorous Soviet technological assistance.

We skim along the monumental buildings of the PUWP Central Committee and the Polish Press Agency (PAP) and find ourselves in a street where nearly every building houses a foreign embassy and where naturally enough stands the PPR Foreign Ministry.

Here in the heart of the capital's business quarters where one comes across the offices of many PPR government bodies, we now stop to

learn about Poland's contemporary life and the key problems of its foreign and domestic policy.

EQUAL AMONG EQUALS

We asked Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski, a prominent sociologist and political leader, to point out the most characteristic feature of Poland's foreign policy in the present situation. He answered immediately: "Its stepped-up activity in the international arena".

The Minister called to mind the period when the USA and on its orders several Western countries availed themselves of the Polish events of 1980-1981 to expand their policy of confrontation and pressure and increase propaganda warfare against the socialist countries. The campaign included attempts to call into question the territorial-political order that had been established in postwar Europe, which were made all the easier by the complicated economic world situation.

At the turn of 1986 there appeared new and favourable prospects for development. The Soviet peace initiatives were doing much to normalise the international climate. The meeting of the Soviet and American leaders in Geneva meant the revival of dialogue between the two great powers.

"In this situation", stressed Orzechowski, "Poland has made use of the ensuing prospects. Its relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have intensified and acquired a radically new content, and it has become possible to break through many of the isolation barriers in the capitalist world. This was facilitated by the achievements in doing away with the consequences of the country's socio-political crisis, the consolidation of the positions of the PUWP and the Polish government, as was testified by last year's elections to the Seim, and the mounting political realism in the West."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of PPR pointed to the enlivening of its relations with Greece, Italy, Austria and Finland. Political dialogue and trade are being normalised with Japan. It must be said, however, that there is still insufficient progress in normalising relations with the West. Contacts were developing along more intensive lines with the developing countries. Wojciech Jaruzelski's visits to India, Libya, Algeria and Tunisia helped consolidate, as was expected, Poland's economic, scientific-technological and cultural ties with these countries. Nevertheless, there are still huge untapped reserves in this sphere.

The Minister said that it was highly significant that there had been changes for the better in the nature of information on the situation in Poland. Jaruzelski's speech at the UN Jubilee Session did much to do away with the fabricated anti-Polish stereotypes and mould an objective viewpoint with regard to Poland.

The Minister went on to say that the accumulated experience could be formulated in a single statement: "Poland has effectively broken through the obstacles that the West had used to cut it off from Europe and the whole world." It had also confirmed the vital importance of alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union, the monolithic unity of the socialist states, and the direct dependence of the country's domestic situation and its economic potential on its international status and role.

Events have shown that the first symptoms of normalisation of the international climate do not automatically lead to a change in attitude towards Poland in the West, to Washington's scrapping of its line on Poland's isolation and discrimination, the Minister observed. Unfortunately, the present state of relations between the PPR and the USA did not show any changes in Washington's anti-Polish course. The US Administration was playing its old game of using Poland's hardships to bol-

ster the inner forces that were out to undermine Polish society, alleging all the way the absence of freedom and democracy in Poland and the Polish government's violation of human rights.

The Minister says: "The United States less than anyone else has the right to lecture us and other socialist states on democracy, freedom and humanism. We, Poles, do not lecture anyone. But we shall not discount the attacks against our dignity. Our stand is as clear as it is unchangeable: relations between the PPR and the USA can be normalised. It would be in the interests of both Poland and the USA."

A short time ago a government report on the international situation and the guidelines and tasks of Poland's foreign policy for 1986 was heard and discussed in the Seim. Its deputies adopted a resolution approving the basic principles of Polish foreign policy: fraternal alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, friendly cooperation with the developing countries and solidarity with progressive forces the world over, peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries, and the willingness to maintain equitable and mutually advantageous relations with them.

STATISTICS AS EVIDENCE

"All those who wish to see Poland indeed strong and respected in Europe and the world over must strengthen the Homeland from within and increase its material and spiritual wealth". These words from the report of the Polish government in the Seim show the deep-going inner link between the country's foreign and domestic policy, its international position and the state of its national economy.

"For the Polish People's Republic economic questions have a special political acuteness", says Franciszek Kubiczek, First Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission under the PPR Council of Ministers. "During the sharp clash with the counter-revolutionary forces in 1980-1981 the enemies of people's rule tried to undermine our people's faith in the potential capabilities of the socialist system. They still have not let up on these attempts. True, their effectiveness has gone down due to the obvious growth of the country's industrial output in the last three years."

Let us recall a bit of recent history. It was the turn of the 1980s. The Polish economy was suffering the consequences of the erroneous strategic decisions taken in the early 1970s when the accent was on accelerating economic development by means of Western credits. In 1979, for the first time in many years, material output fell by approximately 2.3 per cent.

There was nothing tragic about this. The losses could have been easily regained by prompt and decisive action from the country's leadership. This is easily confirmed by the fact that even with half the means available at the time, and for all the inconsistency of the Party and state leadership of that period, in the first six months of 1980 the economy showed no further signs of regress; moreover, industrial output had gone up as against the same period of the previous year by nearly 7 per cent, construction and assembly works by 36 per cent, etc. The market had remained relatively stable despite the shortage of some products, especially meat.

Yet it was at this very time, amidst growing dissatisfaction among workers with the irregularities in the work of enterprises and in the supplying of commodities, and with the inconsistencies of individual Party and government leaders, that there appeared political forces that were out to use these economic hardships to their own ends. Staking their all, they spared no means. The undermining of the economy, using all the mechanisms that would bring the country to an economic ca-

tastrophe, was the goal which guided all the actions that were instigated and organised by these forces in the second half of 1980 and virtually all of 1981. After the relatively positive economic achievements of the first six months of 1980, the end of the year brought a six per cent drop in national income. In 1981 it fell by another 12 per cent.

In that period all the planning system and all economic management had come to a standstill; devaluation of money was in progress. Industrial output fell to the 1974 level, housing construction—to the 1967 level, and exports—to that of 1974-1975.

"Forces hostile to socialism were out to shift the entire blame for the deep economic slump in the early 1980s over to the PUWP and the Polish government," notes Kubiczek. "Objective data show that the main blow was made by escalating the wave of strikes that had been set off on orders from the 'Solidarity' advisers".

After martial law was introduced the country faced the heavy task of consolidating society to prevent further economic degradation. This was achieved in mid-1982 when a brake was finally put on economic regression. Foundations were laid down for steady economic development. In 1983 the national income went up by 6 per cent, and in 1984 by 5.6 per cent.

It is interesting to observe the changes in various industries. In 1982 industrial output in terms of value was above the 1980 level only in the power and ceramics industries. In 1983 this level was also exceeded by the coal, precision mechanics, glass, pulp-and-paper, and polygraphic industries. To this list in 1984 were added the engineering, electrical engineering, electronic, chemical, woodworking, sewing and leather industries. In 1982 shortage of output in terms of value against 1980 (in comparable market prices) amounted to 1,205,000 million zlotys, and in 1984 to 382,000 million only.

In 1983 labour productivity in the public industrial sector (per man-hour) was four per cent above the 1980 level. To compare: in 1981 this indice was nearly five per cent, and in 1982—three per cent below the 1980 level. Labour productivity per worker topped (by two per cent) the 1980 level already in 1984. To compare: the 1981 and 1982 indices were respectively lower by 15 and 10 per cent.

The lag in the building industry still exists. Although its development has been showing a steady annual increase of more than six per cent since 1983, the 1980 level is still far off.

Agricultural production has been steadily growing since 1983, and in 1984 topped the 1980 level by 1.5 per cent which was nevertheless 10 per cent below the level of the most favourable 1978.

In 1985 progressive economic trends were retained and enhanced. Even the layman can see this. Although some goods are still in shortage (refrigerators, washing machines, black-and-white TV sets) the consumer market has been normalised. All the prime necessities are available in a relatively wide assortment. Foodstuffs are no longer rationed (except meat). On the whole, the last three years have confirmed the correct line of the PUWP and its programme for doing away with the economic crisis. Soviet credits helped consolidate the country's progressive trends in the economy. In this period Soviet exports to Poland topped Polish exports to the USSR.

LIFE SETS ITS DEMANDS

Travelling in Poland is not only travelling in space, but also in time. Only this can give one an understanding of the people's way of life and the trends of the country's development.

...Among Warsaw sights is the Fabryka Samochodów Osobowych (FSO), a motor works on the right bank of the Vistula which is now a large industrial district.

FSO is known not only for its imposing outward appearance. Its output has become an integral feature of Poland's present-day image: the Polonez car is known in many countries of the world.

However, from any experienced FSO worker one may be sure to learn that the plant and its products are in a transitional state, that plans have already been mapped out for new workshops and car models that will be as different from those of today, as these are from those of the recent past.

The enterprise's foundations were laid forty years ago—in the marshy meadowlands of Zerań. The pioneers of those days are living witnesses of how it all began. And there are still hundreds of FSO workers who have been working at the plant for many decades.

...Among them is the General Director Eugeniusz Pietczak. As a young worker he had started off with the assembly of the famous model, *Warszawa*, the twin brother of the even more famous *Pobeda*. He received his qualification from the Soviet specialist at the Gorky auto plant, and in Warsaw, when they helped master the production of new models.

Recalling the past, the General Director says, "Then we put out our own model, and after that purchased Western equipment and licences, and then again introduced a model of our own. Yet all this has a beginning—the plant we received from Gorky, and help and advice from Soviet specialists. Were it not for that aid, there would have been no progress..."

Today the country's automobile industry, which had taken shape under the people's government, manufactures several models that have become popular in the domestic market and abroad. Along with the Polonez, there is the nimble *maluch*—Fiat-126p, a mini-car highly popular with Polish families, the Star trucks that have proved themselves handy at building sites and for transporting farm produce; and the mini-vans *Zuk* indispensable for the retail trade network.

In keeping with the demands of scientific and technological progress thought is given to updating all types of automobiles. Polish car designers intend to work on this problem in close cooperation with specialists from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The management of the motor works in Bielsko-Biala has already begun talks with the plant in Zaporozhye which has also been long specialising in mini-vehicles. Specialists from the Starochowice Works (the home of the Star truck) are taking an interest in the developments at the Gorky auto plant. The Lublin auto plant known for its *Zuk* mini-van will soon put out a new model that will be manufactured under Soviet-Polish cooperation.

Poland contemplates its basic development in cooperation with the socialist countries. All in all it is following the course taken in the first years of postwar rehabilitation. Entire industries have been set up in cooperation with the Soviet Union, among them shipbuilding. Owing to Soviet orders Poland was able to build shipyards capable of dealing with the most complicated orders.

...The Lenin Shipyard lies in the heart of Gdansk. The entrance control-point has been squeezed in between the gigantic high-rises. Here too the sea waters cut deep into the city and one has only to walk a few steps from the entrance to find oneself on a moorage where vessels are nearing completion in the docks.

Hundreds of ships have already come out of this yard. Most of them are plying the seas under the Soviet flag. That is why the work of Gdansk shipbuilders has always been of interest to the Soviet people.

And that is why the Shipyard was the first to suffer the attacks of socialism's enemies: these attacks were aimed at the heart of Polish-Soviet friendship. Availing themselves of mounting public dissatisfaction, the result of the economic hardships of the late 1970s, and the alienation of certain Party leaders from the masses, the counter-revolutionary activists managed to ensconce themselves in the shipbuilders' working teams and give their discontent a political hue.

In August 1980 the press in every single Western country carried a photo showing the signboard of the Shipyard's Trade Union Committee crossed over by two thick black lines. The antisocialist forces concentrated their attack on the trade union. They were out to eliminate the Lenin-type TU organisation from public life so that they could replace it to effect their counter-revolutionary activities which they disguised with pseudo workers' terms.

August and September of 1980 were truly dramatic pages in the history of the Shipyard. From the Shipyard the disturbances began to spread throughout the country. Their instigators left the Shipyard. Yet having once caught the eye of the Western press the Shipyard is presented to this day by "objectively-minded" newsmen as the "headquarters" and even "stronghold" of the "opposition", as the ever present powder-keg of public instability.

What is the actual state of affairs?

We had a talk with Genryk Koszczelski, Chairman of the TU Committee of the Lenin Shipyard's workers, in the same building that had suffered counter-revolutionary attacks in the summer of 1980. Koszczelski is an experienced worker. He has long been taking part in the Shipyard's social activities and has a fine knowledge of all its workers.

"Of course," he said, "the moral harm was tremendous. It can be judged by recalling the history of our TU. In 1982, when the action committee was formed, it was joined by a mere 80 people—out of 12,000 workers! In 1983 when the TU was registered, there were 200 of us. The new TU at the Shipyard immediately drew attention—of friends and enemies. Today we number 5,000 and have 44 shop and section organisations... Now we are a force! People are becoming convinced that the TU is truly concerned with the needs of the working class... Yet a good half of our collective are not TU members. This does not mean that they are against us, not at all! Many still find it hard to come out of the moral deadlock where they were brought by the counter-revolutionary leaders. Others are at a crossroads or are biding their time. This sets highly important educational tasks before all public organisations. And I am satisfied to say that our work is bringing in good results. New applications are handed in daily, our ranks are steadily growing."

We learned that the situation at the Shipyard was in many respects the same as at most of the country's big industrial enterprises. The people were engaged in daily work with its ups and downs.

The new Athlete-5 research vessel from the Shelf series built at the Gdansk Shipyard, like its predecessors, was already out at sea. The Shipyard's finishing shop had completed the vessel ten days ahead of schedule in honour of the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

A few months before, the Shipyard had given the final touch to the Oceania sailboat, built to fulfil a special order from the USSR Academy of Sciences. It is the first to have an automatic sail control system which has proved its worth and is now being upgraded for the needs of a larger-sized vessel that will serve as a floating holiday home for Silesian miners. The idea of building a sailboat of this type has been taken from the experience of TU work in the USSR and the GDR where holidays aboard sea and river vessels are quite popular.

The working collective at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk is mainly engaged in tackling diverse creative tasks both in the production sphere—improving technology, ensuring better labour protection, and the social sphere with its concern for providing the working people with housing, ensuring them well-organised holidays, etc.

The same can be said of the situation at all Polish enterprises. Today one gets the image of the Polish working class not from pictures of individuals readily posing for videoshots made by Western TV companies; rather the tone is set by *ludzi uezciwei pracy* (people of selfless labour) who are aware that work for the good of their native land is a source of their own welfare and deep moral satisfaction.

Speaking on behalf of these people whose interests, contrary to the allegations of sorry intellectuals, do not boil down to making easy money, Wiktor Borcuch, Secretary of the PUWP Committee at the Lenin Shipyard, says: "We are eager to strengthen contacts with the collectives of Soviet shipbuilding enterprises, their Party and TU organisations. Please be sure to write about this—we are all in favour of extending friendly contacts."

We heard almost the same words at virtually every Polish enterprise we had been to. This trend to understand each other is reflected in official bilateral documents. I shall recall here the words from the joint declaration on the official friendly visit to the Soviet Union of Zbigniew Messner, Member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP Central Committee, Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, which said, "Both sides have underlined their endeavour to develop and strengthen ties between their working teams, TU, youth and other mass organisations." This is imperative in our day and it is the best answer to all those who have not left off their attempts to politicising by setting off two neighbouring peoples against each other.

TO SEE THE FUTURE

Present-day Poland lives a rich and eventful life. The spirit of revival is felt in every sphere.

...Bydgoszcz is another large industrial and regional centre some 200 kilometres from Gdansk. Let us look in at the local Kobra shoe factory whose models adorn the counters of many Polish shops. And I'm not mistaken about the word "adorn"! For they are as famous as the shoes manufactured by the Syrena factory in Warsaw, or Radoskora in Radom and Alka in Slupsk.

Yet only some three or four years ago the shoe shops had displayed—empty shelves. Shoes for every day wear could be bought only in exchange for—a ration coupon. Western mass media jeered at the Poles who, they said, would soon be going around barefooted.

"The crisis was deep," recalls Bernard Wencel, Secretary of the PUWP Committee at the Kobra factory. "Cooperative ties had become disrupted inside the country, the West went back on its deliveries under agreements. In this situation Soviet aid proved invaluable. The Soviet Union gave us raw materials and semifinished items which helped us normalise production and attain our former export level."

According to Edward Kowal, Kobra's General Director, "The problem was also solved by reorganising industrial management. Before, all questions of assortment, supply and marketing were in the authority of the Ministry department. Now we handle them ourselves. The factory's plan was considered fulfilled before the shoes were marketed. Now this is done only after the customer is satisfied with our offer: shoes must be comfortable, attractive and fashionable. This has made us respond

more willingly to the customers' tastes and raised our factory's efficiency".

...From Bydgoszcz our travels took us westward to the ancient city of Szczecin. Archaeological excavations have discovered articles pertaining to human activity that are 2,500 years old. Slavonic tribes had settled in the Odra estuary from time immemorial. Yet the city was returned to the Polish state only after the rout of Nazi Germany.

In Szczecin we had a date with two explorers of the Antarctic: Anna and Edward Kolakowskis. Of the socialist countries only Poland takes part in Antarctic studies along with the Soviet Union. And only the Polish expedition has among its members a woman specialist—Anna Kolakowski, a pretty blonde who is engaged with her husband in studying valuable food shrimp—krill.

The Antarctic is only one sphere of Poland's versatile scientific programme. Good results are obtained by the Space Research Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Apparatus for analysing low-frequency plasma waves designed by Polish specialists were employed in the international Vega experiment. The results of Polish research have been applied in many other branches of science.

After wishing Anna and Edward Kolakowskis success in their work, we took a plane back to Warsaw. Like every capital it provides a diversified cultural life. A greater number of films have begun to deal with problems of our time thanks to the work of young film directors. Many new theatrical productions have become the subjects of disputes. An enjoyable event were the two new productions from the classical Russian repertory staged this winter at the National Opera and Ballet Theatre. The first was a new stage version of Tchaikovsky's ballet *Swan Lake*, or to be precise, the well-known Soviet choreographer, Konstantin Sergeyev, produced the classic version of the ballet to be presented in Warsaw. The result can be judged by the wide public acclaim given to the production during the Theatre's guest performance in West Germany.

The second event was a treat to all opera fans—*The Golden Cock* by Rimsky-Korsakov performed in Russian.

Near the monumental edifice of the National Opera and Ballet Theatre is the Zachęta Art Gallery, which houses the country's main art shows. The hit of the season was the exhibition dedicated to the 80th birthday of Helena and Juliusz Krajewskis, which was at the same time the 50th anniversary of their creative work. Their names are linked with the emergence of artistic life in People's Poland. Before the war they had been studying at the Warsaw Academy of Arts and had taken an active part in the communist movement. Quite logical therefore was their vigorous contribution to the founding of the Union of Polish Artists. Later they energetically worked to defend realistic art from the attacks of the avant-gardists of various hues. The exhibition in Zachęta drew the attention of many for it showed the artists' fidelity to the truth which they carried through their long and fruitful life.

I had the opportunity to meet the masters after the show, when they found themselves once again surrounded by representatives of the Polish press, radio and TV. "Your show was such a success! Did you expect it?" I asked the artists.

"We have never turned off the road we chose and have always believed in realism as a method of art," replied Helena.

"Success? We have a different attitude to this kind of thing. This is merely a reward for always being able to see the future and not giving way to the latest craze," replied Juliusz.

These words sounded as a manifesto of those who faithfully serve People's Poland, irrespective of their profession.

Some weeks after my heartfelt meeting on the train with the woman war-veteran who was on her way to visit her husband's burial place, when the episode had been somewhat dampened by the impressions from my travels in Poland, I found myself in the regional city of Elblag. When I came to see the Mayor with whom I had an appointment I found him in a state of excitement. He told me that they had just seen off a honorary guest who had received a welcome from the whole city...

And he told me the tragic story of the war romance that I had heard on the Polonez train. Thus I learned the name of its heroine—Galina Mushta, director of a school for working youth in Saratov Region.

Then I read in the papers about the solemn meeting of tribute that had been held at her husband's grave. Thousands of Polish citizens had come to share the Soviet woman's grief and gratification. Grief for the irrevocable loss, and gratification—for the memory that continued to live. Such events were not rare, and yet I felt deeply moved as if I too had personally known the fallen hero.

...There is hardly a Polish city that does not have a cemetery where Soviet war heroes are buried. Rows of carefully tended graves—almost 600,000 of them! This is a figure to be remembered, to be repeated... Because it is the measure of blood that has been shed to preserve the inviolability of Polish-Soviet friendship.

Warsaw

Yu. VASILKOV

The USA vs. the Developing World

R. I. Zimenkov, *US Neocolonialism in Our Day (Economic Aspects)*, Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1985, 248 pp. (in Russian).

The book under review must certainly be placed among publications that contribute to some extent to a scientific interpretation of events and developments occurring in the system of economic relations between the USA and newly free countries. It is especially relevant today, when the United States is using more frequently than ever before its economic muscle and economic "diplomacy" to buttress its aggressive foreign policy and to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states. The author has set out to explore the underpinnings, tactics and strategy of US expansionism, its mechanism and peculiarities, in Asian, African and Latin American countries. He is right in his characterisation of the export of private capital to developing countries as a chief form the expansionism of monopoly capital takes in the periphery areas of the capitalist world economy, and shows that major US banks rapidly increased their share of crediting operation in the developing world over the 1970s. In fact, a transnational financial oligarchy has been set up to exploit the newly free countries.

The section on economic "aid" focuses on new trends in the US Administration's policies aimed at bringing its military and political plans to fruition, rather than creating conditions for economic progress of developing countries. Washington is using economic "aid" more and more frequently to put political pressure, toughening the commercial terms of loans and credits and ignoring the developing countries' demands for a new international economic order. The author emphasises that "aid is highly selective, being granted essentially to promote the fulfilment of US military strategic plans" (p. 101).

Discussing the inequitable trade relations within the capitalist system, the author gives priority attention to the latest turns of this

problems, especially the "new" protectionism in the US customs policy, the differentiated approach the USA is taking to developing countries by backing up its economic relations with them with political demands, application of discriminatory measures, including economic sanctions, boycott, embargo, etc. These policies, the author points out, only intensify the contradictions between Washington and the developing countries.

The author looks in detail at the technological expansionism of US imperialism in Asian, African and Latin American countries. In his view, "the developing countries' second-class status on the capitalist technology market, their inadequate knowledge about alternative sources of modern technology, and their traditional economic links with the imperialist powers restrict their choice of likely technology suppliers and significantly circumscribe the young nations' opportunities to negotiate more favourable terms. Simultaneously, these factors enable US monopolies to dictate prices for their technology and reap super-profits" (p. 123).

For all the diversity of methods US neocolonialism uses in its economic relations with developing countries, the author recognises some progress in the US foreign policy towards a reappraisal, under the impact of current developments in the world, of the Third World countries' part in the international division of labour. It is becoming increasingly clear to the apologists of US neocolonialism that the continued backwardness of the newly free countries may turn against the interests of capitalism. Together with other Western states, the USA finds itself under pressure to give some help to developing countries, in closing the immense gap in economic development.

As the author demonstrates in his book, however, the logic of this "help" within the framework of capitalism is that with the transnational corporations engaged in unrestrained operations the economies of developing countries are being increasingly destabilised and falling under the sway of the United States and other developed capitalist states.

Especially noteworthy is the author's analysis of the way US imperialism benefits from membership in international monetary organisations, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, regional development banks and others. He exposes as futile exercise the attempts being made by Washington officials and US economists to show off US involvement in these organisations as a desire to help the developing countries. In actual fact, the author justly writes, US imperialism exploits its membership of the international monetary organisations to clear the field for US corporations, to bolster its hegemonistic ambitions, and transform the leading financial institutions into a tool of collective neocolonialism.

Specialised UN agencies and programmes set up to extend economic assistance to developing countries are assigned a special place in US policies. "By participating in these agencies and programme," the author writes, "the USA is attempting to capitalise on their prestige to promote its foreign policy aims" and to put the screws to the developing countries (p. 225).

Although the book is devoted, in the first place, to a study of economic relations between the USA and developing countries, what is, in our view, missing is an insight into the growing adversity between Washington and its Western rivals in the race for spoils. The book would only stand to gain from a more careful treatment of the external debt the developing countries owe to international and US private banks, a problem that has no parallel in today's world.

These deficiencies notwithstanding, the book reviewed here draws a broad picture of the economic aspects of US neocolonialism and of the US economic expansionism in developing countries.

A. SHVEDOV

Diplomacy During the Second World War

F. D. Volkov, *Behind the Scenes of the Second World War*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1985, 304 pp. (in Russian).

Volkov's book analyses the most topical or insufficiently studied aspects of the political and diplomatic activity of the states involved in the Second World War, in particular Great Britain. He publishes for the first time documents from British archives, including protocols of meetings in the British Cabinet, Foreign Office, and other ministries. A number of these documents provide further confirmation of the fact that the British ruling circles made their biggest gamble on finding a most effective way of directing Hitler's aggression towards the East, thereby themselves avoiding a clash with the Nazis, and maybe even reaching an agreement with them.

For example, when, in the spring of 1939 Hitler demanded in an ultimatum that Poland hand over Gdansk (Danzig) to Germany,

Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Minister, declared that if war breaks out because of Danzig, the blame would rest on Poland (p. 11). When Germany attacked Poland, those in favour of making a deal with the Nazis continued to try and restrain Britain from entering the war on Poland's side. Although London and Paris formally declared war on Germany, British politicians, like their French counterparts, merely condemned Germany verbally, sending it protest notes whilst in fact doing nothing to help Poland. "While the Nazi hordes were drowning Poland in blood," Volkov notes, "and Luftwaffe planes were sowing death, British and French politicians were bombing Berlin with notes and using up ink for unnecessary papers" (p. 18).

Neither country had abandoned its hopes

of turning the "un-needed war" against Germany into the "needed war" against the USSR. According to documents in British archives, at the end of October 1939 the British chief of staff committee even examined the question of the "positive and negative aspects of Britain's declaring war on Russia" (p. 27).

However, the calculations of the Western statesmen who participated in the Munich deal were not justified. On May 10, 1940 the German high command began implementing "plan yellow"—war against France, and when France capitulated, the deadly threat hung over Britain.

Operation Sea Lion (to cross the English Channel), however, did not take place. The Soviet Union saved Britain from utter defeat. As early as the summer of 1940, Volkov recalls, Hitler came to the conclusion that whilst such a mighty power as the USSR existed, it would be risky for Germany to wage a full-scale war against Britain. Postponing the invasion of the British Isles, the Nazi command tried to hide its plans to prepare an attack on the USSR, passing off the deployment of German troops in connection with the Barbarossa Plan as a "distracting manoeuvre to hide the latest preparations for the invasion of England" (pp. 59-60).

Dwelling on the history of the Soviet-German talks which took place in November 1940, Volkov notes that they were essential for the Soviet Union to learn Germany's true intentions. Despite Hitler's loud talk of the need to improve bilateral relations, the USSR was left in no doubt as to Germany's aggressive plans. Here, Volkov points out the insolvency of claims advanced by some Western historians to the effect that Hitler decided to attack the USSR only after the said talks. On the very day the Soviet government delegation arrived in Berlin, the German Supreme Command had already issued a top secret directive to continue preparations for war against the USSR (p. 71).

Although, Volkov stresses, the Western leaders, in particular British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, regarded an alliance with the USSR as a "sad necessity", a "marriage of convenience", the formation of the anti-Hitler coalition "was the result of the entire foreign policy activity of the USSR prior to the Second World War" (p. 132).

The book devotes most attention to the struggle of Soviet diplomacy to accelerate the opening up of the second front in Europe. Volkov demonstrates convincingly that even

in the early stages of the Great Patriotic War, Britain and the USA had all they needed to carry out a landing in France. However, reactionary circles in Washington and London tried for all their worth to delay the opening up of the second front, whilst seeking to exhaust their ally—the USSR—at the same time as exhausting their enemy—Germany.

Soviet diplomacy had to overcome enormous difficulties and demonstrate tact, restraint and firmness to make Britain and the USA to honour their obligations as allies. It is well known, for example, that Winston Churchill tried until the last to push through his "Balkan variant", and that during his meeting with Roosevelt in Quebec in August 1943, he introduced so many conditions to the compromise plan which resulted from that meeting (Operation Overlord, providing for an allied landing in Normandy) that, as Volkov writes, "it was sufficient for the wind to be a little stronger than planned, for the weather not to coincide with the lunar cycle, for the Germans to have not 12 but 13 mobile divisions in reserve or to transfer not 15 but 16 divisions from the Soviet front—and the entire plan to open up a second front could be frustrated!" (p. 169).

Analysing the course of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, Volkov cites materials from British archives which bear witness to the fact that on the eve of the Potsdam Conference, the Foreign Office proposed preparing "trump cards" for Churchill, which British politicians could use to exert pressure on the USSR and force it to make concessions. Amongst these "trump cards" were American credits, "the German Navy, German factories and resources in the west of the country, German archives and, finally, some concessions which Stalin would like to get from us, for example, on the question of inlets or, possibly, of Tangier" (p. 253). This gamble on blackmail, however, proved ineffective: at the Conference the Soviet Union achieved just and democratic solutions to questions connected with the end of the war and the postwar order.

Volkov's monography is not without certain shortcomings. In our opinion, it contains too many unwieldy quotations, and there are a number of places where the author repeats both ideas and facts. Nevertheless, the materials the book contains throw new light on numerous questions of the diplomatic history of the Second World War.

S. ISKENDEROV

A Book on Soviet Diplomatic Protocol

D. S. Nikiforov, A. F. Borunkov, *Diplomatic Protocol in the USSR: Principles, Norms, Rules*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1985, 304 pp. (in Russian)

Today the general public, more than ever before is showing interest in foreign policy and diplomatic issues. Concern for the future of mankind causes people to try to understand more thoroughly the world development process and search for the means to influence in their own way the solution of major international problems.

The centuries-old historical experience indicates that normal functioning of interstate relations requires not only respect for legal norms established and consolidated by the world community but also compliance with certain rules, norms, traditions, conventionalities, customs, in other words, with all which is included in the notion of diplomatic protocol.

The authors of the book proceed from the premise that diplomatic protocol is an important political instrument designed to help to create and maintain normal relations between states on the basis of sovereign equality of all states, large and small, respect for their territorial integrity and non-interference in each others' internal affairs.

It is hard, if at all, possible, to imagine any diplomatic action which would be carried out without due regard to the norms of protocol. Meetings of Soviet leaders with the heads of foreign countries, negotiations conducted at various levels, contacts of diplomats with ministries and other institutions of the host country, exchanges of parliamentary and other delegations—all these actions require knowledge of protocol rules.

At the same time, poor knowledge of protocol, customs of other countries, failure to understand the privileges that diplomats enjoy, as well as other norms of diplomatic practice, may breed misunderstanding, and sometimes, conflicts which hamper the development of international relations and ties.

This is the reason why questions of diplomatic protocol were extensively—and rightfully so—dwelt upon in a number of Soviet publications of recent years, such as monographs by F. Molochkov *Diplomatic Protocol*

and *Diplomatic Practice*, and A. Kovalev *The ABCs of Diplomacy*, and others.

The book by D. S. Nikiforov and A. F. Borunkov contains a thorough examination of the distinctive features and the practice of diplomatic protocol established in the Soviet Union. The book is intended for those in the diplomatic service, as well as for the general reader interested in questions of Soviet diplomatic practice.

The book spells out the principles, tasks and goals of Soviet diplomacy; it tells about the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, its structure and functions, and about diplomatic missions abroad. A separate section of the monograph is devoted to procedures of formalising the establishment of diplomatic relations, appointment and recall of ambassadors, and to general activities of diplomats and various kinds of official ceremonies.

The protocol activities of receiving heads of state and government of foreign countries have special place in the book. Visits of high level foreign delegations to this country have always been an important form of foreign political activity. In all countries the ceremony of receiving heads of state, government, and foreign ministers is elaborated with special care and is scrupulously observed. Foreign guests receive honours which symbolise respect for the sovereignty and independence of their countries (pp. 157-166).

The authors dwell in great detail on the questions of diplomatic correspondence, holding of diplomatic conversations and receptions.

The book emphasises the role played by the Soviet Union in the elaboration and consolidation of progressive norms of diplomatic protocol. Norms, principles and traditions that emerged and have been developing on the basis of socialist foreign policy are inherent to the diplomatic protocol of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries. "After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution", the book says, "the Soviet state introduced Lenin's principles of foreign policy

in the international arena. "They are based on the sovereign equality of all states, large and small, their territorial integrity, peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems, and the right of all colonial and dependent countries to freedom and independence. Such a policy required new forms and methods which are socialist in their con-

tent, in other words a new socialist diplomatic protocol" (p. 5).

Knowledge of protocol, undoubtedly, helps everyone who is in one form or another involved in maintaining, developing and strengthening the diverse international ties of this country.

Professor P. SEVOSTYANOV

US Nuclear Globalism: A Threat to Peace

W. M. Arkin, R. W. Fieldhouse, *Nuclear Battlefields. Global Links in the Arms Race*, Cambridge (Massachusetts), Ballinger Publishing Company, 1985, 329 pp.

The problem of war and peace facing mankind has never been so acute as today. As the New Edition of the CPSU Programme states, "Imperialism was responsible for two world wars which claimed tens of millions of lives. It is creating a threat of a third world war. Imperialism is using the achievements of man's genius for the development of weapons of awesome destructive power".

A good illustration of this argument is provided by a serious and fairly objective study by two American scientists—William M. Arkin, Fellow and Director of Nuclear Weapons Research at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, and Richard W. Fieldhouse, Research Associate with the Arms Race and Nuclear Weapons Research Project of the same Institute.

Based on rich factual material (about one half of the book is devoted to the description of the nuclear arms infrastructure in the world), the book reveals the global nature of the US military preparations, which have been staking and continue to stake on using nuclear arms for the purpose of "containing" and "rolling back" socialism, suppressing national liberation movements, and establishing world domination.

The infrastructure of these military preparations was and remains the ramified worldwide network of military bases and facilities, created by the United States and their NATO allies. Military bases of nuclear nature (there are 749 of them according to the authors' estimates), are deployed today in many countries and territories which are included in the US scheme of global nuclear conflict. It is for

that very reason that about 70 per cent of the US tactical nuclear weapons are stored outside US borders.

The intended purpose is not only to disperse the nuclear arsenal but also to ward off a possible retaliatory strike of United States. However, as the authors point out, such hopes are illusionary in nature, since in any case, contemporary weapons are capable of delivering a retaliatory strike against the territory of the United States, thus rendering its basic strategy groundless.

Moreover, the authors stress that the Pentagon stubbornly sticks to the outdated concept of the massive use of nuclear and conventional weapons not only in global but in regional conflicts. Hence, its stubborn intention, on the one hand, to block and eventually derail the process of limiting and reducing nuclear arms, and on the other hand, to upset the military and strategic parity between the USSR and the USA which prevailed in the early 1970s and achieve military superiority in all areas of the arms race including outer space.

In the book, deep concern is expressed over the fact that the world has stockpiled a gigantic nuclear arsenal amounting to over 50 thousand nuclear warheads. At the same time, the authors indicate that according to estimates at the present time there is an approximate parity between the Soviet Union and the United States, and that the use of nuclear arms gives no advantages to either side.

The nuclear arms race spurred on by Washington in the early 1980s helped people to better understand that the involvement in

nuclear conflict threatens not only the territories of the countries where US nuclear weapons are deployed, but also those countries which have bound themselves with the USA by military and political commitments or provide services to technical facilities of key importance for the US nuclear programmes. A direct threat to the security of many countries is presented by the visits of US Navy ships with nuclear arms on board.

The authors expose the hypocritical nature of the NATO concept of "supplementary arming" according to which the United States continue to deploy on the territory of Western Europe its "Pershing-2" and cruise missiles. The authors claim that those provocative measures were caused not by the Soviet Union's alleged violation of the nuclear parity entailing measures to safeguard the security of Western Europe, but by the Pentagon's intention to deploy there its first strike weapons.

The authors express serious concern over the fact that the nuclear arms in the possession of the United States are constantly on the alert. First of all, it concerns the 95 per cent of the US land-based ICBM force, one-third of its strategic bombers, and one half of submarine-launched ballistic missiles. The general plan of strategic war, Single Integrated Operational Plan-6, approved on October 6, 1983 is operating in the United States. It envisages nuclear strikes against 40 thousand targets on the territory of the Soviet Union and the East European countries (p. 89).

The book indicates that US military preparations for nuclear war are of a universal nature but are most intensive in Europe. And the level of nuclear threat increases there dramatically due to the fact that nuclear arms are "very much integrated" in the NATO structure and any military provocation, even with the use of conventional weapons may grow into a nuclear conflict. As is known, in recent years the NATO strategists have been insisting that along with the build-up of the US nuclear arsenal in Western Europe, the NATO countries should increase the might of their conventional arms under the pretext that it would help to raise the nuclear "threshold" within the alliance. However, the authors do not share this opinion (p. 110).

They believe that Great Britain and France are closely linked to the United States in the field of nuclear strategy. While in the case of France this information is carefully with-

held, no secrets are made of the "special relations" between the United States and Great Britain.

The book convincingly proves that the existing global nuclear infrastructure of the United States is widely used for intimidating the developing countries in order to keep them within the orbit of imperialist domination. At present, "the US Army is developing a number of new nuclear systems and re-examining old systems for use in the Third World", the authors stress (p. 133).

Therefore, the authors point out that not a single part of the globe may be considered safe in the light of global militarist plans elaborated by the Pentagon. The book emphasises that the spreading of nuclear arms in the world causes growing concern not only among the common people inhabiting the planet but also among the leaders of many countries. This is reflected in the demand to create nuclear-free zones in Northern Europe, in Central Europe, in the Mediterranean, in the Balkans and the Middle East, in South Asia, in the Indian Ocean region, in Africa and the Pacific region.

The Government of Greece declared that it intends to press the withdrawal by 1989 of US bases and all nuclear weapons from its territory. In 1984 the Government of Canada wiped clean the territory of the country of the last US nuclear warhead. The following eight of the sixteen NATO countries do not allow the deployment of US nuclear weapons on their territory: Norway, Denmark, Canada, Portugal, Luxemburg, Spain, Iceland, and France. Australia, New Zealand and Fiji sued France in the International Court of Justice in an effort to make it cease nuclear explosions in the atmosphere. The Government of New Zealand, which supports the idea of making the southern part of the Pacific a nuclear free zone, demanded that US nuclear ships stopped calling at its ports.

Effective arms control is impossible without limiting the sphere of nuclear arms proliferation, the book emphasises. There is much sense in this demand: there can be no security without limiting and reducing the arms race and curbing Washington's nuclear globalism. The only reasonable alternative is the Soviet concrete programme of total elimination of nuclear arms everywhere by the end of this century, and ensuring reliable security on our planet for the present and future generations.

I. KULKOV

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 40th SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The problems of preserving and strengthening peace, checking the arms race, the aversion of the arms race in outer space, prohibiting chemical and bacteriological weapons, and international economic security were the centrepiece of the work carried out by the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly. The Soviet Union initiated many resolutions on these and other major issues. The actions of the USSR and other socialist countries aimed at improving the international climate met with a broad support of the entire world community at the Session.

A number of documents of the UN General Assembly are published below.

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

The General Assembly,

Recalling resolution 37/16 of November 16, 1982, in which it declared 1986 to be the International Year of Peace,

Recognising that the importance of the International Year of Peace, which has been linked with the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, requires that the Year be devoted to the concentration of the efforts of the United Nations and its Member States on the promotion and achievement of the ideals of peace by all possible means, which constitutes a fundamental purpose of the Charter,

Considering that efforts and activities to

achieve positive results in international co-operation for the promotion of peace must be intensified during the Year and for ever,

1. Approves the Proclamation of the International Year of Peace, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution;

2. Invites all States, all organisations of the United Nations system and interested non-governmental organisations, educational, scientific, cultural and research organisations and the communications media to co-operate with the Secretary-General in achieving the objectives of the International Year of Peace;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure the widest possible dissemination of this Proclamation.

ANNEX

PROCLAMATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

Whereas the General Assembly has decided unanimously to proclaim solemnly the International Year of Peace on October 24, 1985, the 40th anniversary of the United Nations,

Whereas the 40th anniversary of the United Nations provides a unique opportunity to reaffirm the support for and commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Whereas peace constitutes a universal ideal and the promotion of peace is the primary purpose of the United Nations,

Whereas the promotion of international peace and security requires continuing and positive action by States and peoples aimed

at the prevention of war, removal of various threats to peace—including the nuclear threat—respect for the principle of non-use of force, the resolution of conflicts and peaceful settlement of disputes, confidence-building measures, disarmament, maintenance of outer space for peaceful uses, development, the promotion and exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms, decolonisation in accordance with the principle of self-determination, elimination of racial discrimination and apartheid, the enhancement of the quality of life, satisfaction of human needs and protection of the environment,

Whereas peoples must live together in peace and practise tolerance, and it has been re-

cognised that education, information, science and culture can contribute to that end,

Whereas the International Year of Peace provides a timely impetus for initiating renewed thought and action for the promotion of peace,

Whereas the International Year of Peace offers an opportunity to Governments, inter-governmental, non-governmental organisations and others to express in practical terms the common aspiration of all peoples for peace,

Whereas the International Year of Peace is

not only a celebration or commemoration, but an opportunity to reflect and act creatively and systematically in fulfilling the purposes of the United Nations,

Now, therefore,

The General Assembly

Solemnly proclaims 1986 to be the International Year of Peace and calls upon all peoples to join with the United Nations in resolute efforts to safeguard peace and the future of humanity.

PROHIBITION OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND MANUFACTURE OF NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND NEW SYSTEMS OF SUCH WEAPONS

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 34/79 (XXX) of December 11, 1975, 31/74 of December 10, 1976, 32/84 A of December 12, 1977, 33/66 B of December 14, 1978, 34/79 of December 11, 1979, 35/149 of December 12, 1980, 36/89 of December 9, 1981, 37/77 A of December 9, 1982, 38/182 of December 20, 1983 and 39/62 of December 12, 1984 concerning the prohibition of new types of weapons of mass destruction,

Bearing in mind the provisions of paragraph 39 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, according to which qualitative and quantitative disarmament measures are both important for halting the arms race and efforts to that end must include negotiations on the limitation and cessation of qualitative improvement of armaments, especially weapons of mass destruction, and the development of new means of warfare,

Recalling the decision contained in paragraph 77 of the Final Document to the effect that, in order to help to prevent a qualitative arms race and so that scientific and technological achievements might ultimately be used solely for peaceful purposes, effective measures should be taken to prevent the emergence of new types of weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles and achievements, and that efforts aiming at the prohibition of such new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction should be appropriately pursued,

Expressing once again its firm belief, in the light of the decisions adopted at the Tenth Special Session, in the importance of concluding an agreement or agreements to prevent the use of scientific and technological progress for the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons,

Noting that in the course of its session in 1985 the Conference on Disarmament considered the item entitled "New types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons; radiological weapons",

Convinced that all ways and means should be utilised to prevent the development and

manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons,

Taking into consideration the section of the report of the Conference on Disarmament relating to this question,

1. Reaffirms the necessity of prohibiting the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons;

2. Requests the Conference on Disarmament, in the light of its existing priorities, to keep constantly under review, with the assistance of a periodically convened group of experts, the question of the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons with a view to making, when necessary, recommendations on undertaking specific negotiations on the identified types of such weapons;

3. Calls upon all States to contribute, immediately following the identification of any new type of weapon of mass destruction, to the commencement of negotiations on its prohibition with the simultaneous introduction of a moratorium on its practical development;

4. Once again urges all States to refrain from any action that could adversely affect the efforts aimed at the prevention of the emergence of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons;

5. Calls again upon all States to undertake efforts to ensure that ultimately scientific and technological achievements may be used solely for peaceful purposes;

6. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the Conference on Disarmament all documents relating to the consideration of this item by the General Assembly at its 40th Session;

7. Requests the Conference on Disarmament to submit a report on the results achieved to the General Assembly for consideration at its 41st Session;

8. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its 41st Session the item entitled "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons: report of the Conference on Disarmament".

undertaking negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement or agreements, as appropriate, to prevent an arms race in outer space in all its aspects;

10. Urges the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America to pursue intensively their bilateral negotiations in a constructive spirit aimed at reaching early agreement for preventing an arms race in outer space, and to advise the Conference on Disarmament periodically of the progress of their bilateral sessions so as to facilitate its work;

11. Calls upon all States especially those with major space capabilities, to refrain, in their activities relating to outer space, from actions contrary to the observance of the relevant existing treaties or to the objective of preventing an arms race in outer space;

12. Invites Member States to transmit to the Secretary-General, not later than April 1, 1986, their views on the scope and content of the study being undertaken by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research on

disarmament problems relating to outer space and the consequences of extending the arms race into outer space, and requests the Secretary-General to convey the views of the Member States to the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies for consideration in order to enable it, in its capacity of Board of Trustees of the Institute, to give the Institute such possible guidance with respect to the elaboration of its study as it may derive from those views;

13. Requests the Conference on Disarmament to report on its consideration of this subject to the General Assembly at its 41st Session;

14. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the Conference on Disarmament all documents relating to the consideration of this subject by the General Assembly at its 40th Session;

15. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its 41st Session the item entitled "Prevention of an arms race in outer space".

CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS

A

PROHIBITION OF CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

The General Assembly,

Recalling paragraph 75 of the Final Document of the 10th Special Session of the General Assembly, which states that the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and their destruction represents one of the most urgent measures of disarmament,

Recalling its previous resolutions relating to the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and to their destruction,

Convinced of the need for the earliest conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their destruction, which would significantly contribute to general and complete disarmament under effective international control,

Stressing the continuing importance of the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed sixty years ago at Geneva,

Determined, for the sake of all mankind, to exclude completely the possibility of use of chemical weapons, through the earliest conclusion and implementation of the convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all types of chemical weapons and on their destruction, thereby complementing the obligations assumed under the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925,

Taking into consideration the work of the Conference on Disarmament during its session

in 1985 regarding the prohibition of chemical weapons and, in particular, highly appreciating the work of its Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons,

Expressing profound concern at recent decisions on the production of binary chemical weapons, as well as at their intended deployment,

Deeming it desirable for States to refrain from taking any action that could delay or further complicate negotiations and to display a constructive approach to such negotiations and the political will to reach an early agreement on the chemical weapons convention,

Aware that the qualitative improvement and development of chemical weapons complicate ongoing negotiations on the prohibition of chemical weapons,

Taking note of proposals on the creation of chemical-weapon-free zones aimed at facilitating the complete prohibition of chemical weapons and at contributing to the achievement of stable regional and international security,

1. Reaffirms the necessity of the speediest elaboration and conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their destruction;

2. Appeals to all States to facilitate in every possible way the conclusion of such a convention;

3. Urges the Conference on Disarmament to intensify the negotiations in the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons with a view to achieving accord on a chemical weapons convention at the earliest possible date and, for this purpose, to intensify the drafting process

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of such a convention for submission to the General Assembly at its 41st Session;

4. Reaffirms its call to all States to conduct serious negotiations in good faith and to refrain from any action that could impede negotiations on the prohibition of chemical weapons and specifically to refrain from the production and deployment of binary and other new types of chemical weapons, as well as

from stationing chemical weapons on the territory of other States;

5. Calls upon all States that have not yet done so to become parties to the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on June 17, 1925.

B

CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS

The General Assembly,

Recalling its previous resolutions relating to the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and to their destruction,

Reaffirming the urgent necessity of strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on June 17, 1925, and of the adherence by all States to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, signed in London, Moscow and Washington on April 10, 1972,

Having considered the report of the Conference on Disarmament, which incorporates, inter alia, the report of its Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons,

Convinced of the necessity that all efforts be exerted for the continuation and successful conclusion of negotiations on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their destruction,

1. Takes note of the work of the Conference on Disarmament during its session in 1985 regarding the prohibition of chemical weapons and, in particular, appreciates the work of its Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons on that question and the progress recorded in its report;

2. Expresses again its regret and concern that an agreement on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their destruction has not yet been elaborated;

3. Urges again the Conference on Disarmament, as a matter of high priority, to intensify, during its session in 1986, the negotiations on such a convention and to reinforce further its efforts, inter alia, by increasing the time during the year that it devotes to such negotiations, taking into account all existing proposals and future initiatives, with a view to the final elaboration of a convention at the earliest possible date, and to re-establish its Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons for this purpose with the 1985 mandate;

4. Requests the Conference on Disarmament to report to the General Assembly at its 41st Session on the results of its negotiations.

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item entitled "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security",

Taking note of the 15th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the important role it has played in international life in strengthening and consolidating peace and security, as well as promoting cooperation among States on the basis of the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

Noting with concern that the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security have not been fully implemented,

Noting further with concern that the United Nations system of collective security has not been used effectively,

Recalling the duty of States not to intervene in the internal or external affairs of any State, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling the provisions of the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

Noting the provisions of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States,

Recalling the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes,

Concerned by the continued escalation of tension in the world, accompanied by the policy of competition for spheres of influence, domination and exploitation in more and more parts of the world, the escalation to new levels of the arms race, particularly in nuclear weapons, and the danger of its extension into outer space, all of which pose a grave threat to global peace and security,

Profoundly disturbed by the increasing recourse to the use or threat of use of force, military intervention and interference, aggression and foreign occupation, by the aggravation of existing crises in the world, by the continued infringement on the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries, by the denial of the right to self-determination of peoples under colonial and foreign occupation and by attempts to characterise erroneously the struggles of peoples for independence and human dignity as falling within the context of East-West confrontation, thus denying them the right to self-determination, to decide their own destiny and realise their legitimate aspirations, by the persistence of colonialism, racism and apartheid supported by the growing use of military force, by the intensification and expansion of the scope and frequency of manoeuvres and other military activities conceived within the context of big-Power confrontation and used as means of pressure, threat and destabilisation, and by the lack of solutions to the world economic crisis in which the deeper underlying problems of a structural nature have been compounded by cyclical factors and which has further aggravated the inequalities and injustices in international economic relations,

Aware of the increasing interdependence among nations and of the fact that in the present-day world there is no alternative to a policy of peaceful coexistence, detente and cooperation among States on the basis of equality, irrespective of their economic or military power, political and social systems or size and geographic location,

Reaffirming the role of the United Nations as an indispensable forum for negotiations and reaching agreements on measures to promote and strengthen international peace and security,

Stressing the need for the main organs of the United Nations responsible for the maintenance of peace and security, particularly the Security Council, to contribute more effectively to the promoting of international peace and security by seeking solutions to unresolved problems and crises in the world,

Expressing its satisfaction with the resolute support for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which have proved to be of universal validity, and for the ideals of the United Nations, expressed in the context of the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Organisation with the participation of a large number of heads of States or Government,

1. Reaffirms the validity of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and calls upon all States to contribute effectively to its implementation;

2. Urges once again all States to abide

strictly, in their international relations, by their commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and, to this end:

(a) To refrain from the use or threat of use of force, intervention, interference, aggression, foreign occupation and colonial domination or measures of political and economic coercion which violate the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and security of other States as well as the permanent sovereignty of peoples over their natural resources;

(b) To refrain from supporting or encouraging any such act for any reason whatsoever and to reject and refuse recognition of situations brought about by any such act;

3. Calls upon all States, in particular the nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States, to take immediate steps aimed at:

(a) Promoting and using effectively the system of collective security as envisaged in the Charter;

(b) Halting effectively the arms race and achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control and, to this end, to start serious, meaningful and effective negotiations with a view to implementing the recommendations and decisions contained in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, and to fulfilling the priority tasks listed in the Programme of Action set forth in Section III of the Final Document;

4. Invites all States, in particular the major military Powers and States members of military alliances, to refrain, especially in critical situations and in crisis areas, from actions, including military activities and manoeuvres, conceived within the context of big-Power confrontation and used as a means of pressure on, threat to and destabilisation of other States and regions;

5. Expresses its conviction that the gradual military disengagement of the great Powers and their military alliances from various parts of the world should be promoted;

6. Urges all States, in particular the permanent members of the Security Council, to take all necessary measures to prevent the further deterioration of the international situation and, to this end:

(a) To seek, through more effective utilisation of the means provided for in the Charter, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the elimination of the focal points of crisis and tension which constitute a threat to international peace and security;

(b) To proceed without delay to a global consideration of ways and means for bringing about a revival of the world economy and for the restructuring of international economic relations within the framework of the global negotiations with a view to establishing the new international economic order;

(c) To accelerate the economic development of developing countries, particularly the least developed ones;

(d) To implement urgently measures agreed upon to ameliorate the critical economic situation in Africa which is the result, inter alia, of persistent inclement climatic factors;

7. Emphasises the role that the United Nations has in the maintenance of peace and security and in economic and social development and progress for the benefit of all mankind;

8. Calls upon all States, taking into account the views expressed at the commemorative session of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, to promote the role of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General in the strengthening of international security, in accordance with the Charter;

9. Stresses that there is an urgent need to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council in discharging its principal role of maintaining international peace and security and, to that end, emphasises the need to examine mechanisms and working methods on a continued basis in order to enhance the authority and enforcement capacity of the Council, in accordance with the Charter;

10. Emphasises that the Security Council should consider holding periodic meetings in specific cases to consider and review outstanding problems and crises, thus enabling the Council to play a more active role in preventing conflicts;

11. Reiterates the need for the Security Council, in particular its permanent members, to ensure the effective implementation of its decisions in compliance with the relevant provisions of the Charter;

12. Considers that respect for and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms in their civil, political, economic, social and cultural aspects, on the one hand, and the strengthening of international peace and security, on the other, mutually reinforce each other;

13. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under colonial domination, foreign occupation or racist regimes and their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, and urges Member States to increase their support for and solidarity with them and their national liberation movements

and to take urgent and effective measures for the speedy completion of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and for the final elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid;

14. Calls upon all States, particularly the members of the Security Council, to take appropriate and effective measures to promote the fulfilment of the objective of the denuclearisation of Africa in order to avert the serious danger which the nuclear capability of South Africa constitutes to the African States, in particular the front-line States, as well as to international peace and security;

15. Welcomes the continuation of the process within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and expresses the hope that the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the continent with the greatest concentration of armaments and military forces, will achieve significant and positive results;

16. Reaffirms that the democratisation of international relations is an imperative necessity enabling, under the conditions of interdependence, the full development and independence of all States as well as the attainment of genuine security, peace and cooperation in the world, and stresses its firm belief that the United Nations offers the best framework for the promotion of these goals;

17. Invites Member States to submit their views on the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the General Assembly at its 41st Session on the basis of the replies received;

18. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its 41st Session the item entitled "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security".

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SECURITY

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 1514 (XV) of December 14, 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) of May 1, 1974, containing the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, 3281 (XXIX) of December 12, 1974, containing the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, 3362 (S-VII) of September 1975 on development and international economic cooperation, and 35/56 of December 5, 1980, the annex to which contains the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade,

Recalling also the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations,

in particular that of achieving international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force in international relations,

Referring to Economic and Social Council resolution 1911 (LVII) of August 2, 1974,

Considering that ever-increasing interdependence between States and regions is an inevitable condition of world economic development, which determines the mutuality of interests of all countries in promoting development in a secure world environment,

Convinced that all countries would benefit from a more stable economic, trade, monetary and financial situation and from equitable solutions of the existing problems in these areas,

Further convinced that alleviation of the urgent economic problems of developing countries and elimination of the gap in the levels of economic development are major factors of international economic stability and a better political climate,

Recognising the need to promote international economic security aimed at the economic and social development and progress of each country, in particular developing countries, through international economic cooperation and utilising the potential of multilateral and regional organisations,

1. Considers that a common endeavour to promote just and mutually beneficial international economic relations would contribute to

the economic well-being of each State and to the establishment of a new international economic order;

2. Requests the Secretary-General, taking into account the relevant previous studies, to prepare a comprehensive analytical report on a concept of international economic security, including ways and means of its attainment, with emphasis on the development interests of developing countries, for submission through the Economic and Social Council to the General Assembly at its 42nd session;

3. Calls upon all Governments and United Nations organisations, organs and bodies to contribute to the implementation of the present resolution.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 31/9 of November 8, 1976, in which it invited Member States to examine further the draft World Treaty on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations as well as other proposals made during the consideration of the item,

Recalling also its resolution 32/150 of December 19, 1977, by which it established the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations,

Recalling, in particular, its resolutions 33/96 of December 16, 1978, 34/13 of November 9, 1979, 35/50 of December 4, 1980, 36/31 of November 13, 1981, 37/105 of December 16, 1982, 38/133 of December 19, 1983 and 39/81 of December 13, 1984, in which it decided that the Special Committee should continue its work,

Taking note of the statements made by the Chairman of the Special Committee at its sessions in 1983, 1984, and 1985, based on the informal working paper presented by the Chairman of the Special Committee at its session in 1982,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee on the work of the session it held in 1985,

Taking into account that the Special Committee has not completed the mandate entrusted to it,

Reaffirming the need for effectiveness in the universal application of the principle of non-use of force in international relations and for assistance by the United Nations in this endeavour,

Taking into account the suggestions of States made during the consideration of the report of the Special Committee on the preparation at the present stage of a declaration on the non-use of force in international relations,

1. Takes note of the report of the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of

the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations;

2. Decides that the Special Committee shall continue its work with the goal of drafting a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and, at the earliest possible date, as an intermediate stage, a declaration on the non-use of force in international relations, as well as the peaceful settlement of disputes or such other recommendations as the Committee deems appropriate;

3. Invites the Special Committee, in drafting the declaration, to take into consideration the results of work done in the preparation of the working paper containing the main elements of the principle of non-use of force in international relations, as well as the suggestions submitted to it and the efforts undertaken at its previous sessions;

4. Invites Governments to communicate their comments or suggestions on the question considered by the Special Committee;

5. Requests the Special Committee to be mindful of the importance of reaching general agreement whenever it has significance for the outcome of its work;

6. Decides that the Special Committee shall accept the participation of observers of Member States, including participation in the meetings of its working group;

7. Requests the Special Committee to concentrate its work in the framework of its working group;

8. Requests the Secretary-General to provide the Special Committee with the necessary facilities and services;

9. Invites the Special Committee to submit a report on its work to the General Assembly at its 41st Session, containing, *inter alia*, the concrete results achieved through the discussion of the elements referred to in paragraph 3 above;

10. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its 41st Session the item entitled "Report of the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations".

